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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1806.



L O N D O N :

Printed for F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard ;

By Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE events of the year 1806 are so numerous, extraordinary in themselves, and important in their consequences, that the most imperfect record of them will not only interest the generation which witnessed them, but will excite the astonishment of the latest posterity.

In almost every part of the continent of Europe, the withering influence of the French Ruler will be perceived. In Italy a Bourbon was expelled from his Neapolitan dominions, and supplanted in his throne by an usurper. Francis the Second of Austria, obliged to submit to the edicts of a military adventurer, abdicated the high office of Emperor of Germany, and resigned a crown, which his august ancestors had borne for many centuries. The ancient league of the German princes was dissolved, and a new confederacy established under the control of a foreign state. The Dutch were again constrained to alter their constitution, and accept a king, who was to be the avowed servant of the French cabinet.

The

The Prussian monarch was inveigled into disgraceful measures, and when roused to resistance by the haughtiness of aggression, saw his armies suddenly dispersed, his provinces rapidly over-run, and the very existence of his kingdom threatened with extinction. Such were the leading effects produced by a single intellect, heated with boundless and criminal ambition.

Although these objects must be admitted to be sufficient to render the period more than usually remarkable, even in an era fertile in amazing occurrences, many other weighty circumstances arose to distinguish it. The death of the great statesman, who had so long wielded the energies of the British empire;—the formation of a new ministry;—the fruitless attempts to restore peace between England and France;—the steps taken for the final abolishment of a traffic in human beings, which had disgusted the philanthropic, the moral, and the religious members of society in the most enlightened nations of the world;—the decease of another British politician, whose talents and eloquence were acknowledged to be of the highest order;—and many affairs of considerable import, the bare mention of which would swell prefatory remarks beyond all proper bounds, contribute to present such a picture as is rarely disclosed to contemplation.



## P R E F A C E.

It was confidently expected that the present volume of the Annual Register would be ready for publication last December; and, as the major part of it was actually printed before the end of June, the work might with ease have been finished, even previously to that time, had not the editor been induced to wait for some documents, which he thought would make the historical department more perfect. If however the appearance of one volume has been retarded, great advancement has been made in the composition of another. That for the year 1807 is already in the press, and will be completed with as much speed as a regard for accuracy will permit.

The first part of the report  
 contains a general description of  
 the country and its resources.  
 It also mentions the various  
 tribes and their customs.  
 The second part of the report  
 deals with the history of the  
 country and the various wars  
 which have taken place.  
 The third part of the report  
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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1806.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.



CHAP. I.

*Consequences of the Peace of Presburg. Aggrandisement of the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Wurtemberg. Reflections on the State of the public Mind in Europe after the French Revolution; on the Causes of the Failure of the Allies in 1805; on the Nature of the warlike Efforts of Great Britain; on a large standing Army; on Military Colleges. Public Funeral of Lord Nelson. Meeting of Parliament; Substance of his Majesty's Speech, and of the Address; an Amendment read in both Houses of the Legislature, but not moved. Some Account of Mr. Pitt's Death. Mr. Henry Lascelles's Motion in the House of Commons for procuring public Honours to the Memory of the late Minister: it is supported by the Marquis of Titchfield, Sir Robert Buxton, Lord Temple, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Rose, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Wilberforce; and is opposed by Lord Folkstone, Mr. William Smith, the Marquis of Douglas, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Pytches, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Fox: Summary of the Debate: Comment on the Doctrine that Success is the Criterion of meriting National Honours; Mr. Wilberforce's Opinion on the Subject correct. Anecdote of Mr. Pitt mentioned by Mr. Rose. Small Majority in the Court of Common Council for erecting a Monument to the departed Premier's Memory in Guildhall. Mr. Pitt's Funeral. His Disinterestedness considered. The Situation of Prime Minister offered to Lord Hawkesbury: he declines it; but accepts the Place of Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports.*

**B**Y the treaty of Presburg the aspect of Europe was entirely changed, and every continental power, with the exception of Russia and Sweden, laid at the feet of France. The unfortunate league, which had been formed for the purpose of placing limits to the system

system of Buonaparté, had not only failed in promoting the views of its projectors, but had actually increased the preponderance, and consolidated the schemes and aggrandisement of that extraordinary person. He was now at liberty to survey from the eminence of his own commanding position, how he could take advantage of the weakness of surrounding states, and proceed in his designs at leisure and with security. Encircled by the blaze of military glory, and raised in his character by the astonishing success that had attended his operations, he had ample opportunity as well as power to reward the services of his adherents, to punish those who had attempted to resist his measures, and to collect and perfect the means of humbling or destroying every sovereign within his reach, who should presume to retain the attributes of independence.

The attempt to depict the losses of Austria by calculating the number of square miles, or the mass of population, transferred to her enemies were to under-rate her misfortunes. The value of the Venetian territory with Istria, Friuli, and Dalmatia, both in a military and naval point of view, and the prodigious diminution of security by the cession of the Tyrol, Trent and Brixen, are not to be estimated by the rules of admeasurement, or the census of their respective inhabitants. By these relinquishments she was deprived of a most important frontier, while the surrender of Italy to the designs of France more absolute and unconditional, and in a far greater extent, than the courtiers of the French monarchs had ever dared

to flatter their masters to expect, abandoned a source of productive power, and a station fruitful in advantages of every possible description, to a people perhaps the best able to improve and combine them for every beneficial purpose of peace or war. Austria was not permitted to suffer alone under the insolence of the victor. Scarcely was the peace of Presburg ratified, when Buonaparté proclaimed his intentions with respect to the unfortunate court of Naples. The devoted king of that beautiful country was proscribed, his name erased from the catalogue of sovereigns, and means taken to ensure the execution of this arrogant decree.

It has been seen that the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were elevated to the royal dignity, as a remuneration for their late assistance to the French chief. The conduct of the former potentate may possibly be in some degree extenuated. Although it cannot be supposed that a prince descended from an ancient and splendid family could entirely approve, or earnestly desire, the alliance of the revolutionary emperor of France, yet with France herself he, as well as his predecessors, had for a very long time cultivated the strictest connexion, as a powerful support against the ambitious designs of the house of Austria, who had ever coveted the territory of Bavaria, and threatened her political existence. Nothing indeed would excuse the shameful duplicity of Maximilian in violating his promises to join the emperor in the recent contest; and this dereliction of his word, and disregard of his honour, will forever leave a stain on his character.

When

When Austria on various occasions meditated the extinction of this power, she little supposed that a period would arrive when many of her own provinces, and one of them too inhabited by a race of men peculiarly and affectionately devoted to her sway, should be torn from the regal trunk of her collected sovereignties to confirm the strength, and support the grandeur of a state, which she never had deigned to regard as a rival. But by the mutability of fortune, and the will of Buonaparté, the King of Bavaria became a prince of considerable weight. His states stretched from north to south nearly three hundred miles; and from east to west, in the largest span of them, about an hundred. Maximilian had been a willing ally, and his reward was in proportion to the promptitude, with which he had stood forward in favour of the Gallic autocrat.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, on the other hand, had been forced into the French confederacy. He was by no means eager to embark in the cause of Buonaparté, nor to enrol himself and his troops under the banners of France. But compelled to take a decided part, as neither the emperor of Austria, nor the Gallic ruler, would suffer his neutrality, prudence and the necessity of submitting to circumstances, which he could not avert, supplied the place of inclination; and whatever might be his reluctance, he entered with apparent cheerfulness into measures that he never could approve. Although the nature of his compliance was well known to his imperious friend, it did not seem to alter the gracious disposition of the latter towards the vassal prince; for by his potent breath the duchy of Wurtemberg

became a kingdom, not in fact, like Bavaria, embracing a large extent of recently acquired domains, for in that respect its enlargement was by no means sufficient to warrant the new title conferred upon it; but whatever increment it received was from the spoils of the unhappy house of Austria, doomed in both instances to recompense the instruments of its own degradation.

This nominal advancement was, to say the least, inexpedient. Wurtemberg with its original designation was highly respectable. It merited the distinction of a grand duchy; but its rise to superior rank unnecessarily exposed its insignificance. High titles without appropriate revenues are as inconvenient to political bodies as to private individuals, and in both cases are equally unfortunate. The requisite state attached to rank has a tendency to distress the finances, while it diminishes solid esteem and respect, where the resources are not equal to the demand for them. Whether the duke would have objected to this noxious promotion, had he dared to doubt the propriety of Buonaparté's bounty, it is impossible to know. Resistance would have been prudent, patriotic, and dignified, if he could have declined this pre-eminence with safety; but obedience to his dictatorial patron, in this instance, was probably held to be as much a matter of discretion as the previous alliance with him; and Frederic, from the character of a great duke, was compelled to descend into that of a petty king. It may easily be conceived why Buonaparté adopted this measure; for, while he in appearance gave a great reward to the object of his pernicious liberality, he really by this very advancement made him

comparatively feeble, and rendered him more dependent on the power of France; and besides prevented any possible return to the subjection of the German confederacy, without an evident loss of his ill-assorted dignity. By this artful conduct he committed the pride of the sovereign against his independence; and, as he supposed, for ever secured a tributary prince to the French dominions.

The endeavour to curb the power of France was, generally speaking, highly desirable, provided a proper opportunity offered of effecting so grand a design; but when the disastrous coalition of 1805 was concerted, neither did the period seem favourable for the purpose, nor did any rational system appear to be digested in point of ultimate and defined object. The parties did not even possess sufficient patience to execute so meritorious an undertaking, or allow the necessary time to bring their own plan, defective as it was, securely and adequately into action. On the contrary, the allied courts were evidently stimulated by a persuasion, that the first and most important circumstance to be achieved was a commencement of hostilities; and that war once begun, new prospects would open, and contingent advantages follow, of which they no doubt intended to avail themselves. After the failure of the first grand confederacy against France, by the defection of the Prussian monarch, who, with a want of providence, which has been the source of every misfortune that Europe has experienced, abandoned the common interest of every well regulated state, there was little chance of utterly extinguishing the revolutionary volcano, which had

burst forth to the terror of the reflecting part of mankind. Although it was hardly within the compass of probability, that the dreadful evil could be entirely suppressed, a laudable anxiety still prevailed to prevent the destruction of every thing valuable, to which it might extend, by stopping its progress, with such means as could be collected together. Unhappily these means were always found inefficient. The potentates, who at various times combined for an object, which they all felt it was necessary to attain, terrified by some unexpected defeat, gave up the cause in despair; or, fatally influenced by the petty jealousies which arose between them, forsook it in disgust. The temporising spirit also that sometimes induced them to withdraw from the contest, with the hope of renewing it, under more favourable auspices, on some future occasion, at once diminished their own strength and increased that of their bold and decided adversaries, by enfeebling the confidence of their subjects, and confirming the audacity of their opponents. Hence the energies of Europe were frittered away in detail, and when patience was exhausted by some intolerable act of aggression, the members of a new coalition found themselves committed in an unequal struggle with the gigantic prowess of a people, who had been taken out of the usual habits of society, whose industry had been diverted from the beneficial courses of civilized life to the baneful and destructive customs of perpetual warfare; who, abounding in numbers and ingenuity, had forsaken the arts of peace, not for their defence, but after having subdued most of the nations in their vicinity,

nity, who had embraced the military profession as their chief pursuit, as nearly their exclusive employment, not from the impatient and restless disgust, arising from a long continuance of inaction, but at the close of the more sanguinary and turbulent part of their revolution, and a series of the most pernicious campaigns; with a government purely military, a stock of science peculiarly adapted to the same pursuits, and a species of wealth not likely to be injured by such a change; who had established a regular system of discipline, which drew every arm into the service of the state, and rendered the whole surface of the most compact, extensive, and best situated country in Europe one vast camp swarming with soldiers. Indeed candour must extort the confession from truth, that however this unhappy combination of circumstances in France may be dignified by future historians, the modern French, like the ancient Romans, were actually become neither more nor less than a horde of freebooters. Their armies subsisted by victory, or in plainer language, by plunder; the directors of their affairs acknowledged no jurisdiction but perverted ambition; and the supreme glory of the country was made to consist in fabricating an insolent and an abominable tyranny over the destinies of mankind. Notwithstanding this alteration in the character of the people with whom Europe had to contend, the different sovereigns proceeded only in the ordinary methods of counteraction. They still blindly adhered to the old courses of negotiation and war. Accustomed to struggle with the wolf and the

boar, they put in action no greater means to assail the hyena, and to subdue the tiger.

It is not to be denied, that the major part of the governments on the continent were unpopular. The diffusion of knowledge and science had opened the eyes of the people to the various existing inconveniences of barbarous institutions, the offspring of remote and darker ages, and rendered them impatient of the abuses of power, and the corruption of their rulers. When the French revolution, which has at once changed the nature of communities, and denationalized the world, first broke out, the insidious doctrines, that were promulgated by an assemblage of fanatics, promoted the fortunes of the republic and paralysed the opposition, which princes endeavoured in vain to make to its progress in greatness. Many infatuated individuals of all ranks, dazzled by the empty splendour of these theories, assisted their legitimate rulers, and even gave their talents to their cause, which they little valued, from the principle of a point of honour, while they had an unhappy bias in favour of their natural enemies. Their persons, and perhaps their honest exertions, were tendered and employed in the service of their respective chiefs, but their inclinations were unhappily marshalled against them; and they frequently felt an involuntary impulse of pleasure at events materially repugnant to their own actual interests, as well as to those of the nation to which they belonged. The failure of an enterprise connected with their prosperity and welfare was, strange to relate, a source of secret triumph,

which forced itself upon their sensations. In this state of mind was the better and more reputable part of society, which was misled by the specious dogmata of those beings, who boasted that their object was to regenerate man, perfectionize the human race, and constitute political modes adapted to the felicity, protection, and economy of all countries.

But a far larger class, who were influenced by the ridiculous jargon and despicable sophistry of these pretended enlighteners of the human mind and legislators of the world, were not deceived by such subdivisions of honour and patriotism, and by no means felt their volitions committed against their sense of duty and rectitude. They covered their features indeed with the mask of candour, and enveloped themselves in the mantle of hypocrisy, and their caution was a mere sacrifice to prudence; for they tacitly, but without any compunction, hailed reverses with delight. To them national disgrace was a subject of joy. While a third and possibly a still more numerous body, eager for the ruin of their country, openly expressed their satisfaction at disasters, which they were weak enough to suppose would conduce to a future amelioration of their fate. The distresses of a cabinet were with these persons signals for open and public festivity of sentiment. They defied common decency, and those emotions, that they were absurd and abandoned enough to feel, they gave themselves no pains to hide. During the epidemic insanity of opinions for ever to be deplored, unfortunately no great and superior mind, unshackled by the bonds of preju-

dice, arose to calm the perturbed spirit of mental fever, and political as well as moral lunacy. The disease consequently spread; and its progress was marked with anarchy, miseries, and disorder.

When a wild democracy in France naturally subsided into a military government, and Napoleon Buonaparté seized the helm, no variety of measure was attempted to withstand his vigorous and deeply laid projects for universal empire. To divert and break his influence, the members of the old and regular commonwealth of princes still buckled on their ill-arranged and corrupted panoply, and instead of arming public sentiment in their defence, by improving the condition of their subjects, and making them feel the weight and importance of their gradation in the scale of being, and thus giving them an interest in resistance, instead of converting the ebullition of feelings to their own use by enlarging the sphere of liberty, regulating its blind fury, and guiding it in an useful channel, they weakly made the contest a conflict between court and court, and acted on the antiquated policy of their several cabinets. In the moral and political, as well as in the material world, the effects of a violent agitation remain long after the causes have ceased. The ocean continues to heave when the storm has for some time subsided. In 1805 the passion for liberal improvement, the horror of despotism, and the thirst for freedom, were as strong in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, as at any other previous epocha. These materials, excellent in themselves, were ready



to the hand of genius, and might have been employed, with no small probability of success, against the hydra of aggression. Blind to their real interests, such elements of strength were overlooked or rejected by the governments, which were willing to come into the fearful strife. The trumpet was founded, but it was heard with apathy. It was not the soul-inspiring sound of freedom. It awakened no generous spirit of enthusiasm, it roused no sentiments of virtuous indignation. The clangour filled the plains, and reverberated amongst the hills in vain echoes, without animating the inhabitants, or exciting the noble ideas incident to men who are engaged in the sacred cause of humanity. The people started—gazed awhile in anxious expectancy—and relapsed into the torpor of indifference. It will therefore create no surprise, that disappointment, calamity, and dishonour, should have attended the arms of the confederates. The machinery of military institutions may do much; but unless the armies of potentates are encouraged and excited by national ardour, and supported by the enthusiastic assistance of patriotic feeling, strongly depicted and permanently developed by their fellow countrymen, they can never efficaciously nor adequately produce those results, which their directors wish to achieve.

While Austria was panting with her late struggle, and contemplating the extent of her adversity, while the French ruler was preparing to mould the form of Europe at his pleasure, and recast the order of various communities now abandoned to his power, every thing wore the

countenance of painful suspense in the British cabinet. The minister, whose commanding talents and firmness were now more than ever necessary to guide the decisions of his colleagues, under circumstances of peculiar urgency, was confined by illness at Bath, and incapable of attending to business. Independently of the political relations of the country with foreign states, which required immediate attention, the parliament was about to meet; in which a reference to the events that had marked the progress of the late campaign, and a discussion of the treaties with the various allies of Great Britain, might be expected. Never was there a time, when the mind and eloquence of Mr. Pitt were more demanded to explain, or defend the measures which had been pursued, than at a moment, when the cabinet beheld their leader the victim of disease, from which the most serious fears were entertained that he would not recover. There were indeed several of the ministry, who possessed considerable abilities; but they had always relied so much on the powers of Mr. Pitt, that they felt a diffidence in a crisis, for which they had not been prepared; and they were conscious that the public had been deeply afflicted, though not dismayed, by the disasters, which had overwhelmed the Austrian and Russian arms.

The picture was not however completely sombre. Although the defeat of the confederates had liberated the immense means and armies of Buonaparté, and he could now employ any part of them for the purpose of invading England; yet the glorious triumph of the British arms at sea, and the destruction of the enemy's marine,

had rendered the difficulty of carrying this favourite enterprise into execution so great, if not insurmountable, that all idea of danger became improbable and remote. Many well disposed people indeed believed that the peril was yet imminent; but the majority of the rational public considered their alarms as unnecessary, or springing from the effect of habit. The victory of Trafalgar had reassured the general mind, and without under-rating or despising the formidable force, which probably might be assembled on the French coast, every body viewed the posture of affairs with calmness unmixed with apprehension; confident as better informed persons felt themselves of the impracticability of attempting an invasion, without a strong fleet to cover the descent.

Britain in this instance was greatly indebted for her safety to her sovereignty of the seas; but the wisdom of almost exclusively dedicating her energies to marine pre-eminence, which direction of her strength, had, for a series of years, been the principal object with her statesmen, may very reasonably be doubted. It is true that the minister, who should by any means cause her to forfeit this supreme command of the ocean, would deserve execration; yet it must be admitted that, while this inestimable advantage ought never in the slightest degree to be impaired, the numbers and quality of her land forces demand the most serious attention. The real power and dignity of a state consist in judiciously combining its strength by sea and land; but most

undoubtedly the respect which it desires to obtain, and the consideration that it expects to ensure, depend chiefly on the efficacy of its armies. The navy of a people most certainly protects their commerce; and is therefore a species of force strongly connected with their wealth and prosperity. It is a mode of armament that peculiarly arises out of a nation's industry and riches; of which it is both the offspring and the protector; and a navy and commercial interests mutually receive and impart assistance from and to each other. They both flourish or fall together. But the inevitable consequence of suffering the marine to absorb an undue share of the warlike spirit of a country, not only tends to create habits too commercial, but absolutely to crush all military inclination. Thus while a people, with this disposition of their force, become rich, they gradually lose some portion of their greatness; and all their ardour is embarked in promoting a service, inseparably mingled with the relations of wealth, which is indeed one of the component parts of power, but is far from being power itself. One single victory on shore has more real weight, and greater influence on human events, than innumerable triumphs at sea. The fate of the world is determined by the soldier. Experience has ever proved the truth of the proposition; and from her rigid tribunal there can be no appeal. A country may arrive at such maritime ascendancy as to lock up the harbours of her neighbours, and render the whole surface of the ocean a desert, except

to her own fleets, and yet be feeble —almost more impotent than the least continental state. Had Britain swept the seas, without directing part of her energy to flow into her armies, in the reign of Anne, she never could have claimed or enforced that distinction, which she then taught Europe to offer to her grandeur. She hears, with extreme jealousy and the strongest disgust, any proposal to debar her from taking a share in the concerns of the continent; but to this degradation she must always expect to submit, be content to be reckoned a merely insular power, and be hermetically sealed within her sea-girt coast, as far as relates to continental importance, if she be only known abroad by her potent fleets; and if the continent, too long accustomed to such an idea, are aware of no assistance that she can lend to an ally, which does not proceed through the medium of the money market, and arrive at its destined point in the shape of bills of exchange. Whenever she chuses to resume her wonted, but neglected, prowess on land, and to permit that abundantly emulous passion for glory, which is certainly strongly fixed in the character of her children, to seek an equal channel in martial effort, she will again compel the world to acknowledge her pretensions to participate in continental affairs. When her endeavours are felt and witnessed by confederates, and become the subject of ocular demonstration, as well as narrative in the columns of a gazette, when her valour is beheld by populous regions, as well as honourably and beneficially ex-

erted on movable plains of watery element in distant latitudes, she then will rise to her natural scale of dignity, and laugh to scorn, while she silences, the arrogant presumption of her military opponents\*.

The danger of a standing army, which so properly excited the fear of our ancestors, seems in the present state of affairs not to warrant any just alarm; and since, with the altered circumstances of Europe, it has become necessary for us also to change our system, and consent to the existence of a permanent body of land forces, there appears no solid reason why the gallantry of the nation should not be suffered to tend towards a service, that establishes more durable advantages, and enforces higher respect; at the same time that it promises a greater certainty of security in case of actual invasion, a security not dependent on winds or waves. Better it assuredly would be that England were excluded from all Europe, than that one particle of her freedom should be lost by means of the instrument, which she constructed to defend it; but Englishmen, whether bred to arms or to more domestic employments, never forget that they were born free; and have an habitual reverence for their laws and constitution entwined in their very being. There will always be exceptions to general character in every profession; but there is no more probability of a confederacy amongst military men to favour arbitrary power, because one or two individuals belonging to that body may be insensible to the charms of liberty, than amongst

\* The brilliant services performed by the British arms in the Peninsula, which have so materially contributed to the happiness of Europe, have practically illustrated these remarks. April. 1814.

the practitioners of the law to pervert the statutes, because it is possible a judge may at some time have been unduly influenced by the court. There are besides so many checks now existing upon an army, in the different descriptions of force employed in the island, that all apprehension on that point seems absolutely idle.

While British ideas prevail, there can be little cause to fear an English army taken from the mass of the people, and while the officers of it are selected from various ranks of society; but how far it may be politic or wise in a free country, where so much depends on early impressions, and the principles established by the means of education, to encourage military schools is extremely questionable. The officers of the army were heretofore brought up at our public establishments with other lads of the same condition. Here they formed connexions and friendships of the most permanent description, and were inseparably mixed and amalgamated in spirit with their fellows. They laid the most solid groundwork for any superstructure, that interest or inclination prompted them to rear; and at the same time imbibed, by the course and matter of their studies, the most enthusiastic passion for genuine freedom and exalted patriotism. They caught from the perusal of the classics, whatever degree of attention they might pay to their daily business, the better part of them—elevated sentiments and a disdain for slavery. Thus initiated in those feelings and sentiments, which were calculated to make them disinterested patriots and honourable men, if their noble fire led them to embrace a military life, they

became soldiers worthy of a free state; and at no time, comparatively with the knowledge of the art of war in other countries, were British officers more remarkable for a scientific acquaintance with the duties of their profession, greater patience of hardship, military subordination, or enthusiastic gallantry, than when the officers of the army were thus educated. But when a youth is early segregated from his fellows, and enters a college set apart for particular institutions, when, at an age that yields to every external influence, he is daily habituated to practical submission, to see every duty, however insignificant, performed by the word of command; and where all his acquirements are inseparably mingled with qualities, that are to fit him to order or to obey, where the mind is accustomed to rigid rules of uniformity in action, a principle highly unfavourable to liberty, the soul of such a lad, as far as relates to filial veneration and regard for rational independence, becomes completely emasculated; and that ardour, which might be directed to advantageous employment, is too likely to manifest itself in an attachment to arbitrary authority, from which there must be no appeal. The men brought up in these seminaries may possibly excel in all the minutiae of petty discipline, and approach nearer to the character of machines; but in all the higher branches of the profession they are not likely to be upon an equality with those, who, after a regular education, feel their genius prompt them to warlike studies and habits. Was Marlborough or Turenne, was Wolfe or Moreau, or the great captain, who, by his consummate manœuvres

yes, has successfully made one small army perform the duties of many large hosts, to the confusion of his opponents, was the victorious Wellington educated at a military college? The impulse of drilled trainings will always be found inferior to the fire and perseverance of natural inclination; and while it is very problematical, if in any country or in any age, these military schools have produced generals worthy to be named with the commanders, who have imbibed a passion for arms, after they had quitted civil colleges, they are most certainly less calculated to form a British officer, whose glory it is to unite the sentiments of the citizen to those of the soldier; and to temper the rigidity of discipline with a regard for the rights of individuals, and for the laws of his country.

The gratitude of the nation displayed itself not only in promoting to a high rank, a beloved brother of her naval hero, and providing the necessary establishment to support the dignity; but the sovereign, anticipating the wishes of his people, ordered the great admiral's remains to be honoured with a magnificent public funeral, thus decorating the obsequies of departed merit and excellence; and deservedly connecting his lamented fate with the idea of a sacrifice to the safety and glory of the kingdom. The ceremony took place on the 9th of January; and was of the most solemn, grand, and affecting description. All ranks were eager to demonstrate their high sense of the admirable person, whose loss they deplored. The heir apparent accompanied by six of his brothers, with a long train of characters illustrious from station, and

eminent for worth, attended the procession, and followed the corse of the immortal Nelson to the tomb. The body was deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul, and to commemorate the services of the deceased, directions were given to erect a superb monument;—a monument which was consecrated by the sorrow of his country.

On the 21st of January parliament was opened by commission, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Ellenborough, chief justice, the earl of Dartmouth, lord chamberlain, and lord Hawkesbury, principal secretary of state for the home department, being nominated for that duty. The speech turned upon the late victory at Trafalgar, deplored the loss of the gallant admiral under whom it was achieved, and expressed a persuasion that parliament would concur in enabling his majesty to annex to those honours, which had been conferred on the family of the late lord Nelson, a lasting mark of national munificence. It also stated that the means, so liberally placed at the disposal of the crown, had been applied in aid of such powers as had evinced a determination to oppose the formidable and growing encroachments of France; that the several treaties entered into with this view would shortly be laid before the respective houses; that while the unfavourable issue of the campaign in Germany was to be lamented, every thing had been done by his majesty to sustain his allies, in conformity to the principles declared by him, and recognized by parliament, as essential to the interests of the kingdom and of the continent; and that, although the emperor of Germany had felt himself compelled to withdraw from  
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the contest, the closest connexion continued between his majesty and the emperor of Russia, who gave the strongest assurances of unshaken adherence to the enlightened policy, by which he had been hitherto actuated. The commons were informed that the estimates were framed upon that scale of exertion, which the situation of the country rendered indispensable, with a perfect reliance that such supplies would be granted as the public exigencies required; and that, as it was his majesty's wish to alleviate the additional burthens of his people as much as possible, he had directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the proceeds from the sale of prizes made on hostile powers, to be applied to the services of the year. The speech closed by expressing a conviction that both branches of the legislature would be sensible, that the events of the war on the continent demanded all possible vigilance and exertion, and that their attention would be directed to the improvement of those means, which were to be found in the bravery and discipline of the forces, the zeal and loyalty of every class of subjects, and the inexhausted resources of the dominions, to maintain the British empire invincible at home, and formidible abroad, satisfied as they must be that such efforts alone could bring the contest to a safe and honourable conclusion.

The address, which as usual recapitulated and approved the leading topics contained in the speech, with an addition of condolence for the death of the duke of Cumberland, was moved and seconded in the house of peers by the earl of Essex and lord Carleton, and in that of the

commons by lord Francis Spencer and Mr. Ainslie. It had been couched, according to the avowal of lord Hawkesbury, in such language as was supposed would create no difference of opinion; and therefore little of debate ensued upon the subject: but, lest it should be imagined, that the conduct of administration with respect to foreign politics, and the plans of the late campaign, were deemed unexceptionable, an amendment was read to the lords by earl Cowper, and in the lower house by lord Henry Petty, the purport of which was to express deep concern at the misfortunes lately sustained by his majesty's allies on the continent; and to assure his majesty that the earliest opportunity would be taken to enquire into the cause of them, so far as they might be connected with the control of his majesty's ministers; to suggest such measures as should appear to be necessary for averting the dangers which threatened the country; and to signify that, while parliament was called upon for extraordinary exertions in furnishing supplies, they felt it to be their duty to provide, that they should not be in future employed in such a manner as to increase the perils, which they were intended to remove, and aggrandise the power, to which it was the common interest of all Europe, as well as of Great Britain, to set proper limits. In consequence, however, of the alarming illness of the chancellor of the exchequer, no motion was made upon either of these notifications; and both houses put off the discussion of the subject until the following Monday, after unanimously passing the address, which was presented to his

his majesty on the 23d of the same month.

But before that day came, the distinguished individual, who was so much interested in the question that was to be agitated, had closed his mortal existence. As it has been mentioned in the preceding volume of this work, Mr. Pitt's health experienced a rapid decline in the autumn of 1805; and he was recommended to go to Bath, having in a former illness derived great benefit from the waters of that place, which it was hoped might still have a salutary influence on a frame, now reduced almost to the last stage of debility. He accordingly proceeded thither in December. Soon after his arrival, he had a fit of the gout which subsided; and he thought himself better for a short time. But the gout appeared again during his stay at Bath; and he never afterwards recovered even a moderate degree of strength. His appetite almost entirely failed, and it being deemed improper for him to drink the waters, he determined to return to his country house; and he was in so debilitated a state, that he was four days on the road to Putney, which he reached on the 11th of January, accompanied by sir Walter Farquhar, his medical attendant.

When a consultation was held the next day with doctor Baillie and doctor Reynolds, they told the bishop of Lincoln, who had repaired to Putney, that they saw no danger,—no disease,—but great weakness, in consequence of the gout, and that they thought their patient might recover in a few weeks. They represented the necessity of quiet; but the approaching meeting of parliament, and the state of Mr.

Pitt's private affairs, left him little prospect of enjoying it.

Mr. Pitt felt better on the Sunday, and on the following day he took an airing in his carriage; but in the evening lord Castlereagh and lord Hawkesbury, having obtained permission from the physicians to see him, entered upon some points of public business, probably relating to the dissolution of the recent confederacy by the peace of Presburg, which visibly agitated and affected him. Mr. Pitt afterwards observed that, during the interview, he felt some sensation in his stomach, which he feared it might be difficult to remove. On Tuesday the 14th he again went out in his carriage for the last time. His strength was manifestly diminished. On his return he saw his brother, lord Chatham; and on Wednesday Mr. Rose was admitted to him for a very few minutes, and was very much stricken with his emaciated appearance. He was able to take very little nourishment; his powers of digestion were greatly impaired; and scarcely any thing would remain on his stomach. He seldom spoke, and displayed an anxiety to follow the directions of the physicians “to be as quiet as possible, and completely to divest his mind of all public business.” He desired the bishop of Lincoln, who remained with him from the period of his return from Bath to the day of his death, to open all his letters, and to communicate only such parts of them, as he should consider it necessary for him to know.

On the 17th the medical men admitted that Mr. Pitt was much weaker, but still maintained that there

there were no unfavourable symptoms. At the same time they declared their sentiments, that he would not be able to attend to business in less time than two months; and expressed a doubt of his ability to take an active part, in the house of commons, during the winter. The bishop of Lincoln was naturally very urgent with the physicians to allow him to apprise Mr. Pitt of the probable duration of his confinement, in order that he might decide on the propriety of resigning or of retaining his office; but they were unanimously and decidedly of opinion, that nothing should be said to their patient on the subject. Mr. Pitt's disorder however hourly assumed a more serious aspect. On Monday the 20th the medical men declared "the symptoms to be unpromising, and that his situation was hazardous." In the evening of that day he became much worse; and his mind, as is usual in cases of extreme debility, occasionally wandered. Sir Walter Farquhar passed the night by his bed-side; and, at four o'clock on Wednesday morning, he called up the bishop of Lincoln, telling him he was much alarmed, and would now no longer object to any communication, which the latter might think proper to make to his patient.

The bishop immediately went to Mr. Pitt and executed his melancholy commission, requesting his leave to read prayers to him, and to administer the sacrament. Mr. Pitt looked earnestly at doctor Tomline for a few moments, and then with perfect composure turned his head to Sir Walter

Farquhar, who stood on the other side of the bed, and slowly said, "How long do you think I have to live?" Sir Walter answered that he could not say, and intimated a faint hope of his recovery. A half smile on Mr. Pitt's countenance showed that he placed this language to its true account.

After prayers had been read, and Mr. Pitt had received the sacrament, he desired that the settlement of his affairs and papers might be left to his brother and the bishop of Lincoln. Adverting to his family he said,—“I wish a thousand or fifteen hundred a year to be given to my nieces, *if* the public should think my long services deserve it; but I do not presume to think that I have earned it.” He signified a great concern about lady Hester and Mr. Stanhope; but his anxiety on their account seemed to be abated by the recollection that they had a *father* \*. He attempted to give some written directions respecting the disposal of his papers; but, finding himself unable to write legibly, he resigned the pen to doctor Tomline, who wrote what he dictated. He afterwards read what was written, and signed the different sheets in the presence of Sir Walter Farquhar, and several of his servants, who had remained in the room a part of the time, in which he was engaged in religious duties.

Mr. Pitt was much exhausted by these exertions. About two o'clock on the Wednesday afternoon he suffered greatly for some time, and seemed to labour for breath. He then fell into a kind

\* Earl Stanhope;



of stupor; but remained sensible almost to the last moment of life. About a quarter past four on Thursday morning the 23d of January, the anniversary of that day on which, five and twenty years before, he had become a member of the British senate, he expired without a struggle and without pain.

Thus died William Pitt, in the 47th year of his age; a man who had more influenced the conduct of his country, the fate of Europe, and of the world, than any other human being, however illustrious, or however eminent. His contemporaries were strongly divided in opinion as to his ministerial merits; and perhaps posterity will not thoroughly be able to decide the question. It has been thought an acceptable offer to the reader to enter thus largely into the narrative of the latter hours of so illustrious a person, who, whatever may be the sentiments entertained of the value of his exertions, was doubtless an individual of more splendid talents and solid acquirements, than it is usually the lot of the historian to record. As a parliamentary orator, his powers were various; and each variety of them was equally excellent. In statement he was perspicuous, in declamation animated. If he had to explain a financial account, he was clear and accurate. If he wanted to rouse indignation for the wrongs of the country, he was rapid, glowing, vehement, and impassioned; and whether his discourse was argumentative or declamatory, it always displayed a happy choice of expression, and a fluency of language, which could not fail to delight his hearers.

So singularly select, felicitous, and appropriate was his diction, that it has often been remarked, a word of his speech could scarcely be changed without prejudice to its harmony, vigour, or effect. Mr. Pitt was the second son of the great earl of Chatham. His patrimony was not large, for it originally amounted to 10,000l. only, and he had a small accession of property by a legacy of 3,000l. from the duke of Rutland. Previously to his entrance into public life, his expences had never exceeded his income; but he found the salary annexed to his appointments inadequate to the expenditure, which he suffered to attach itself to them.

On the 27th Mr. Henry Lascelles brought forward a motion, in the house of commons, for an address to his majesty to direct that the remains of the late minister should be interred in the collegiate church of Westminster, and that a monument, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman, should be erected to his memory at the public expence. It was seconded by the marquis of Titchfield, and supported by Mr. Hawkins Browne, sir Robert Buxton, lord Temple, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Rose, lord Castle-reagh, Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Wilberforce; and opposed by lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, the marquis of Douglas, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Pytches, Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox. The arguments in favour of the proposal were deduced from the transcendent merit and disinterested conduct of the late premier, the purity of his views, his attention

attention to the finances, their flourishing condition under his superintendence, and the consequent prosperity of the public funds. It was stated by the advocates for the question that, during the period of his administration, the national resources, the seamen, and the shipping had been doubled; that he deserved public eulogium for his judgment, activity, and firmness during the progress of the French revolution; for his indefatigable attention to public business, and for the general vigour and sagacity of his measures while he was in office. It was opposed chiefly on the ground, that it was not usual to grant such honours, but in cases where splendid national success had crowned the exertions of pre-eminent abilities; and that therefore there was no analogy between the claims to so high a distinction of his illustrious father, and those of the present subject; for the earl of Chatham's career had been as fortunate and successful as his talents were solid and brilliant; whereas Mr. Pitt's projects and plans, however well intentioned, had been uniformly unfortunate. The acknowledgment of his character as "an excellent statesman" was also combated by all, who were adverse to the proposition; and seemed a principal obstacle to its conciliating approval. Mr. Windham, who followed lord Douglas in opposing the motion, expressed himself at some length on the occasion. He observed that he was bound to discharge a painful duty; for the question should not be considered as a matter of feeling; but whether the honours proposed to be granted were customary, or whether they were

strictly merited. Adverting to the employment of abilities in the public service, an important victory, said he, is a thing that admits of no dispute. The general who routs an enemy's army, or the admiral who destroys his fleet, leaves no doubt as to the service he has performed; and is therefore, by the unanimous opinion of every body, considered as an object of high reward; but how can it be expected that there will be unanimity of opinion, when the question is concerning the merits of a long political life? If transcendent talents, long and important services, great experience, and application of mind to the interests of the country, should claim as high honours as were given to generals or admirals, all those qualities were eminently conspicuous in the late Mr. Burke, and yet he had no public funeral; nay the application for them met with the hostility of the gentlemen on the other side of the house, for fear they should be thought to approve of all the sentiments of that great man. Was it meant to confine the public gratitude merely to persons, who should happen to die while they were in office? In general the presumption of merit was in favour of him, who had served his country as a private person; official situations being those which men may covet from other motives than those of patriotism. "If I were to divide," continued Mr. Windham, "the whole of the political life of the distinguished person now spoken of into two distinct periods, one the period before the breaking out of the French revolution, and the other the period subsequent to that event; and I were called upon to declare

declare that either separately or both conjointly were of a sort to call for the honours now proposed, or to justify the character ascribed in the resolution of "an excellent statesman," I must say—no. With the fullest acknowledgement of the talents and virtues of the eminent man in question, I do not think, from whatever cause it has proceeded, that his life has been beneficial to his country. For the last period of his administration, the greatest in which a statesman was ever called to act, I cannot say that he acted his part greatly. The French revolution was a storm, in which vessels the best formed, and conducted with the greatest skill might easily have foundered; but in my opinion the vessel was not conducted with the greatest skill; and that it is, in all human probability, to the fault of the pilot that we are to ascribe our present fearful situation. In regard to the prosperity of the public funds, and the riches of the country, which honourable gentlemen talk of, we must ask how long are we to be sure of them. The change of the state of the country and of Europe during Mr. Pitt's administration has been most fatal,—in the last part of his life disastrous beyond measure; and therefore, I fear, it never can be recorded by posterity as having advanced the real interests and character of the kingdom."

Mr. Fox declared that if he suffered party feelings to influence his conduct, they would induce him to support the motion; because, in every point of view, it was his interest to conciliate the friends of the late right honourable gentleman; and particularly lord Temple

and other of his near relations, with whom he was likely to be, for the remainder of his life, inseparably connected. The vote therefore that he was about to give was extorted by a regard for propriety. He admitted the great qualities of the late chancellor of the exchequer. He thought he had materially served the nation by the establishment of the sinking fund; and that he deserved great praise for his disinterestedness and moderation, which were incontrovertible. If the marks of respect called for were such as did not compromise a public duty, Mr. Fox protested he would eagerly comply with the demand. If it had been proposed to supply the deficiencies of the late minister's fortune, he should have cheerfully acquiesced that it should be done in the most liberal manner; but it was a very different thing "to confer honours on Mr. Pitt as an excellent statesman." He conceived public honours to be of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity; and therefore ought not to be conferred lightly, but according to the most rigid principles of public duty. There could be no comparison between the cases of lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt; because the reward granted to the former was expressly for having reduced the power of France, and exalted that of England; but the very contrary was the present situation of the respective countries. He had always thought, and continued to be of opinion, that an unfortunate system of government had pervaded the whole of the present reign; and he firmly believed that to be the cause of all the disasters and disappointments, which the country

had experienced during the entire course of it. He therefore held the late minister more particularly culpable for having supported such a system with his splendid talents and eloquence, which enabled him to throw a veil over its hideous deformity.

Lord Castlereagh observed that the different circumstances, in which Mr. Pitt and lord Chatham were placed, must be taken into consideration. Mr. Pitt had to manage the government in times of peculiar peril, at an era unparalleled in the history of the world, without any precedent whatever to assist his judgment; and in that unprecedented predicament had conducted himself in such a way, as to merit the approbation, and obtain the confidence of parliament and of the country. It had been contended that similar honours had been denied to other men of eminent abilities, and particularly to Mr. Burke. Venerating the character of that exalted person, he could not conceive his services were to be brought into competition with those of Mr. Pitt. He could not admit that the unfortunate result of recent transactions on the continent at all lessened the claims of the deceased minister; he had done every thing that foresight and patriotism could demand, to ensure success; but his efforts had not met with correspondent energy in those, who were equally interested in the common cause. It was impossible to frame the motion in such language as to excite unanimous concurrence; but the house would act inconsistently with itself, if it declined to acknowledge the merit of Mr. Pitt, which it had so re-

peatedly expressed. It had been said that Mr. Pitt's system should be altogether abandoned; but the efficacy of that system had been experienced, its benefit to the country was universally felt and acknowledged. As to the failures of his late right honourable friend, he challenged gentlemen to mention any minister, who, if success were to be the criterion upon which public honours were to be voted, was by any means entitled to such honours as Mr. Pitt. He had saved the constitution, and his measures had been productive of the highest national prosperity. In the amount and efficiency of our military forces, wherever they had occasion to act, there were ample grounds to panegyricize the wisdom and vigour of his late right honourable friend; and under his auspices the navy had advanced by rapid progression, and obtained immortal glory. The noble lord avowed that he and his friends had no reason to complain of any part of the course taken by their opponents. No expression had escaped that was calculated to excite one unpleasant sensation; and he was happy to perceive that the discussion was not less honourable to the parties engaged in it, than it was creditable to him who was the subject of it.

Mr. Wilberforce alone seems to have assumed a fairer, a more rational, and a more moral criterion for a claim to posthumous honours, by deprecating the doctrine of success being a principal motive for conceding them, and without which they could not be granted. To establish success, or even a "certain portion of success," as

the only ground, on which public merit can be rewarded, is surely to confound all ideas of right and wrong, and to act upon a system adopted by wild unthinking democracies. It is evident that success in honourable effort leaves no doubt as to the irrefragability of the claim; and therefore is a subject for the simplest effort of reason only; but an enlightened assembly of legislators and politicians may surely weigh and appreciate the motives of exertion and patriotism, although fortune has frowned upon their consequences. Measures may be both wise, laudable, patriotic, and merit in the highest possible degree the thanks and gratitude of a state, by their own intrinsic virtue and excellence; and upon their intrinsic value in all those relations it is, that moral agents are called upon to determine—not surely upon their success. Had Cicero, for instance, failed in preserving Rome from the conspiracy of Catiline, as his foresight was proved, his vigour demonstrated, his patriotism pure, his views wide, provident and exalted, and his application to defeat the efforts of treason indefatigable, he would no less have merited the thanks and applause of every virtuous Roman, than as the triumphant consul returning from victory over the intestine enemies of the republic. Success may indeed be a motive for joy; but cannot justly enter into the measure of a debt of gratitude. To insist so exclusively upon the fortunate issue of honourable endeavours is to undervalue the tokens of national remuneration; and to place the proud distinctions of merit in some degree upon a level with the blind

and common attributes of chance. Success is usually produced by wisdom of design and activity of execution; and so far may be presumed, as it is the result, to be the sign of pre-eminent ability and virtue; but history abounds with examples, where the highest ability and most indisputable virtue have failed in compassing their objects, and yet in these cases to have withheld applause would have been not only unjust but absolutely irrational. Mr. Wilberforce therefore very properly reprobated the idea of success for the criterion of granting the object of the motion, as inconsistent with wisdom and propriety; “but,” said he, “if the character of Mr. Pitt were to be tried by that rule, where are we to look amongst the great men of ancient or modern times for any, who had stronger claims to the gratitude and respect of their country, than those which could be advanced in favour of that illustrious personage. I am aware that parliament acts entirely from consequences in voting addresses for naval or military achievements; but the reason of that mode of proceeding is obvious. The parliament cannot act as a military or naval court martial. It does not belong to them to enquire, or to plan, or to conduct. Upon such subjects they can only decide from results. But the case is quite different, with regard to great projects of domestic or foreign policy. Such projects the house is able to examine, and upon examination they may appear to have been contrived with the utmost wisdom, although productive of very unfortunate consequences, through the weakness or treachery of those employed

to carry them into execution." Mr. Wilberforce conceived Mr. Pitt's measures to prevent, and by which he had prevented, the dreadful plague of the French revolution from reaching England the main source of his distinction, the great pedestal of his fame. He pronounced a high eulogium on the manner in which the proposition had been discussed by gentlemen on the other side of the house, as a signal instance that the spirit of party could not operate on the breasts of Englishmen to extinguish those feelings and sentiments, which enable men fairly to judge of character, and justly to estimate merit. He felt the motion to be but a small tribute of deference to the great talents, exalted views, and personal purity of a man, who was the object of his admiration. When the house was divided, the numbers were for Mr. Lascelles motion 258, against it 89. The question was therefore carried by a majority of 169.

This motion having been disposed of, Mr. Cartwright moved that an address should be presented to his majesty to advance a sum not exceeding 40,000*l.* towards the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts, and to assure his majesty that the house would make good the same. This proposition was passed *nemine contradicente*. Mr. William Smith indeed observed that it implied that the salaries of offices were inadequate to their duties; an idea to which he was adverse. He thought also the right honourable gentleman's debts had better have been liquidated by a subscription amongst his private friends; and he said that, if their exertions had been insufficient, he would with

pleasure have contributed towards that object. This remark occasioned Mr. Rose to declare that he had himself recommended that mode of payment, and he believed that the money might have been raised; but it was imagined that justice to the memory of Mr. Pitt required a different course. He also related the following circumstance highly to the credit of that gentleman. When some political events had induced him to retire from office, a great sensation was felt in the city of London on account of his pecuniary embarrassments; and, at a meeting privately held for the purpose, some gentlemen had come to a resolution to raise the sum of 100,000*l.* for his relief. An honourable baronet, who was probably then in the house, communicated this resolution to him, Mr. Rose, as a proper person to propose it to his deceased friend, in the manner most likely to reconcile him to it. He did so; but the answer he received from Mr. Pitt was:—"no consideration on earth should ever induce me to accept it." This offer was made too at a time, when his right honourable friend was in circumstances peculiarly painful. Mr. Pitt, however, was determined to return to the practice of his original profession, and to endeavour, by the industrious application of his talents, to raise a fund to discharge the incumbrances that pressed upon him. A similar tender had been made in 1801, to which he also refused to accede. Mr. Pitt's delicacy in this respect must strike every impartial mind with admiration.

It is notwithstanding most singular that the city of London, which

which must be supposed to have derived great advantage under the auspices of the right honourable gentleman, from the extension of commerce, and the great attention which he had always paid to the trading interests of the country, should not have manifested the same unanimity in showing respect for his name; for in the court of common council, on the motion of Mr. deputy Birch to erect a monument to his memory in Guildhall, the question, after a long debate, was only carried by a majority of six voices, the numbers being 77 against 71.

The funeral of Mr. Pitt took place on the 22d of February, and was conducted with great national pomp. It was attended by the members of his late administration, and a numerous assemblage of members of both houses of parliament, with many officers of the army; but the naval characters who were present at the ceremony, were but few; and consisted of lord Hood, lord Garlies, sir John Colpoys, admiral Gambier, captain Hatley and two lieutenants.

Great stress was laid by Mr. Pitt's friends and admirers on his personal integrity, and the purity of his disposition in a pecuniary point of view, as a minister. That he disdained all peculation in office was, as Mr. William Smith justly observed, but small praise,—a praise which the departed premier would himself have indignantly rejected, and esteemed an insult. The indiscreet zeal of his partisans, in this respect, would have even impaired the dignity of his character, had it not been too firmly established to be shaken by their misguided efforts. It is not

easy to perceive to what point the panegyric in question tended. Mr. Pitt was in possession of almost the only sinecure, which it was decent for the chief servant of the crown to take; and as his majesty had graciously tendered this reward for his assiduity, he would have been extremely blameable, had he refused the royal bounty. If however it was meant to be inferred that Mr. Pitt was wholly disinterested, such a proposition must be denied to be founded in fact. Pecuniary emolument is nearly the last consideration, which actuates ambitious men; pre-eminence and power are the objects, that attract their regards, and stimulate their exertions. No person was ever more tenaciously attached to power than the right honourable gentleman; and nobody ever permitted the subordinate people in office to pour the stream of treasury influence and patronage on the people, for the support of his authority, more copiously than he did; particularly in contested elections.

It was positively asserted that had Mr. Pitt recovered, he would have found it impossible to continue the functions of government, without some change in the administration productive of that strength, in which it was so manifestly deficient. Be that as it may, his death dissolved the fabric. Without a leader, and without union; the members of the cabinet dispersed, and voluntarily abandoned all idea of remaining in office, like atoms flying off in confused and irregular courses, that had lost the principle of attraction. In this emergency lord Hawkesbury, certainly a man of solid and superior endowments, was offered the situ-

ation of premier, in the hope that he would be able to form a ministry which, under his guidance, might be peculiarly agreeable to the court. Whatever were the arguments made use of to induce him to comply with the request, he had the prudence and good sense to decline the flattering proposal, and forego the dangerous pre-eminence, conscious of the difficulties of carrying forward the measures of government against a powerful opposition, which Mr. Pitt's death might even increase in number and talent. He had besides been too much in the habit of perceiving, from recent experience, the evils of a weak cabinet; and he had not so

much confidence in himself, as to think that he could, like the eminent man whose memory he revered, prove a host in himself. His refusal, however it might disappoint the wishes that were entertained, certainly did not tend to diminish the good opinion, which was held of his abilities, nor the esteem with which it was supposed he was regarded, in the highest quarter; for, to reward or console him for the instance that he had given of self-denial, he was presented with the appointment of lord warden of the cinque-ports, vacant by the demise of the late chancellor of the exchequer.

## CHAP. II.

*Lord Grenville directed to attend at Buckingham House for the Purpose of forming a Ministry: Progress of the Negotiation for that Object: Difficulties relative to military Affairs: they are overcome, and the Ministry accepted: new Appointments. Dilemma respecting Lord Grenville's Office of Auditor of the Exchequer: Disapprobation excited on account of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench having a Seat in the Cabinet. Arduous Duties of the new Ministers. Copies of the Treaties with the late Confederates laid before Parliament. Lord Hawkesbury moves the Thanks of the Lords to Lord Collingwood and the Navy. Provision for the Family of Lord Nelson. The House of Commons votes Thanks to Lord Collingwood, the Earl of Northesk, Sir Richard Strachan, and the Officers, Seamen, and Marines, under their Orders; as well as Monuments to the Memory of Lord Nelson, and Captains Duff and Cooke. Sketch of the Debate in the Committee of Supply. Lord Castlereagh's Motion for an Address of the Commons to his Majesty to give Orders, that a Monument should be erected in Honour of the Marquis Cornwallis, which is carried: Summary of the Discussion. Debate in the House of Commons on the Question of Lord Grenville's Auditorship of the Exchequer: Substance of the Speeches of Mr. Fox, Mr. Rose, Mr. Charles Wynn, and the Attorney General. Contest in the upper House on Lord Ellenborough's Seat in the Cabinet: Abstract of the Arguments of the Earl of Bristol, and Lords Eldon, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury, against the proceeding; and of the Earls of Carlisle and Carnarvon, Viscount Sidmouth, and Lords Gren-*  
*wille.*



*ville, Erskine, Holland, and Saint John for it. Motion on the same Subject in the House of Commons: Opinions of Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Wilberforce, and Lord Castlereagh, hostile to the appointment: which is defended by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, and Earl Temple: Review of the Propriety of the Measure. Mr. Tierney's Bill for regulating the Expences of contested Elections rejected.*

IT is perfectly well known that, since the commencement of the present reign, the court has regarded with great jealousy, and suffered with extreme impatience, any attempt on the part of the country to interfere in the nomination of the servants of the crown. As lord Grenville had positively refused to sanction with his abilities and credit the system of exclusion, and to fall into the ranks of devoted influence; and as he had exhibited a determined opposition to the late ministry in the house of peers, he had already given great offence. The disgust occasioned by his own personal conduct he had increased by his junction with Mr. Fox and his adherents. It was therefore with reluctance that the court was compelled to adopt the only part, which remained for it to pursue, by applying for his lordship's assistance in the existing emergency; but as this step was unavoidable in the actual crisis of affairs, it was submitted to with an apparently good grace; probably not without the hope that an opportunity would speedily arrive of making other and more satisfactory arrangements. Accordingly when, by his majesty's command, signified through lord Dartmouth, lord Grenville attended on the 27th of January at Buckingham-house, his reception was most flattering. The sovereign is reported to have stated, that he wished to take his

lordship's opinion with respect to the construction of a ministry, adequate to the importance of the present period. Lord Grenville having expressed every suitable acknowledgement for this token of royal confidence, informed his majesty that he did not think himself authorised to take any proceeding, of so high consequence to the welfare and dignity of the throne, and the prosperity of the state, without consulting Mr. Fox on the subject; because, as he with deference submitted to the king, he felt assured that the circumstances of the times, and the critical predicament of the nation, required the union of as much talent and experience as it was possible to draw together; and the cordial and extensive co-operation of persons most eminent for connexions, as well as for weight with the country, in his majesty's service. As this line of conduct had been foreseen, it met with the most gracious acquiescence.

The great abilities, the experienced firmness, the high connexions, and the large fortune of lord Grenville precluded all idea of attempting to detach him from the course which his judgment had adopted. The disappointment of the nation also had been so unequivocally expressed, when Mr. Pitt's lamentable flexibility induced him to sacrifice his sentiments, and a large portion of his fame, in consenting

senting to take upon himself the government of the country, without those able individuals, whom he not only wished to have for his colleagues, but whose support he considered absolutely necessary to enable him to fulfil his functions with usefulness, that it was now deemed prudent to comply with the avowed wishes of the people. These wishes had been confirmed by the failures of the continental policy in the preceding year, and the disgrace brought on the late government by the impeachment of lord Melville; which last event gave it so rude a shock, that it never afterwards recovered the same degree of credit, to which it could formerly have pretended.

In pursuance of the acknowledged principle of establishing a ministry on a broad basis, lord Grenville and Mr. Fox invited and obtained the aid of lord Sidmouth and his friends. This accession might properly be esteemed fortunate, as that nobleman was still justly popular for his economical and patriotic demeanour, while in office. No attempt appears to have been made to procure the assistance of any of the late servants of the crown. The selection of some of the departed premier's adherents would have been desirable, because it would have demonstrated a wish to act up to the professions which had been made, and a desire to annihilate the distinctions of party; but it may be doubted if it would have much increased the strength of the cabinet; for possibly at that period no one or two, amongst Mr. Pitt's former coadjutors, had sufficient influence to ensure the co-operation of the rest.

As soon as the arrangements had assumed some shape and order, which was on the 30th of January, they were reported to his majesty; when lord Grenville took occasion to read a document relative to the future regulation of the army and the home defence. This paper created an obstacle, which suddenly threatened to make the whole negotiation nugatory; for in a second conference lord Grenville was desired to explain its full tendency. The explicit answer, which his lordship gave, as it was understood to have suggested the expediency of attaching a military council to the office of commander in chief, did not immediately prove satisfactory; for his majesty is supposed to have objected to any ministerial interference with the army, and wished, as heretofore, to preserve every direction of military affairs exclusively under the control of the crown. A constitutional difficulty arose in lord Grenville's mind on this point, and he withdrew; and, at ten o'clock on the night of the 31st, he received a message, that his majesty would take further time to consider of his lordship's proposition.

Early the next morning (Sunday) lord Hawkesbury was sent for to Buckingham-house, where he remained in conference with the sovereign till noon. His lordship probably suggested some modification for settling the difference on this head; for when his majesty saw lord Grenville on the following day, he is said to have intimated that he should be perfectly content with an assurance, that no change should be made in the economy

onomy of the army without his previous concurrence. It may be presumed also that the plan of fettering the commander in chief with a council was given up by the new ministerialists; because his lordship, with his majesty's approval, having communicated the matter in discussion to his colleagues, who were assembled at earl Spencer's house, again returned the same morning to the king, with an explanation of the *projet* respecting the army, drawn up with the consent of all present, and read it to his majesty, who immediately said,—“ My lord, I am satisfied. I accept the administration.”

The following list includes the distribution of office, which was made on this occasion.

Lord Grenville was constituted first lord of the treasury. Mr. Fox succeeded lord Mulgrave, as secretary of state for foreign affairs. The home department was assigned to earl Spencer, and that for the war and the colonies to Mr. Windham, *vice* lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. Earl Fitzwilliam succeeded earl Camden as president of the council; lord Sidmouth the earl of Westmoreland as lord privy seal; Mr. Erskine, now created baron Erskine, lord Eldon as lord chancellor; Mr. Grey lord Barham as first lord of the admiralty; the earl of Moira, the earl of Chatham in the ordnance; and lord Henry Petty was made chancellor of the exchequer. These, with lord Ellenborough, the lord chief justice of the king's bench, were members of the cabinet, which altogether consisted of eleven persons.

The duke of Bedford became viceroy of Ireland in the room of the earl of Hardwicke. Earl Saint

Vincent was appointed to the command of the channel fleet with very extensive powers; and lord Minto presided in the board of control for East India affairs, while lord Auckland was declared president of the board of trade.

The other departments of the government were thus filled. General Fitzpatrick was nominated secretary at war in lieu of Mr. William Dundas; Mr. Sheridan treasurer of the navy instead of Mr. Canning; the earls of Buckinghamshire and Carysfort were appointed postmasters-general, *vice* the duke of Montrose and lord Charles Spencer, the latter being made master of the mint; the earl of Derby became chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, *vice* lord Harrowby; the earl of Albemarle master of the buck-hounds; earl Temple and lord John Townshend were the paymasters of the forces, *vice* Mr. Rose and lord Charles Somers; and Messrs. Piggott and Romilly attorney and solicitor general, *vice* Mr. Perceval and sir Vicary Gibbs.

Mr. George Ponsonby was made chancellor for Ireland, in the room of lord Redefdale; sir John Newport chancellor of the exchequer, *vice* Mr. Foster; and Mr. Elliott principal secretary to the lord-lieutenant, in the place of Mr. Long. For the minor arrangements the reader is referred to the Gazettes, contained in another part of this volume.

The noblemen and gentlemen, thus selected for the ministry, undoubtedly presented an assemblage of high abilities, experience, and independence; and they were no less remarkable for personal qualities than for immense possessions; and consequently great weight

weight and authority in the nation. Their popularity therefore was great. Sanguine expectations were formed from a collection of individuals so eminently distinguished; and the public joy was openly demonstrated at the successful conclusion of this business.

Two circumstances however acted as drawbacks from the lustre of the cabinet, and were seized on with avidity by the former ministers and their friends for animadversion. Lord Grenville held the appointment of auditor of the exchequer, a post incompatible with that of first lord of the treasury. As the vivacity of his lordship's patriotism did not prompt him to forego the advantage of a lucrative and permanent office, for the precarious distinction of the head of the cabinet, it was necessary to hit upon some method of reconciling the inconsistency. A happy scheme was adopted with this intention, by appointing a trustee to fulfil the duties of auditor, accountable to the public for the proper conduct of the department, and to his lordship for its emoluments. This was indeed an inconsiderable difficulty compared with the other. The accession of lord Sidmouth to the projected ministry is supposed to have been purchased by the agreement, that one of his own peculiar friends, as well as himself, should have a voice in the cabinet. What objection lord Grenville and Mr. Fox had to the earl of Buckinghamshire has never transpired; but their choice is imagined to have fallen on lord Ellenborough; and the dignity of chancellor was accordingly offered to him, which his lordship, from prudential motives, re-

fused, but he accepted the seat in the cabinet. Now although lord Ellenborough was an upright and constitutional lawyer, a sincere friend to real liberty, and an honour to his profession, he was unfortunately lord chief justice of England; and it was considered indelicate and unadvisable, that the fountain of jurisprudence should mingle with the stream of active politics. The choice of this nobleman therefore was certainly not made in the happiest moment of reflection; and the propriety of it gave rise to long and ardent debates, devoid however of acrimony, in both houses of parliament.

With all their superior qualifications, and the advantage of popularity to aid their endeavours, the ministry had a formidable task to undertake. Whether they directed their views to domestic circumstances, or to foreign policy, difficulties lay in their way, that were likely to put their talents to the severest test. At home they were certain to be watched with a scrutinizing eye in their progress of achieving those reforms, which they had so constantly and so loudly for a long time proclaimed to be necessary. The catholic claims presented a subject of peculiar delicacy. The majority of the cabinet were fully committed upon the point; but as it was well known that invincible and conscientious scruples, relative to the affair, existed in the highest quarter, they hoped to be able to pacify the catholic body, and prevail with them to postpone their pretensions till an opportunity should arrive, when they might have some reason to expect success; but by their junction with lord Sidmouth,

whose

whose hostility to entertain the petitions of the catholics was avowed, they testified their despair of assisting those, whose cause they had before so warmly advocated. If the ministry adverted to the situation of the continent, the prospect was indeed dreary.—A wide scene of ruin presented itself to the eye; where the spirits of fallen states, and departed establishments, brooded in silence over their misfortunes. Whatever they attempted abroad required a new foundation. It was requisite that they should lay the ground-work, and even collect the materials for the structure, midst perils and obstacles of the most unpromising description. These were the cares that first opened on the new ministers, and which they were bound to meet; and if possible to change the wilderness into a scene of cultivated prosperity.

During the period that was employed in settling the government, both houses of the legislature had been occupied in transacting the ordinary routine of business. Lord Mulgrave in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, laid before parliament copies of the treaties entered into with Sweden and Russia; and of the act by which Austria acceded to them. As some of the conditions and stipulations contained in these documents were contingent, and had in fact never taken effect, it was held proper not to disclose them; but both the noble lords, on the part of their colleagues, invited discussion on the subject. Lord Castlereagh entered into a detail of the plans of the campaign and the conduct of the war, which, as they have already been given

in the preceding volume of this work, it is unnecessary to recapitulate here. Lord Castlereagh, in exculpation of the British ministry, threw the whole blame for the failure of the campaign on Austria, for not adhering to her engagements; as, he said, Russia had performed her part of the compact, both as to time and the number of the men to be brought into the field. In answer to a question from Mr. Fox, he stated, that the amount of the force on the continent, exclusive of British, Swedish, and the military powers of Germany, which his majesty's government had reason to expect would be actually in the field by the 1st of the preceding October, was only 5000 short of 500,000 men; that is to say, 180,000 Russians, 315,000 Austrians, besides 20,000 militia in the Tyrol; and this persuasion was made the more credible, as the Austrian ambassador at the court of London had delivered an official note, in the month of June, representing that the effective force of Austria absolutely ready for service was 200,000 men, and that it was expected in the course of the month to carry it up to 300,000. On the 4th of February lord Mulgrave presented a supplement to the papers, relative to the continental war, already on the tables of both houses. It consisted of dispatches from lord George Levison Gower and sir Arthur Paget, and some other documents. His lordship also addressed the peers to the same effect, as lord Castlereagh had already spoken in the commons on this point.

When lord Hawkesbury moved the vote of thanks to admiral Collingwood

lingwood and the navy, for their services at Trafalgar, he took an opportunity of pronouncing a splendid and just eulogium on the merits of lord Nelson, and bestowed great praise on sir Peter Parker, lord Hood, and earl St. Vincent, for distinguishing and bringing forward so illustrious an individual. He mentioned the great deserts of lord Nelson in a subordinate station; for before that gallant man had obtained any command of a fleet, he had been concerned in the capture of seven ships of the line, ten frigates, and a number of smaller armed vessels; he had been one hundred and twenty times in action with his majesty's enemies, and had lost one of his limbs and one of his eyes. Lord Hawkesbury paid every tribute of applause to lord Collingwood and the officers under him; in which he was joined by the duke of Clarence, lord Hood, and viscount Sidmouth.

When the same subject was brought forward in the commons, lord Castlereagh signified the intentions of his majesty to settle 2000*l.* per annum on lord Nelson's widow, and that it was in contemplation to vest 200,000*l.* in lands, to be attached to the earldom of Nelson, as a lasting proof of public gratitude. In a conversation with Mr. Fox, lord Castlereagh stated that, besides the vote of thanks to the earl of Northesk, the sovereign purposed to create him a knight of the bath. The thanks of both houses were accordingly voted to lord Collingwood, the earl of Northesk, and sir Richard Strachan, and the officers, seamen, and marines under their orders. It was also resolved by the commons to address his

majesty to give directions, that monuments should be erected to the memory of lord Nelson, captain George Duff, and captain John Cooke, who fell in the action off Trafalgar, in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

On the 25th of January Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of supply; and Mr. Huskisson having moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the following Monday, Mr. Grey objected to the motion until it were known, who was to have the management of the sums when granted. Lord Castlereagh hoped that, as the lord chief justice of the king's bench was chancellor of the exchequer, according to usage, until a new administration was formed, the house would consider itself warranted to proceed to the question; otherwise the public service must materially suffer, if the supplies were delayed in the preliminary stages; and he said gentlemen would have an opportunity of delivering their sentiments upon the matter subsequently, in the progress of the business through the house. Mr. Fox wished to have it understood that he was not disinclined to the vote, on account of the absence of the chancellor of the exchequer, nor because the office was vested for a time in the hands of the lord chief justice; but he thought, before the supplies were voted, there should be some person appointed, who should be subject to all the responsibility of the management of them, which security the house had a constitutional right to expect and demand. The resolution, after some further conversation, was however agreed to; and on  
Tuesday

Tuesday the 28th the following votes passed. That 120,000 men be employed for the sea service of the year 1806, including 29,000 royal marines. That a sum not exceeding 2,886,000*l.* be granted to his majesty for their wages during thirteen months, at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* per man per month. That a sum not exceeding 2,964,000*l.* be granted for victualling them, at the rate of 1*l.* 18*s.* per man per month. That a sum not exceeding 4,680,000*l.* be granted for the wear and tear of the ships, in which the said men were to serve at the rate of 3*l.* a man per month. That a sum not exceeding 389,000*l.* be granted for ordnance for sea service, on board the ships in which the said men should serve, at the rate of 5*s.* per man per month.— The army estimates were also disposed of. The resolutions were to support 134,473 effective men, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, for the service of the united kingdom, and on the continent, for three months from the 25th of December to the 24th of March, both days inclusive; to grant 1,193,105*l.* for the subsistence of this force; 505,037*l.* for the use of the troops in the plantations, including Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, Ceylon, and New South Wales; and 647,584*l.* for the subsistence, &c. of the militia of the united kingdom, and of the corps of miners in Devon and Cornwall. Sir John Wrottesley having asked whether the allowances to the volunteers were included in these estimates, he was informed that they were not, as the provision for that description of force was not so urgent; and the secretary at war observed, that

there was no doubt of measures being taken for the maintenance of it, in the course of the session.

The house of commons also voted an address to his majesty to direct that a monument to the memory of the marquis Cornwallis should be placed in St. Paul's cathedral. In advocating this motion, lord Castlereagh enumerated the merits of his lordship. He commended him as a soldier and as a politician, and particularly noticed his great services in India by giving the natives a fixed and certain property in the lands they cultivated, and by introducing a stable administration of justice, to which two causes lord Castlereagh in a great degree ascribed the present prosperity of Indostan. He next alluded to the claims on the part of the noble marquis in managing the union with Ireland, and concluding the peace of Amiens; and extolled his patriotic decision to quit his native country in declining health for the benefit of the state. Mr. Charles Grant and Mr. Francis bore honourable testimony to the claims of lord Cornwallis; and the latter gentleman considered his merits eminent and indisputable. Mr. Francis also expressed his obligations to the marquis for acting on his (Mr. Francis's) suggestions, with respect to giving the natives a security in their landed property. Mr. Wilberforce united in praise to the subject of the motion. Mr. O'Hara, however, while he admitted the noble lord's claim to honours for his conduct in India, could see no merit in arranging the articles of the peace of Amiens; and reprobated all idea of service in the measure of the union, which he regarded

regarded as mischievous and fatal to the interests of Ireland; and when he recollected the barefaced and shameful corruption that marked that business, he declared he must oppose the motion. Mr. Huddleston and Mr. Prinsep supported the pretensions of lord Cornwallis to public gratitude; and Mr. Fox expressed himself to the same effect, because it was a testimony to the general merit of the noble marquis; and therefore he gave his vote with satisfaction, notwithstanding what had been said by an honourable gentleman behind him on the subject of the union; for, in considering that act with all the circumstances attending it, he thought it to be one of the most disgraceful which ever happened. The motion was then carried.

The two first measures of opposition in parliament to the new ministry were on the topics of lord Grenville holding the appointment of auditor of the exchequer with that of first lord of the treasury, and of lord Ellenborough's seat in the cabinet; which have been classed together, in order to give a connected view of the arguments used on the occasions; and which, although distinct subjects, from their relation to one point, the recent establishment of the servants of the crown, properly come under one head.

Mr. Fox opened the business, by observing that doubts had been entertained by some persons, whether the office of auditor of the exchequer were compatible with that of a lord of the treasury, or if they could both be legally held by one person. He was not aware of the illegality. They had been

both held by one person on former occasions—by lord Halifax, the late Mr. Pelham, and others; but the better way would be to remove all uncertainty by an act of parliament; and therefore he should move for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose. If leave were granted, he should bring up the bill immediately. It might be read a first and second time, and be committed for the following day; when any member would have an opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon it. The speaker here interposed to state what he understood to be the recent practice of the house; which was that it was usual to give notice on any proposition being brought forward. That being done, the measure, if in the opinion of the house the public exigency required it, might go through all its stages in one day; so that no time would be lost, if the rule were adhered to.

Mr. Fox admitted the correctness of this statement; but as the practice was but modern, and it was no essential part of regular proceeding, he doubted whether the house ought to make so low a bow to it, as never to deviate from it, however urgent the case might be.—After some farther comments from the speaker, and judicious observations from Mr. Perceval, upon the danger of any measure being carried by surprise, the motion was deferred till next day. It is worthy of remark how differently the same men act in dissimilar circumstances of personal interest. It is not very probable that Mr. Fox would have commended this haste in an opponent.

When the right hon. secretary resumed the subject, he mentioned



tioned that it was the particular desire of lord Grenville to have the whole of the circumstances connected with the transaction laid before the public. An idea prevailed that the auditor of the exchequer was a check on the treasury board; but the fact was not so. No such check could exist in an officer appointed by the lords of the treasury; and he thought nobody would be of opinion that the noble lord should give up the place. Lord Halifax had given the post nominally to his brother, and lord Grenville might act on that precedent; but he would be better pleased that the matter should rest on legislative grounds. The right hon. gentleman having made his motion, Mr. Rose, while he professed that he should be very sorry to throw any impediments in the way of the appointment of lord Grenville to the situation of first lord of the treasury, because he highly approved of it on public grounds, contended that it was monstrous and incongruous that any servant of the state should be a check upon himself. The statute of William III. enacted that no money should be issued from the exchequer, by the order of a lord of the treasury, unless it were signed by the auditor. It had ever been the practice to separate the two offices; and this was the first attempt which he had ever witnessed to join them. Lord Halifax had given the place to his brother; and Mr. Pelham had certainly never held the two offices together. The bill therefore was not to remove any doubt on the point, for

no doubt existed; but to alter the usual course of the transactions with the exchequer.

Mr. Charles Wynn combated these arguments, and observed that the auditor of the exchequer was not meant to be a check on the lords of the treasury, but to see that the sums of money were appropriated to the services for which they were voted. He could see no more objection, in point of check, to the nomination of a deputy by the first lord of the treasury, than to that of the auditor himself. At all events, if there were any thing wrong in the two places being held by the same person, it was better that the measure should take place openly, and with the sanction of parliament\*. The constitution of the exchequer too had been altered since the time of the first establishment. The auditor formerly derived considerable emoluments from a per-centage on the issues, thereby giving him an interest in their amount. Now he was remunerated by a salary.— Upon the suggestion, however, of the attorney general, the house nominated a legal trustee to act for the noble lord; and by these means the difficulty was surmounted certainly in the best way. The bill was passed through both houses with expedition, and without further comment. Indeed the whole transaction appeared unexceptionable, as the place had been given to lord Grenville for former services; therefore it might have been thought hard that he should have been deprived of his reward, when again called

\* This, it must be owned, was a whimsical argument. If there were any thing wrong in the business, it had been better not to attempt to carry it into execution, and not to have made parliament connive at impropriety.

upon to act for the benefit of his country.

The appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet was an affair of greater moment, and much more questionable; and it was on this subject that the opposition hazarded their grand attack, and brought forward their strength of ratiocination and ability. Lord Bristol introduced the business to the notice of the peers on the 3d of March; and was assisted by lord Eldon, lord Boringdon, lord Mulgrave, and lord Hawkesbury.

These noble lords admitted that the measure was neither illegal nor unconstitutional; but they contended it was extremely inexpedient to make the first judge of the common law a participator in the political administration of the country; for though he might be considered as only the adviser of the ministers, yet as long as he was their associate and a party to their actions and feelings, it was as equally objectionable as if he were at once constituted lord president of the council. They said that the arrangement intermixed those elementary principles of power, which it was the object of a free constitution to keep separate and distinct; and that there was but one instance, since the revolution, of a common law judge having taken an habitual share in advising the crown on the ordinary course of state affairs. All statesmen, all legislators, all eminent writers, with Montesquieu at their head, had insisted that, when the judicial power was preserved free from any union with the executive, no form of government could be very oppressive. Mr. justice Blackstone had ob-

served that this principle of separation was one main preservative of public liberty; and were it otherwise, the life, liberty, and property of the subject, would be in the hands of arbitrary judges, whose decisions would then be regulated by their own opinions, and not by any fundamental rules of law; for which reason, when the court of star-chamber was abolished, effectual care was taken to remove all judicial power out of the hands of the privy council. It was not enough that the administration of justice should be perfectly free and uninfluenced by government, it was not enough that it should be pure, but it should also be beyond the reach of suspicion; and so exercised as to give satisfaction to all his majesty's subjects. Several cases were put to show the impropriety of the appointment. If for instance any individual should incur the displeasure of government and be prosecuted by the attorney general, he would be sent to take his trial in that very court, where one of the ministers, whom he had accused and irritated, would preside; and preside not merely to direct and influence the jury, but eventually in his own person to award the amount of the fine, and the duration of his imprisonment. It might also occur that the house of commons should direct the attorney general to institute a prosecution against one of the ministers, who would be sent as a state criminal to the bar of that court, where his colleague sat to judge him; nay a chief justice himself, as one of the King's ministers and confidential advisers, might be impeached at the bar of the

the house of lords for high crimes and misdemeanors. He would then be placed in the singular predicament of attending half his time as a judge on the bench to administer justice; and the other half at their lordship's bar to defend himself against the accusation. It might be said that a judge could absent himself from all discussions in the cabinet on questions; that were likely to come before his own court; or abstain from presiding in the latter; yet from this very circumstance; no better proof of the inexpediency of the appointment could be produced, than that he must forsake his duties as a minister or a judge, in order to perform those of a man; but when he became a cabinet minister, it was his duty to attend the council, and it was a duty still stronger for him to attend his court; for the subjects of the land had a right to the assistance of the lord chief justice in his legal quality. It might be said that lord chief justice Eyre had tried those persons, upon whose case he had previously been informed and had been consulted; but that was not to be considered as amongst the most honourable parts of the life of lord chief justice Eyre. It might happen that the cabinet should order the trial of persons for libels on foreign princes. If a judge thus committed with the council were to pass a severe sentence upon them, the public might justly complain that they were sacrificed to the political motive of standing well with a foreign prince; and if a lenient sentence were pronounced, might not the prince ascribe the event to the government with which the judge was politically

connected? In case of a riot too arising from dearness of provisions, and to suppress which ministers might probably have recourse to strong measures, was it adviseable that one of the cabinet ministers should be sitting as judge to try the persons, who should be found offending against the laws applicable to such contraventions? There was no analogy between the situations of the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice; because the former, from the very nature of his office, was a political character, and in fact a responsible political agent to the crown, when he fixed the great seal to treaties, and other public instruments. When a noble lord who lately sat on the woolstack (lord Eldon) was desirous of taking a share in the government, he had not acted a very prudent part, in exchanging the permanent post of chief justice of the common pleas for the precarious one of chancellor, if he had not felt that the former was incompatible with being a member of the cabinet; and the predecessor of that noble lord (the earl of Roslyn), who had done precisely the same thing, when he was anxious to be admitted into the cabinet, expressly declared that he was fully convinced of the imprudent and disadvantageous exchange, which that wish had necessitated; but aware as he was of the imprudence and the risk, he never sought to avoid it by a proposition so monstrous as that of being admitted into the cabinet in his capacity of lord chief justice. He well knew that it would have been an ungracious act to have taken advantage of that permanent affluence, attached to the office of

a judge, for far different purposes, in order to reconcile his ambition with his interest. He felt that he was about to make a sacrifice to that ambition; and he felt truly that the sacrifice ought to be his private emolument, and not the constitution of his country. Besides the chancellor was removable at pleasure, because he was a cabinet minister; but neither the judges, nor the master of the rolls were, because it was not intended that they should ever become responsible advisers of the crown.

It was also remarked that there existed no necessity for the appointment; for great as were lord Ellenborough's knowledge and experience in matters of law, yet the government did not appear particularly to require his legal advice, when they had a lord chancellor, whose practice in the common law had been so extensive, and when they would be assisted by the advice of the attorney and the solicitor general. As to the field of politics, it could not be supposed that lord Ellenborough had more acquaintance with it, than any other man in the kingdom of a cultivated mind. His professional habits must have prevented him from giving as much attention to this point as other persons; and in fact, while he had been in parliament, whether as attorney general in the lower house, or as a peer in the upper, he had taken very little share in questions of general politics.

All the noble lords, who spoke on this side of the question, wished to have it clearly understood that they argued on the abstract merits of the subject at issue, the admission of a lord chief justice into

the cabinet; and not with any personal application to lord Ellenborough, for whose integrity, constitutional information, and legal learning they all professed the highest esteem and regard. Several of them declared that they should gladly see his lordship in the cabinet as a peer; but that they felt themselves bound to oppose the principle of uniting functions, which they deemed incongruous with the liberty of the subject, and the welfare of the nation.

To combat this doctrine, the earls of Carlisle and Carnarvon, viscount Sidmouth, and the lords Holland, Saint John, Grenville and Erskine stood forward. They remarked that an artful attempt had been made to confound things, which were in their nature separate. It had been endeavoured to make an active ostensible minister of the king, and a person merely summoned to a committee of the privy council, one and the same character, though nothing could be more different; and next to distinguish a member of such committee, from a member of the privy council, though they were really one and the same. The object was to make a mere confidential adviser of the crown equally responsible with an efficient and ostensible minister in a particular department; but the country and parliament would look to the active and responsible person to account for any improper measure. It was unnecessary to refer to Montesquieu for the law or constitution of England, nor was his authority to be acknowledged on these heads. Neither were the *wild* but beautiful theories of Blackstone to be relied on; for if they

they were, it would be necessary to abrogate the jurisdiction of the house of lords, which certainly acted in a judicial as well as legislative capacity. It was not true that there was only one solitary precedent for such an appointment; for the precedents were numerous. Although those that were subsequent to the revolution were more applicable; yet there was one which bore on the point at a very early period. The statute of Edward III. enacted the establishment of a council to assist and advise his majesty, and which expressly nominated the chief justice of the court of king's bench to be one of them. A more remarkable precedent occurred in the reign of Charles II. in the year 1672, when sir William Temple advised the king to establish a privy council, for the purpose of conciliating the people, and rendering the government more popular. A privy council was consequently assembled, consisting of fifteen individuals, who held offices, and of ten members of the house of lords and five of the other house, who were not in office. The king addressed them at their first meeting, stating why certain persons holding offices were summoned; and, after mentioning the reasons of calling for the attendance of several of them, he said the chief justice of the king's bench was selected to give advice to his majesty on matters relating to law. By the act which went to make a provision for the protestant succession, a regency was established, in the event of the successor to the throne being out of the kingdom, at the period of the queen's demise; and the chief justice of the king's bench was expressly constituted a mem-

ber of the regency, in which he was not merely to be an adviser, but to act in an executive quality. A similar act was passed after the birth of the late prince of Wales; and also after the birth of the present prince of Wales; in both of which the chief justice of the king's bench was included. In the year 1780 lord Loughborough, then chief justice of the common pleas, attended the privy council at the examination of the persons concerned in the riots at that time. A new feeling of alarm, which had slept for an hundred years, now began to shew itself. Lord Mansfield had sat in the cabinet with the late earl of Chatham; but the present age could not endure what that great man did not object to. Besides lord Hardwicke actually sat in the cabinet, while he was lord chief justice; and it would be recollected that the lord justice general of Scotland was a member of the late ministry. The tendency of the objections started was to fetter the legitimate prerogatives of the crown; and limit the sphere of public duty. Every chief justice was of course a member of the privy council, by which all state trials were ordered. And there did not seem to be any good reason why he should not form one of the committee of that council, if the king chose to require his services. Adverting to the personal merits of lord Ellenborough, lord Grenville passed a high eulogium on his worth and integrity; and avowed that he had given a written advice to his majesty to call him to the cabinet; and whatever responsibility attached itself to the measure, he said, rested solely with him.

To the instances of lord Hardwicke and the earl of Mansfield having had seats in the committee of the privy council, it was answered that the first had only held the office of lord chief justice for a short time afterwards under peculiar circumstances, and that the latter kept his attendance at such committee a profound secret; but when his connexion with the ministry of the day was discovered, he immediately became unpopular as a judge; and that the noble lord in question was so convinced of the impropriety of his conduct, that he dwelt upon it subsequently with regret; and, in the latter part of his life, could never be prevailed upon to adopt a similar course.

These were the principal circumstances that arose in this celebrated debate, which was protracted till a late hour, when the original motion for a resolution of the house on the inexpediency of this appointment was negatived without a division.

This question was argued with no less research, vivacity, and perseverance in the house of commons; and the several persons, who delivered their sentiments on the occasion, were equally desirous of shewing that they considered the business in the abstract, and by no means relatively to the pretensions of lord Ellenborough, for whom they all manifested the greatest respect. Mr. Spencer Stanhope took the lead, by moving resolutions similar to those which were rejected by the peers. The chief arguments adduced were, that by the act passed at the beginning of the reign of his present majesty, the grand principle recorded was

that the judges should be independent, and therefore any thing which tended to render the situation of a judge subservient was a breach of the spirit of that law; consequently if one of them had a seat in the cabinet, the highest honour that a subject could attain, and which was only held during pleasure, the law was infringed. It was allowed that no person was a fitter member of a regency than the lord chief justice of the king's bench, yet such an employment of his abilities necessarily implied a temporary suspension of his functions as a judge; for the same reason that it was wrong that the monarch in person should administer justice in Westminster Hall, because being prosecutor he ought not also to be judge. Whence was it that puisne judges never set their foot in the court of Saint James's, but because they should not only be unbiassed, but unsuspected of being influenced by the hope of preferment? An address to his majesty had passed the house of commons in the year 1782, praying him to recall sir Elijah Impey, a judge in the supreme court of judicature in Bengal, because he had accepted an office granted by and tenable at the pleasure of the East India company. It was observed that this appointment started new objects of ambition, to which a judge's views might be directed; and that though he would still pursue the business more intimately connected with his profession, instead of building his fame on the strict and honourable administration of justice, he might aspire at other reputation. By admitting a judge into the cabinet, he was under the control of the executive government,

ment, and instantly became a party politician. Suppose a lord chief justice gave the most reprehensible advice to his majesty, he could not be removed from his seat on the judicial bench, and there could not be a greater curse to a free country than an irremovable cabinet minister. It was notorious that, according to public sentiment, the measure was dangerous, unconstitutional, and alarming. The case of Despard was alluded to, and it was asked how the judge, who as a cabinet minister had sat in the court, could have tried an action for false imprisonment, if one had been brought; as might have been the case, had not the very circumstances attending the event furnished the proof, which otherwise would have been defective? How would a judge, being a member of the cabinet, and having the same opinion as the late attorney general (Mr. Perceval) had respecting the incapacity of any person, who had once enrolled himself as a volunteer, to withdraw from his stipulated service, have satisfactorily tried that question, since a jury decided otherwise? It was the great glory of the administration of justice in this country that for many years, notwithstanding all the violence of contending factions, it had never incurred the suspicion of being tainted by political connexion or party bias; but would this be the case in future? There was not perhaps any thing which so much endeared our political system to the people of this country, as the firm persuasion of the perfect impartiality with which justice, especially our criminal justice, was dispensed. There was too an ob-

jection of minor importance. By making a judge a politician, no small share of that time and attention would be engrossed, which the important duties of his legal functions might well claim entire and undiminished. One circumstance of great weight ought also to be mentioned. It was known that the judges could only be removed from their offices by the address of the two houses of parliament. Thus the two houses were by law constituted the standing superintendents of the conduct of the judges of the land; but how could this duty be fairly and impartially performed, after a judge, by becoming a member of the cabinet, should be identified with the government, and consequently be closely connected with the ruling persons in both houses, and be in hostility to the party in opposition? His conduct, whatever it might be, if continually arraigned by one set of men, would be defended by the other. It might become one common mode and form of opposition to attack the professional character of a judge. The impropriety of lord Mansfield trying lord George Gordon for being the instigator of a mob, which burnt down his own house, was adduced as a proof of the habits of mind occasioned by his being accustomed to consider himself a political character, who was to take his side and go with his party; and how entirely these habits of mind had destroyed that instinctive delicacy, which prompted a judge to shrink from every thing, which might give a prejudiced turn to his conduct on the bench.

It was advanced in favour of the appointment, that while so

high a sense of moral rectitude, and so scrupulous a regard for justice, prevailed in the country, no principal judge would ever be found to act improperly; and that all judges were summoned to examine prisoners with the privy council and cabinet ministers conjointly; and therefore the resolutions did not go far enough, according to the principle laid down; for upon that ground, the noble lord should be struck out of the list of the privy council, and be deprived of his peerage. Every man, who knew any thing about the administration of justice, must be aware, that in trials for libel, little was left to the judge, and that the whole was decided by the jury. As to what had been said of the effect of the chief justice prejudging a case, from the discussion it might undergo in the cabinet, that would apply equally to all magistrates, who first examined a case by the testimony of witnesses, and afterwards sat at sessions. It was stated that a privy counsellor was responsible as a privy counsellor, and a peer as a peer; but none were responsible as cabinet ministers. Mr. justice Blackstone's meaning was to be collected from his illustrations; and he illustrated his meaning by two cases. In the one he said that it was inconsistent to have the judicial power connected with the legislative or the executive; and this inconsistency was done away by the act of Charles II. which abolished the star chamber. What were the powers of the star chamber? They were in all cases to decide without a jury, and without leaving the right of appeal to any other tribunal. The other case was that despotism was more tolerable in

France than in the east, because the judicial power was committed to the parliaments. Therefore by his own meaning, as it must be collected from his illustrations, the sentiments, expressed in the passage adverted to, did not apply in the present case. The judges were often called to the house of peers to give their advice to the lords, and therefore might often give opinions, which might afterwards lead to trials before themselves in their own courts. Earl Temple affirmed that lord Mansfield had been present at every council from 1760 to 1763; when he left off attending, not from any sense of its incompatibility with his judicial situation, but, according to a letter of his own, which was in existence, because he would not sit with the duke of Bedford, of whose measures he did not approve.

Mr. Fox, who particularly stood forward to defend the propriety of the nomination, denied that the cabinet as such was recognized by the law or the constitution; and affirmed that the law knew nothing of its members but as privy counsellors, in which capacity only they were accountable. He contended that it would be inexpedient to insist upon the attachment of responsibility to the whole of such a body for every ministerial act; and that such a doctrine would endanger, if not wholly defeat, the object of responsibility. For any act done in his office he was directly answerable to parliament and to the country; and perhaps it was much better for any purpose of practical responsibility that it should fall on one man than on a body; for this obvious reason, that the difficulty of producing conviction and punishment



wisdom is less in one case than in the other. He did not mean to say that it was not desirable to bring forward the charges of guilt against all the advisers, as well as the agent, if it were practicable to prove them. The immediate actor could always be got at in a way that was very plain, direct, and easy, compared with that by which his advisers might be reached. In all addresses on ministerial delinquency, parliament applied to know by whom the measures had been advised; a proof that cabinet counsellors were not legally known. In the articles of impeachment, exhibited against the earl of Oxford, for the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Prior, who were principally concerned in that transaction, being then out of the country and beyond the reach of parliament, it was eagerly endeavoured to implicate lord Oxford. In prosecution of this object, a variety of shifts and expedients were resorted to, which would have been totally unnecessary, had the cabinet council been considered as a responsible body. And yet the leaders of those, who promoted the impeachment, were very able men; amongst others sir Robert Walpole. It could never be a secret that lord Mansfield sat in the cabinet council; for he was a member of it in different administrations, and sat with lord Chatham, the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Grenville. These great men not only knew that lord Mansfield was in the cabinet but approved of it. If they did not, they would not have suffered it. As to the evil likely to arise to the constitution from the

introduction of the chief justice into the cabinet, Mr. Fox thought that the bill of the present reign, which established the independence of the judges, and which bore on the face of it the mark of having been suggested by lord Mansfield, was a sufficient answer to that apprehension. With respect to the specific objections made to a chief justice of the court of king's bench sitting in the cabinet, the first related to libels, in reply to this he had only to say, that he never heard of such a thing as the propriety of prosecuting for a libel being at all agitated in a cabinet council; and he was sure that no such discussion ought to take place there. The case of treason had been alluded to. Upon questions of this kind, lord Ellenborough was as liable to attend the cabinet as a privy counsellor, as he would be in the capacity objected to; but he was no more likely to be seriously prepossessed by such previous examination than the magistrates were, who committed prisoners; or than the judges of the king's bench were, when they granted an information upon the affidavit of one of the parties, without sending the charge to the grand juries. He did not, nevertheless, hesitate to say, that when a subject of high treason was discussed in the cabinet, which might afterwards be brought to trial in the court of king's bench, the absence of lord Ellenborough would be most becoming. But how many were the topics connected with peace and war, with our commerce and finances, upon which a lord chief justice might be consulted without exciting the slightest jealousy or suspicion? Yet

it was said he must not be applied to on these points, lest he should be made a politician; still, by the oath of a privy counsellor, the chief justice bound himself to give advice on these subjects. The noble lord was made a privy counsellor, but yet he was not to be consulted on questions of law, for fear his mind as a judge should be prepossessed; nor was he to be conferred with on matters of state, lest he should be made a politician. Thus it was proposed to destroy his functions as a privy counsellor altogether. Mr. Fox then quoted the acts of regency, adopted on the proposition of lord chief justice Holt in the reign of queen Anne, and that also in the early part of his present majesty's reign. By both these acts a council to assist the regent was appointed, and it was expressly provided that the lord chief justice of the king's bench should be one of it. It must then be evident that, in such a situation, the chief justice would have to perform the same duties as lord Ellenborough would be called upon to execute. It appeared in fact that the existing cabinet was formed on the model laid down for the councils of regency, mentioned in those celebrated acts; the last of which was supported by the suffrage of Blackstone, who had been mentioned as adverse to its principle. In conclusion, Mr. Fox took notice of the statement of the mover, that the motion was not brought forward as an attack of opposition. He assured the honourable mover and his supporters, that he was not in the least willing to court or provoke opposition to his measures. On the contrary, he should be glad of the support of any set of gentle-

men; but if he were to have an opposition, he wished they might always chuse such questions as that before the house.

Lord Castlereagh replied to Mr. Fox, and his speech in solid argument, and various illustration, must certainly be considered as the best of those, that were pronounced in opposition to the measure. His lordship began by pointing out the distinction between the council of regency and that of the cabinet; for the first was a fixed body and not removable at the pleasure of the regent. It was also to be observed that, except during the short period of about five weeks, which elapsed between the death of queen Anne and the arrival of George the first in England, none of the three acts of regency, which had been mentioned, had been carried into effect. No experience could therefore be had of their practical inconvenience in this or any other instance. Their authority as precedents too was generally condemned in the debates on the regency of 1788; and by no individual with more ability or effect, than by the noble lord at the head of his majesty's councils, who then filled the chair of that house. There was a class of precedents entitled to more attention, namely the commissions proceeding immediately from the crown, which vested the executive government, during the absence of the king, in certain persons, under the title of *custodes regni*, removable at pleasure, and bearing in that particular a closer resemblance to the members of the cabinet. Of these there were upwards of twenty, which occurred between the revolution and 1755; but in none does the name of the chief

chief justice appear. The arguments drawn by analogy from the circumstance of chief justices being habitually members of the house of peers, and of the privy council, would prove nothing in support of their being called to the cabinet upon ordinary occasions. The house of lords, being a judicial body and a court of appeal, necessarily required the presence of legal characters to conduct a jurisdiction, which in practice devolved entirely on them. So introduced into the legislature, they were certainly not precluded by any law from entering into all the heat of politics; but, it was equally evident that by engaging in it, they would forfeit much of the respect and reverence, which is now paid them. The same reasoning applied to the privy council. The greater part of the business which came before it was of a judicial nature; and it was therefore necessary that persons of legal knowledge and experience should habitually attend on that body. It was true that every member of the privy council was bound to give his advice on all subjects, if his majesty should think fit to require it; but it did not follow that it was an expedient or constitutional exercise of the prerogative to summon a person executing judicial functions, who was made a privy counsellor, in order that he might be resorted to for occasional assistance on subjects of a special nature, to all the secret deliberations on state affairs; and it could not therefore be contended that the circumstance of a chief justice being a member of the privy council proved the fitness or propriety of his having a seat in the cabinet. His lordship

then alluded to the case of chief justice Eyre, who he observed was not called into the cabinet to mix himself in politics and connect himself with the ministers of the day, or to exercise any political discretion whatever; but merely as a magistrate. If he had been consulted in the cabinet on the political expediency of bringing those persons to trial, who were proceeded against, if he had engaged in all the councils of the government of that particular period, and stored his mind with all the secret intelligence, which he would probably have found there, it would be monstrous to contend that, with a mind so prepared, he could with propriety have been sent to sit in judgment on the parties accused. Lord Castlereagh replied to the assertion, that a judge has little to do in cases of libel, by shewing how much he might influence a jury by his charge; and that to him belonged the important determination of the quantum of punishment, in circumstances where it was discretionary. When the great seal was put in commission, none of the commissioners had sat in the cabinet, although it seemed reasonable that persons, who sealed acts of state, should take a part in the previous deliberations; and therefore there was a strong presumption that it was ever held that common law judges, until they had virtually or actually retired, were not proper persons to be connected with politics. His lordship treated the doctrine of a cabinet as such being unknown to the constitution as a frivolous distinction, and insisted that the cabinet was as much recognised by parliament, as if it had been an object of express legislative provision;

vision; and he asserted the members of it, whatever might be their offices, or if they were without office, to be collectively and individually responsible for the measures of government. His lordship, in descending on the inexpediency and impolicy of the measure, as well as on its being unnecessary, touched on many of the arguments and positions brought forward by others, but in a more able and illustrative manner. He observed that an ordinary seat at the privy council could never be compared with a vote in the cabinet as a point of ambition, and could never in the same degree influence a man in his actions. Upon the whole he deprecated the proceeding as unwise and unjustifiable; and as, in all the difficulties and dangers, to which the establishments of the country had been exposed, the purity of the administration of justice had never been questioned, he thought, whatever political sins, either past or present, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) might have to answer for to his country, that for none would he find it less disposed to forgive him, than for thus lending himself to a measure, the tendency of which was to break down the principles, upon which the pure exercise of public justice, and consequently the liberties of the British nation pre-eminently depended.

Besides lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Wilberforce delivered their sentiments in favour of the resolutions. They were opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, lord Henry Petty and earl Temple. On a division there appeared for the motion 64, and

against it 222: leaving a majority of 158.

It is remarkable that the first occurrence, which called forth the abilities of Mr. Fox as a minister, should be to defend a procedure which seemed to trench on those political elements, that he had professed and acted on, since he originally, quitted the ministerial phalanx, under the auspices of lord North in the early part of his life. Opinions may certainly vary on the question of making the first criminal judge a minister of state; but it is obvious that the opposition on this occasion were in possession of the most powerful and rational, as well as the most popular arguments; and even allowing the ground assumed by the secretary of state, that the cabinet was irresponsible as a body for any act done by them, the inconvenience of the appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet appeared to be increased by the sovereign having an adviser, not openly and directly answerable, for the counsel that he might offer, in an official capacity. In every instance, where a vote in that council is held by a person without office, the difficulty of obtaining information of the author of pernicious advice is augmented. It is evident, indeed, that the counsel of such a member must be carried into execution by another, who may if he pleases decline the task, by resigning his appointment, yet if he do act in consequence of it, he adopts it, and becomes liable to all the dangers of the proceeding; but this very circumstance multiplies the evils, which are derived from entertaining such an adviser, who thus shifts the responsibility

responsibility of his designs upon another. As Mr. Wilberforce very properly remarked, all the extraordinary talent and skill in debate, displayed on the subject, did not alter the plain and common sense of the question in this particular case; for it seems not to admit of a doubt, that to embark the high and impartial character of a lord chief justice in the frail and uncertain estimation enjoyed by any ministry, diminishes the dignity of the judicial function, and may even render its exalted attributes suspicious. Such a measure is therefore, generally speaking, dangerous; although it is most likely that the noble person, whose acceptance of the duty in question was then subject to the opinion of parliament, would have given no counsel that the purest integrity did not warrant, and the most lofty patriotism approve.

On the 10th of March Mr. Tierney called the attention of the commons to the large disbursements of candidates standing contested elections. His object was to bring in a bill to explain and render more effectual the act of William III. for preventing charge and expense in elections of members to serve in parliament, and to exempt candidates from the enormous demands, to which they were liable, under the head of travelling allowances to voters not resident at the places of election; as well as the bribery and corruption, carried on under pretence of these charges. He did not object to the claim of a voter coming from a distance to give his suffrage, at considerable loss of time, to some reasonable recompense; but the usage of making

such concessions had thrown open a wide door to extravagant demands. Many determinations had taken place from time to time upon complaints of this nature, but they were all on distinct grounds, and no general remedy was provided. The chief difficulties had occurred in Westminster-hall, and the courts of common pleas and king's bench had differed materially on the subject. He mentioned the case of a person, who had obtained thirty pounds for proceeding from Durham, where he resided, to give his vote at Taunton, which sum was not reckoned unreasonable by the decision of the court of king's bench; but it was unjust that the representative should pay for the conveyance of electors to exercise their own privileges. With respect to county elections, it certainly was hard that a freeholder should pass from one extremity of the county to the other, at his own cost; but it was still harder that the candidate should bear all the burthen, instead of the place to be represented. No man of moderate fortune, however respectable his talents and character might be, could pretend to enter into a contest with a wealthy rival. It was in vain that the law required as a qualification for representing a county 600l. a year landed estate, or 300l. per annum for a borough; since no such man could offer himself as a member of parliament. A plan had been formerly proposed for preventing the confusion and expense of county elections, by enabling the electors to give their votes within their respective districts. He had no dislike to such an arrangement; but at all events the candidate ought to be relieved from

from the present grievance, whether the cost were defrayed by a county rate or any other eligible mode. The act of king William made no distinction between residents and non-residents. Three fourths of the kingdom therefore were out of its beneficial influence. He protested against the idea of disfranchising any person. It had once occurred to him to suggest the propriety of giving to a non-resident the power of voting at the place where he actually lived; but, on reflection, he found that such a man sustained no hardship by not voting. What carried the person from Taunton, for instance, to Durham?—interest. Had he been desirous of retaining his privilege, he should have staid at the former place. It might be objected that such a construction would disfranchise the 40s. freeholders. This was not his wish, yet if the original institution of 40s. freeholders were considered, the increase of the qualification to a much higher sum would not militate against its spirit. Money had depreciated in the ratio of fifteen to one, since the reign of Henry VII. and consequently a qualification of 30l. at the present time, was no more than adequate to one of 40s. at that period; and there could be no hardship that a person, possessed of a freehold of 30l. per annum, should go once in seven years to give his suffrage at a county election. He wished this broad principle to be established, that every man should vote at his own expense; by which all the evils attending popular elections would cease, and men of moderate fortune, amongst whom were many of liberal education, sound understanding, and independent prin-

ciples, would be admitted into the house of commons. As to particular cases, they should be left to committees, who might determine what was a bribe and what was not. The only sufferers by the bill, which he submitted to the house, would be men of neither family, talents, nor virtue, and those who depended solely on the weight, which their riches might give them.

Mr. Fox professed himself to be friendly to the motion. With regard to the 40s. freeholders, it should be recollected that their non-residence was no act of their own. Was it to be wished that every man who had enlisted for a soldier, should be deprived of his elective franchise? much less was it to be desired in the case of a militia-man. It would indeed be very hard that when a person was compelled to go to a distance, by being ballotted for that service, that he should be deprived of his claim. In Mr. Fox's opinion the depreciation of money had meliorated the aristocratic principle of limiting the right of voting to those, who possessed landed property of a certain value. Had a bill been offered to the house to deprive freeholders under 30l. a year of their vote, he should have opposed it. It was admitted that such a plan would be unjustifiable. If therefore it were not fit directly to deprive small landholders of their rights, to do so indirectly was equally improper. If the lower value of money at present were argued on one side, it would apply to the other; and the qualifications of members ought to be raised. He agreed with Mr. Tierney however, that 600l. a year, or even less, was a sufficient qualification.

qualification for a county member. When the plan of taking the poll at different parts of the several counties was first suggested, he felt repugnant to it; but the reasoning of the right honourable gentleman rendered him willing to acquiesce in it. As to questions of bribery, they should be left to committees. He decidedly thought it right that the matter should be settled, but it must be without virtually or directly disfranchising any considerable number of voters. If this object could be accomplished, the measure should have his hearty support.

On the second reading of this bill, which occurred on the 21st of March, it was opposed by Mr. Fuller, Mr. Morris, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Lee, and several other gentlemen; because they conceived it not only to be unnecessary, but that it would also disqualify a great number of voters merely on account of their poverty. They argued that every Englishman should be taught to feel a common interest with his country and with its legislature, and that the best mode of encouraging that feeling was by making every, even the poorest, freeholder an arbiter of the conduct of his representative; that it could not be maintained that the removal of a person from the place, where he had a right to vote, was optional; for the tradesman and manufacturer must go to the spot, where his industry would meet employment; and that, by the diffusion of that industry and its productive capacity, the possessors of small freeholds were often as independent in their principles as men of greater estates. They objected to taking the poll at different places in

counties, because it would destroy the publicity with which the freeholder gave his suffrage in the face of the county and of the candidate. Mr. Francis also spoke against the bill, because he thought it expedient at all times to extend the right of voting as far as property could be found to support it.

The attorney general (sir Arthur Pigott) wished the bill to go into a committee, on account of the uncertainty of the present law. The practice of the committees had been in general contrary to the decision of the court of common pleas, and sometimes inconsistent with itself. Some committees had held that providing carriages to electors, who resided at a distance, or supplying them with the means of obtaining such carriages, was not a violation of the act of William III. Others had found that supporting electors while absent from home, and enabling them to return thither, were also not to be esteemed transactions falling under the law; but the difficulty had always been to ascertain the motives of giving these facilities to constituents; and if, under pretence of such allowances, any corruption had been exercised. Where no such excess was found, the facts already stated were not thought grounds, on which the election should be declared void. In the courts of law an action for these expenses could not be maintained, while, in parliamentary judicature, they were supposed to be perfectly legal. Some committees indeed thought otherwise, and had deemed the proceedings in question to come within the act of William. For these reasons he hoped the bill might go into a committee, although he  
did

did not approve of it in its present state.

Mr. Tierney recapitulated many of his former arguments, and said he could not perceive how his proposition would disqualify any body, by declaring that no man should be permitted to exercise his elective privileges at the expense of the candidate. Would any gentleman contend that the franchise of the constituent included a right of being carried free of charge to and from the place of election? Even if gentlemen considered the bill likely to disfranchise any man, they should always recollect that it was in the power of the candidates themselves to do by an agreement, what it was then intended to effect by a law.

This bill in the committee received some amendments, and it was consequently re-committed; but when Mr. Tierney, on the 9th of June, moved the third reading of it, much opposition ensued. Mr. Langham, Mr. Baker, and Mr. Morris argued against it,

as professing to be declaratory, when in reality it was not so; for as the bill allowed the payment of charges for loss of time, it left an opening for many abuses, because though a candidate paid no money directly, he might agree with any inn-keeper for the cost of carriages for conveyance; and that being done, the other claims for meat and drink must necessarily follow. Mr. Tierney said that he seemed to have gotten rid of a number of strong objections to his proposed measure in the committee, only to excite greater hostility to it, in the subsequent stages; and Mr. Fox observed that it was strange enough that the right honourable gentleman's friends and foes equally complained of his bill; for his own part, if no better arguments were adduced to show, that so great a number of electors should be disfranchised, he felt it his duty to retain all his former repugnance to it. The bill was then thrown out by a majority of twenty-five.

### CHAP. III.

*Bill for extending the Permission to enlist Foreign Corps. Mr. Whitbread's Motion respecting the Volunteers: Remarks of General Tarlton. Conversations concerning the new Military Plans. Mr. Calcraft moves the Ordnance Estimates. Impatience of the Opposition to have the projected Military Measures produced: Desultory Debates on the Subject; in which General Tarlton, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Mr. Perceval, and Doctor Laurence take a Part. Mr. Windham lays his Plan for improving the Army before the House of Commons: Speeches of Mr. Windham, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Fox, Mr. Yorke, Sir James Pulteney, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, and Earl Temple. Mr. Yorke moves for the Production of the Opinions of the General Officers to the Commander in Chief on the Question of limited Service: Sentiments of Lord de Blaquiere and Mr. Yorke: The Motion negatived. Mr. Perceval moves for a Return of the Expenses of the Volunteers. Opposition*



so the second Reading of the Bill to repeal the Additional Force Act by Sir James Pulteney: Mr. Canning makes a brilliant display of Oratory on this Occasion; and moves an Amendment: Speeches of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Hawthorne: The Amendment lost. Utterior Discussion of the Bill: Statements of Mr. Babington and Lord Castlereagh relative to Recruiting. Further Debate on the Clause for returning the Penalties, incurred by the Parishes, under the Additional Force Act: The Clause for their Remission voted. A fourth Contest on the Merits of the Bill; which is at length carried through the House. Consideration of the same Act in the House of Lords: Sentiments of the Earls of Westmoreland, Hardwicke and Rosslyn, and Lords Eldon and Holland. The Bill read a third Time and passed.

AS it had been for a long time evident, that the war minister (Mr. Windham) was hostile to the principle of that part of the defensive force, constituted by the volunteers, it was supposed that he had some plan to bring forward relative to the economy of every species of military armament. The conjecture was not without foundation; for the new arrangements, submitted to parliament by the right honourable gentleman, drew the attention of the legislature in no small degree. On the 27th of February, the secretary at war having made a motion to that effect, leave was given to bring in a bill for extending the liberty of inlisting foreign soldiers in this country, and for indemnifying those, who had been concerned in the inlistment of 3000 Hanoverians, in addition to the 10,000 already allowed by the existing act of parliament. The first allusion, however, to any future military plans in the house of commons was occasioned by the motion of Mr. Whitbread for a return of the effective force of the volunteers. The honourable member said that there was no subject upon which it was necessary the house and the country should be more

informed than on the present. The house had been buoyed up with magnificent descriptions of the state of the voluntary defence; and it was important, previously to the sums being voted for the clothing and expenses of the volunteers, that it should be known what number of men were likely to take the field in case of emergency. If he were not sure that his honourable friends near him would give the subject all the consideration it required, he should himself think it his duty to found a motion on the papers, for which he should that evening move; but he left the matter with perfect confidence in their hands. One remark, nevertheless, he wished to make; that the number of effective men should be ascertained, and the rank of the officers arranged. He was himself in the command of a volunteer corps; and he was solicitous that neither he, nor any other officer in a similar situation, should be circumstanced in that particular in the way he now was. He concluded by making a motion for the purpose detailed in his speech.

General Tarlton, in seconding the motion, observed that the public at large were anxious to know whether any new measures of de-

fence were to be adopted. It was now near March, a period when a campaign usually commenced; and this circumstance, added to the dangers with which the country was threatened, pointed out the necessity of expediting as much as possible any military system that might be in contemplation. This motion was agreed to.

On the 6th of March Mr. Long said that, seeing the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) in his place, he wished to ask him at what time he intended to propose his plan respecting the arrangements of the military establishment. He did not put this question with a view to embarrass the government, but because it was of importance that any change intended to be made should be known as soon as possible, as the longer intelligence was withheld, the greater difficulty would arise to the service; since those exertions, which might be made by gentlemen at this season in different parts of the kingdom, could not be undertaken with the desirable effect, if they were to understand that material changes were to take place. The right honourable gentleman was proceeding, when he was called to order by doctor Laurence for entering into a detail, which would lead to a disorderly debate. The speaker having agreed in the propriety of this remark, after a few words from Mr. Long, Mr. Windham professed his readiness to give every information on the subject. He said the business in question had been taken up by his majesty's ministers, immediately upon their coming into office; and it had ever since engaged their serious attention. Whenever it was brought to ma-

turity, their duty and their wishes would lead them to lay the matter before the house.

Mr. Canning remarked that there was a notice on the journals of the house, given by a right honourable gentleman now absent (Mr. Sheridan), for a motion to repeal the additional defence act. He wished to know if a repeal of that bill formed a part of the military arrangement, because, if it did, it would be desirable that the house should have a complete return of the number of men raised by its agency, in order to judge fairly of its effects; and if not, that the efforts of gentlemen throughout the country for carrying the bill into full action might not be damped by the apprehension of its intended repeal.—Mr. Windham declared he had no objection to answer the question in substance, that in the proposed plan of defence that bill certainly would not have a place.

When on the 14th Mr. Windham took an opportunity of expressing, that he hoped in the next week to be able to fix a day for bringing forward the subject, about which so much impatience had been shown, Mr. Canning wished to know whether the repeal of the additional force bill was amongst the measures to be proposed; but no answer was given to the question.

Mr. Calcraft, in moving the ordnance estimates for the year, stated a hope that considerable deductions might in future be made from the expenses of that department; and Mr. Wellesley Pole said, on examining these papers, he found the estimates precisely the same as those made by the late board of ordnance, with an adop-

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tion of their retréncments and increased preparations for Ireland; Mr. Calcraft admitted the fact. And said this conduct had been pursued, because in many instances the works were so forward that, unless nearly the whole cost of completing them were thrown away, it was expedient to finish them; and because it would be unbecoming in a new master general of the ordnance to reject plans, deemed necessary by the late board, without consideration. The following resolutions were then agreed to. 1. That 2,957,181l. 6s. 6d. be granted to his majesty for the charge of the office of ordnance for land service in Great Britain for 1806. 2. That 130,000l. be granted for the office of ordnance for the sea service. 3. That 129,230l. 15s. 5d. be granted to replace the sum advanced by the exchequer in Ireland, for ordnance services in that country to the 31st of December 1805, beyond the grants by parliament for the said service for that year. 4. That 677,976l. 18s. 5d. be granted for the charge of the office in Ireland for 1806.

Mr. Alexander on the 17th brought up the report of the committee of supply respecting these estimates; and general Tarlton, before they were read a second time, desired to learn the fate of what had been so much ridiculed under the title of the parish bill, which had nevertheless become highly productive, having furnished in the course of the last week 353 men. He likewise wished to be informed of the intentions of government with regard to the volunteers, who had been treated with such derision by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Wind-

ham), when in opposition. The honourable general suggested the propriety of creating some central arsenal, that at Wedenbeck not being sufficiently so; otherwise, in case of invasion, the British troops might be compelled to act at an unfavourable juncture in order to protect Woolwich.

These observations gave rise to a desultory debate. Lord Castle-reagh rose for the purpose of ascertaining if it were the intention of government to follow up the system of defence on the eastern coast, which had been so strongly recommended by his late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt); and which it was his design to complete? This, although it did not form a part of the estimates framed by the late ministry, was in their contemplation; and would have been proposed, if they had continued in power. There was no object more essential; because in presenting a strong defence on that point, should the enemy approach the coast, seeing the impracticability of making any impression in that quarter, their efforts would be thrown upon the flanks; in consequence of which, they would be forced to traverse a considerable distance by sea, in endeavouring to direct their course to the northward or southward; and therefore the probability would be great of their falling in with some of our heavy ships, and being totally defeated. He hoped that no false and delusive economy would induce ministers to be sparing in the expenditure necessary for our absolute safety. A plan of defence was also requisite for Ireland. He agreed with the hon. general (Tarlton), as to the propriety of dividing the depôts of ordnance

ordnance and arms; and, in pursuance of this plan, a central depôt had been formed with an adequate supply of small arms and ammunition, and a train of artillery fully manned and horsed; but the artillery of the navy was of so ponderous a nature, that it was not very easy to move it; and on that account the principal depôt remained at Woolwich, with minor arsenals at Portsmouth and Plymouth. Lord Castlereagh then said the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had on a former evening expressed himself ambiguously on the additional force act. He had admitted that it would form no part of the plan he was about to submit to the house; but he had not explicitly mentioned, if it were intended to repeal it; because if that were the case, the moment it was annulled without some legislative provision, the parishes, which had not raised their quotas, would be indemnified from the penalties they had incurred. This would be unfair to those counties that had fulfilled their duty; but if it were purposed to make the parishes pay the penalties, it was fit that they should be set on their guard. Such a proceeding would have a further good effect of doing the bill that justice in the execution, to which it was entitled. On this and other questions, especially that of the volunteers, it was indispensable that an immediate determination should take place; and that the men of talents, of whom the present ministry was said to be formed, should exercise those talents for the service of the public. The patient might else expire, before they had made up their minds what prescriptions ought to be adopted.

Mr. Windham reminded the noble lord that the difficulties, on which he and his friends required so much information, had been created by themselves; for their system had been so bad, that it had naturally produced such dilemmas. The whole of what had been urged came to this; the gentlemen felt that they had brought the country into embarrassments, and they expressed their surprise that ministers could be so long in extricating it from them. As to the other topics, on which the noble lord had touched, he had only to say that the attention of persons in office would be directed to them. He had no answer to make to the questions proposed, not because he was unprepared to give them, but because he did not conceive the noble lord had any right to put them.

Mr. Canning thought an answer might have been given, relative to the course intended to be pursued with the penalties. Information was particularly to be expected from a ministry combining, as they themselves represented, all the talents, wisdom, and experience of the country. It was singular, as the right hon. gentleman had advanced so many theories for the public service, before he was in office, that, during the long time he had been in place, he had not been able to make up his own mind, or persuade his colleagues to agree, on his plan. He by no means wished any premature disclosure of the right honourable gentleman's measures. Mr. Canning again alluded to the additional force bill, and to the anxiety of the volunteers. He hoped the present ministry as a whole would be entitled to his confidence,

fidence, although he did not approve of particular appointments. As a war minister he did not approve of the right honourable gentleman, and he was sure that nine-tenths of the people were of his opinion. If he were to judge of him for the future by the past, he saw no reason to be satisfied with him in his present situation, for he had declared that he had sat in a cabinet nine years, though he disliked all its measures during that period except the war.

Mr. Windham denied his having made such an assertion. He had said that the war was the basis, on which he had gone into power; and was what he had regarded as the bond of union with the ministry, to which he had belonged.

Mr. Whitbread commented on the inconsistency of deprecating premature disclosure, and at the same time putting questions calculated to extort it. The noble lord seemed solicitous that the same penalties and perplexities, which one part of the country had laboured under, owing to the additional force bill, should be extended to the whole; but it must be recollected that the omission of raising men in some parishes was not owing to neglect but impossibility; and that by much the greater number were unable to pay the fines they had incurred. Rigorously to enforce them would be a curious expedient to avoid vexation in one part and jealousy in another. As to the alarms said to be felt by the volunteers, he had the honour to be one of them, and he felt no alarm; and he was confident none existed. The efficacy of the additional force bill, which had been so much vaunted, had been occasioned, as he was credibly informed, by crimps

and recruiting officers turning over to the parish levies men, who were under the proper size for the line and the militia. Six weeks only had elapsed since his right honourable friend had come into office; and surely that was no unreasonable period to require for investigating the whole military system of the country, and form another, free from the defects and blunders with which it was fraught under his predecessors.

Mr. Fox said it would be ridiculous to insinuate that the present government comprised all the talents of the country, when the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) and his friends were in opposition. He could only declare, that such a statement had never been made by ministers, although it was possible some of their friends, thinking too highly of their merits, had done so. The right honourable gentleman had remarked that he had no confidence in his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham) as a war minister, and that nine-tenths of the people were of his sentiments. This opinion he took for granted, and then went on, not to propose to turn him out, but to require that the nature of a plan should be explained, before it was fully matured; yet his own intemperate haste did not justify a want of confidence. A right honourable gentleman lately deceased (Mr. Pitt) had wished to get the friends of the present administration to act with him. That right honourable gentleman, to whom he was convinced no delay, or any other bad quality, would willingly be imputed by the gentlemen opposite, had been four weeks after his return to power before he brought forward

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his additional force act. In that instance, the time which intervened was nearly as long as the present. There too a single act was only to be introduced. Here there was a new system to be founded. No objection to delay, however, was shewn in that case. Mr. Fox declared he could not figure to himself any reason for propounding a question like that made, but a wish to embarrass. He would put it to the candour of the right honourable gentleman, if before the plan of military arrangement now in agitation had been ready to be laid before the house, the repeal of the additional force bill had been at once moved, while nothing was ready to bring forward in its stead, whether he would not have complained? Would he not have exclaimed — “This is your haste to show your triumph over the right honourable gentleman who is now no more! Could you not have waited with patience, and allowed the act to take its course, till you were prepared with a substitute?” If his right honourable friend now said that the bill formed no part of his plan, did it not follow that this was not the time to investigate or discuss its merits?

Mr. Canning admitted that if such had been the conduct of ministers, he should not only have arraigned it, as an eagerness to obtain a triumph over the deceased statesman, but have contrasted it with the behaviour of his right honourable friend now departed, who did not repeal the act of his predecessors, until he had a measure ready in lieu of it. For some years the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had said that a proper system of defence might be formed by any

other than a set of drivellers; but he now found the matter not so easy a task.

Mr. Perceval said, that the different topics, which had been discussed, would come more properly before the house on a future occasion. At the same time he thought it hardly correct to state that the question alluded to could only be put for the purpose of embarrassment; since it was not pressed, as to the plans of the right honourable secretary, but limited to the point of the penalties; and this he thought a reasonable and proper question. While it was doubtful whether the penalties would be levied or not, a double disadvantage ensued.

Dr. Laurence thought the object of some gentlemen to be to induce his right honourable friend to make declarations, which might thereafter be advanced as a curb on his conduct. He could not but approve of his right honourable friend's caution. The resolutions were then read and agreed to.

Pursuantly to a notice, which he had given, on the 3d of April Mr. Windham at length laid his plan before the house of commons, in a very long and a very able speech. After an exordium, in which he commented on the impatience manifested upon the subject, he proceeded to state that the first object was to improve the condition of the regular army; for, though many measures connected with military institutions had been brought forward, their intent had always been, not to create an army, but something like an army, notwithstanding every one of them had professed to have in view the benefit of that branch of the public service; and,

in the course of these operations, people had so filled their minds with levies en masse, armed citizens, armed nations, and other ideas of that sort, that the very first conception and notion of an army appeared to be altogether forgotten. Danger and discipline were the very sap and juices, out of which all that has life and action must spring; from them only must arise the real military character, as from the military character must proceed all that can really constitute an army. There must be some extraordinary property in armies, that could enable them to produce effects so far beyond the natural power of their numbers. They decided the fate of nations. The armies were the champions on each side, to which the countries severally committed their quarrel; and when the champions fell, the cause was lost. The parties were heard only by their counsel. In how many instances had it ever happened that, when an army was defeated, the contest had been renewed by an insurrection of the people? The levy en masse therefore, as far as experience had hitherto gone, was not to be trusted. The people in a mass were like metal in the ore; and as all the iron that ever came from a Swedish mine would never hew a block or divide a plank, till it was fashioned into the shape of a hatchet or a saw; so the strength of the people could never effect much in war, until it was partially extracted, and moulded into that instrument called an army. America in modern times afforded the only instance to contradict this opinion; but America was enabled to resist by its distance and by its vastness. The arm of this country

could act but feebly when stretched across the Atlantic. What were the two events which had decided the fate of the present world? The battles of Marengo and Austerlitz. Why were millions of people, composing states and kingdoms, to receive their doom from the issue of those combats? Yet such was the fact. When general Mack was defeated, every one rested his hopes on the Russians; for none ever dreamt that, if they likewise were worsted, Buonaparté would be impeded in his march to Vienna. Yet it was not because the intervening countries were not inhabited by a brave and warlike people, attached to their prince and institutions; but of the five and twenty millions of loyal subjects, by whom the emperor boasted to be surrounded, not five and twenty perhaps were found to offer the smallest resistance, when once the armies were overthrown. Even the Swiss, who were a nation of warriors, and devotedly fond of their native soil, and whose country was a succession of passes, had been able to do little against the powers and skill of a regular army. Mr. Windham professed to rely much on the patriotism and energy of his countrymen, in case of need; but he would not, when he could avoid it, make them a part of his calculation. It was a very important, some people might think it a very alarming, fact, that of the regular forces, as it was the fashion now to call them, to whom the defence of the country must be intrusted, not less than one hundred thousand were composed of troops, who, by the nature of their service, could never have seen a battle. Assuming then the neces-

fity of regular armies, which nobody denied, but which every body seemed inclined to forget, how were they to be obtained? The nature of things yielded but two modes; force or choice. In most of the countries of Europe the nature of the government admitted a recurrence to the former; but luckily the reverse was the case in England. It was not that the abstract right was wanting, but it was so fettered and restrained by legal forms, as to be reduced almost to nothing. A German prince might select those, on whom service would be no very great hardship; but the laws of this country once set in movement knew no distinctions. Yet after all, our measures of force, in respect to military affairs, were coercive only in name. We forced nothing but the money; for the service was at last performed by the man, who voluntarily engaged to execute it. The real character of our measures of compulsory service was a tax, and of the worst sort, a tax by lot. Let a tax be equally imposed, and there was nothing that a state like this could not sustain. One might venture to say, that if without notice a tax of a million were laid on in one night, the country might never discover that any new burthen was laid upon it; but let this million be divided into shares of 50l. or 20l. each, and levied on those selected with that intention, it was easy to see the calamity which would be produced. It had been said that the crisis demanded sacrifices, and that half measures would not do. Was it meant to enforce a conscription, subjecting the person on whom the lot fell to serve actually as a soldier for

a certain time? This hardship could not be endured. We had had experience of this measure in the act for the army of reserve, which was certainly productive of much immediate advantage; but that experience did not encourage repetition. Then if our army was to be composed of men, who enter voluntarily, in what possible way could we hope to fill it, but by bringing the service to a state, in which it may be an object of their choice? Without this improvement our means of recruiting must, for a part of it, be mere deception and artifice. We complained that none but the ignorant and thoughtless would enter—nay not even these—for the chief resources of late years had been obtained by recruiting boys. Why did this happen, unless the trade of a soldier was incapable of such improvement, as to bring it into competition with a sufficient portion of the trades and callings in lower life? Nothing could show the false state, into which the system of recruiting had fallen, more than the practice, now so long familiar, of engaging men to serve by bounties. We forgot this was not always so. Within a few years of the breaking out of the American war, the idea of bounty, properly speaking, was unknown. A guinea to provide the recruit with necessaries, and a crown to drink the king's health, were the whole that was given on enlistment. The service itself was the bounty. All that was offered by government, to induce any man to enter on a military life was a confession, that the pay and condition of a soldier were not what it used to be, a real equivalent in the estimation of the man entering for the value of his service.



vice. We were paying a man to accept what we offered. We were buying the buyer. Never therefore could the system of supplying the army be considered as resting on its proper basis, till the necessity of bounty should have ceased, and the trade and calling of a soldier should be brought to the state of other trades and callings, for entering into which no man received a premium; but where, on the contrary, a premium was often paid for permission to enter. Such a change could not be brought about at once. The first means of effecting this amelioration were by increasing the pay; but this could not be done without making the army licentious, and in proportion as an army is licentious, severity of discipline must ensue, which would defeat the object. This plan must therefore be given up. The nature, however, of the service was such that men might be rewarded by distinctions; although the principle of these had lately been but too much invaded. Under the head of encouragements might be enumerated provisions for old age, and provisions for persons disabled, which might be increased *ad libitum*. The chief inducement to enter nevertheless would be, to place the troops on the same footing with those of every other nation on the continent. He therefore proposed, that, instead of general service for life, men should be enlisted for a term of years. He did not think this alteration would impair discipline, and it was certainly likely to prevent desertion. It was a mode that had the best effects on the continent; and he would cite the corps raised for limited service, part of the 100,000

men before adverted to, who were acknowledged to be in as good a state of discipline as any other regular troops. Another method of inciting men to enlist was to relax the severity of discipline. He did not mean that corporal punishment should be entirely abolished, since he knew that to do so was impossible. Thus a better description of men would resort to the army. With respect to the foreign and colonial services, expedients might be adopted to prevent their receiving any injury. If any inconvenience were likely to be felt from a scheme of this kind, it would be in the East Indies; but the East India Company recruited for a limited time, and they found their account in such a practice. Therefore, if in so distant a colony, enlistment for a term of years obtained with advantage, it would certainly be attended with better effects at home. If it were asked what he would do with the men, whose term was near expiring, he would answer, put them into the second battalions. In order to remedy any difficulties resulting from these regulations in the colonies, the commanders of regiments should have the power of extending the services of the men, whose time had elapsed, for six months, and no longer, in case of actual war. An objection had been started against the expense of perpetually renewing the bounties; but it was obvious that the necessity for high bounties would diminish by these means. It might be said that if you enlist for eight years, you would at the end of every period lose an eighth part of the army; but many would die, many would have received encouragement to persevere, and many would be so

habituated to a military life as not to wish to retire; so that in fact the numbers lost would be inconsiderable. Should there be, contrary to his apprehension, a competition amongst regiments for the men, whose terms were expiring, if the soldier wished to change his corps, he did not see why this desire might not be gratified on certain terms. As to the period of service, he proposed the term of seven years; and, at the end of that time, that the soldier should be entitled to his discharge, with the same advantages as are possessed by those who have served in the militia. If he should be inclined to enlist again for seven years, he ought to have a small increase of pay, sufficient for a distinction, and yet not so large as to injure discipline. He thought sixpence a week might be enough. For the third period of enlistment, the soldier should be remunerated with a farther addition of pay. For the cavalry, as more time was requisite for training them, the terms might be ten, six, and five years. At the end of the second period, he was inclined to grant a pension for life. Undoubtedly the soldier might then be still fit for service, but he was of opinion, that, by going home and affording a beneficial example in the enjoyment of the merited bounty of the state, he might be more useful, than if he continued to serve. For the third period he should propose an increase of pay of one shilling a week; and at the end of that time, it was proper the soldier should retire with the full allowance of Chelsea. By judicious regulations, this allowance might be augmented to a shilling a day. There were many other

provisions, which he should not enter into at that time, but he would mention one amongst these, which might contribute to raise the consequence of the officers; and, through them, that of the men. He wished to make a greater allowance to officers' widows, for at present it was lamentably scanty. He was persuaded these alterations would highly improve the quality of the army and render the service attractive. In answer to a question from Mr. Yorke, who enquired what was to be done with the present troops, he said in strict justice and equity nothing could be done. The men had entered the service on certain conditions; and had no reason to complain, if they were fulfilled. We saw men entering the army of reserve without creating any discontent in the troops of the line, though the service of the former was limited, and the bounties were excessively high. The right honourable gentleman adduced other examples in proof of his position; yet, he said, it would be right to extend to the present army some of the benefit of these changes; and first he meant to make a great increase in the Chelsea allowance. The lowest class of pensioners he proposed to be entitled to 6d. the next to 9d. and the third to 1s. per day; and he wished this advance to take place immediately. No man actually in the ranks would be entitled to his discharge till after a period of twenty-one years; but all those, who had served seven and less than fourteen years, would instantly be put upon the list of sixpence a week additional pay; and those who had served fourteen on that of one shilling. Now what was to be done with

with that part of the population, which did not exist in the shape of an army? He wished the mass of the people to be loosely trained; and only so far, as to be able soon to take their place as recruits in the ranks of the regular army. A training of that description would make them formidable under intelligent officers to an enemy, as an armed peasantry. The first objection to such a system might be, that it would be too expensive; but what was expense compared with the safety of the country? yet after all, the charge would be less than that occasioned by the volunteers, who had cost the country not less than 10,000,000*l.* sterling. The volunteers might gradually be brought to the state described in the year 1798. He meant to that state which would give the country men of a better condition, supported at their own expense, and consisting of a class not proper to be mixed with common soldiers. By these means the mass of the people would not be locked up in volunteer corps. Then, as he no longer looked for assistance to the regular army in the field from the volunteers, he should relax their discipline and retrench their allowances. This plan would lessen their numbers most unquestionably, and put things on the footing which he so much desired to see; and this brought him to the question of training, which, according to his plan, could not be voluntary; all that could be done therefore was to make the compulsion as light as possible. It might be observed that he followed the principle of the *levy en masse*; but his proposal would give a preference to voluntary training; yet with a power of

resorting to compulsion, if necessary. It would also assert the right of the king's prerogative to every man's service, in case of invasion; but exclude the exceptionable part of that act, the training of all classes together. For the volunteers he purposed a change of the June to the August allowances, and of a training of eighty-five days to a training of twenty-six days. Thus a reduction of expense on the estimate of this year, which was 1,497,000*l.* (exclusive of clothing, rated at 347,000*l.*) would be made of 807,000*l.* The allowance to the yeomanry would also be considerably reduced. The saving of the officers' pay by the substitution of the August establishment would be 210,000*l.*: that of the drill serjeants, whose present number was unnecessary, would be 54,700*l.* Under the head of permanent duty 300,000*l.* might be saved; and as it was the unanimous opinion that the inspecting field officers could be spared, 35,000*l.* might be struck off the expenses of government on that score. To these sums were to be added the payments by the receivers for marching guineas, amounting to 198,000*l.*—making altogether a reduction of 807,000*l.* as he had before stated. With respect to volunteers, who might thereafter enter, government would allow only arms. Those now established ought to be exempted from the immediate operation of the new system; but he wished it to be understood that, though they might receive pay and clothing this year, ministers did not engage to provide it the next. In future also he would recommend that no volunteer should hold a higher

higher rank than that of captain; and that no captain, commanding a corps, should be under the orders of an officer of volunteers. Should compulsion be necessary, as the training of the whole mass would be impossible, part of it might be chosen; and for this purpose he knew of no better method of selection than that by lot, for he had an objection to the odious term of balloting. He meant the people to be divided into three classes: the first from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, the second from twenty-four to thirty-two, and the third from thirty-two to forty. He proposed to invest the crown with discretionary power to call out such classes, as the emergency might require. The act for the arrangement in question ought to be annual; so that if there were any errors in it, they might be speedily amended. As a mitigation of the compulsory part of it, if the inhabitants of any district should voluntarily offer to be trained, the ballot should not be enforced as to that division of the country. The number of days for training he should limit to twenty-six, with an allowance of no more than a shilling each time to compensate for the half day's work. He did not mean any uniform to be adopted, or that the men should be embodied; but it was to be left to the power of the crown to collect them in fourteen days in some town or place to be trained; and those, who were absent, were to be punished with a small fine. The training was to be performed by detachments from the militia, and regiments now nominally connected with the different counties, by which they would gain a real in-

tercourse. The plan which he submitted would employ to advantage the officers, appointed to the fifty-seven battalions before a man was raised. He conceived the number about to be called forth as the *levy en masse* to be about two hundred thousand. All that had been done by the additional defence bill was to supply about nine thousand men to the line, and all that could be expected from it was the same number every year, and that in a very bad way. He did not design to interfere with the militia farther than to continue the suspension of the ballot; and instead of raising men by that mode, to procure them by a limited bounty. He was disposed to suffer the Irish militia to enlist in the line by some regular and permanent arrangement, if the idea should be approved, in conjunction with the Irish government. These were the systems he offered for the consideration of the house, from which he was persuaded much benefit might be expected; and though no instant reduction of the bounties might be effected, he thought, in the language of the 'Change, they would soon be "looking down." He did not mean to state that the measure now detailed inspired more confidence than others; but he hoped it would wear well.

Lord Castlereagh conceived it incumbent on him to obtrude on the attention of the house, in consequence of the insinuations thrown out on various opportunities, by the right honourable gentleman and his friends, that the impatience for the production of the present scheme, on his side of the house, arose from a consciousness that former ministers had left the military affairs  
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of the kingdom in such a state as to require instant revision. He considered such a charge as a most unjust reflection on the memory of his late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt); whose fame was inseparably woven in this, as in other instances, with the best interests of the country. It must be held a serious misfortune for any country to be under the necessity of undertaking a revision of its leading establishments, especially those of military nature, during a war of great danger. While these discussions lasted, the minds of men in the army must be unsettled; a circumstance in itself highly perilous, by exciting expectations which it would be difficult to fulfil. In the midst of an enquiry so complicated the right honourable gentleman had possibly forgotten, that he had any foes to contend with but the opposition in that house; and that he had any force within his grasp to be turned to the annoyance of the enemy. He mentioned these things merely to show the propriety of proving the urgency of the case to parliament, before it could be justly called upon to interfere in the business. The right honourable gentleman had been wholly silent on the actual amount of the army; but he had laid down the expediency of increasing it, a principle on which every one cordially agreed with him. It had not been denied that the quality of the regular army, as far as it went, was unexceptionable; and this implied admission was but a just debt of gratitude to the illustrious personage who presided over it. At no period of our history had the science, discipline, and uniformity of our army, been comparable to what they then

were. But in order that the house might fairly judge of the merit of that system, by which it had been brought to its present standard, he felt desirous of comparing the amount and composition of the army as it stood on the 1st of January 1804, being the half yearly period in the papers on the table, which immediately preceded Mr. Pitt's last return to power, with its existing condition. In selecting those periods he was anxious to bear testimony to the meritorious exertions of the persons, who had preceded him in office. Including militia and artillery, the gross strength of the army at home and abroad stood thus.

1st of January 1804,	234,005
1st of March 1806,	267,554

Increase 33,549

The regular army, including artillery, as distinguished from the militia:

1st of March 1804,	148,486
1st of March 1806,	192,372

Increase 43,886

The regular army disposable for general service:

1st of March 1804,	115,947
1st of March 1806,	165,790

Increase 49,843

This statement he trusted would show the gross strength, which the army had received in the last two years. The house would observe that, while the number of the militia had been reduced, the relative force of the regular troops had been augmented; and that the advance in the disposable branch had been still more marked. It

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was impossible to depreciate either the high quality of the existing establishment, or the system by which it had been improved in the following ratio :

1st of January 1802,	242,440
1st of March 1806,	267,554

By which it would be perceived that the present army amounted to 25,114 more than at any former period. The ordinary annual waste, upon an average of six years, was 15,000 men, and the supply not more than from 11 to 14,000 men. We must therefore be content to have the army nearly stationary, if not fall back, without some extraordinary means of recruiting. It was not intended to propose to parliament a vote for a higher establishment by former ministers; but it was their sanguine expectation to add not less than 25,000 men to its effective strength in the course of the year, by the improved management of the additional force act, which bill it was now intended to repeal, without substituting any visible measure of supply in its stead. An augmentation of about 8000 men to the Irish militia was some time since ordered, and was in progress of levy; coupled with an arrangement, by which there was every prospect of procuring an annual supply of about 4000 men, to be replaced, on their volunteering from the militia regiments, at the public expense. His lordship was rejoiced to hear, it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman, to render the militia auxiliary to the increment of the regular troops. It was the purpose of his late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) to rest satisfied with the improve-

ments of the act already alluded to; and which, now it was better understood, with all the disadvantages arising from the prospect of its repeal, was daily becoming more promising in its effects, till peace was restored; when he undoubtedly had wished to revise the military system altogether. Directly contrary was the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, who seemed to be resolved to leave nothing untouched; and to add to the annual loss by suffering the militia to waste down to a low establishment, in order to lay the foundation of a greater decrease of collective force by the effect of his limitations. In return for which he offered nothing but a speculative reliance on his new project. His lordship approved of the idea of rendering the life of a soldier more desirable by holding out rewards, but contended that the alteration of the terms of service was likely to be dangerous; and that it would be unjust as well as impolitic to make any distinction between the men actually in the army, and those who should thereafter enlist; because it would promote jealousy and disorder. Besides, in point of practice, the soldier knew that his discharge was never refused, after twenty or five and twenty years service, at present. We had already experienced the effect of limited service, both as to time and place, in the army of reserve and in the additional force acts; and little good had resulted from it. The means taken to avoid being left entirely without an army, as the country is usually without a militia, at the end of a war, he hardly thought would answer the purpose. A

militia

militia might be renewed by ballot, but it was by no means sure that an army could be re-constituted by voluntary enlistment. The inconvenience too of men being entitled to their discharge during war, was proved in the militia some years back, notwithstanding the superior facility of dismissing and replacing the men, when serving at home; and this difficulty led to the adoption of enlistment for the whole war. From the knowledge we had how few of the men re-entered in the militia also, who were never above a sixth or an eighth of the former number, great apprehension must be entertained of the new scheme. If then to the casualties this heavy annual drain should be added, and when it was recollected that 25,000 men were wanted at present to the army, besides thereafter providing for the deficiency of the 18,000 men, who were to be permitted to fall off in the militia, it was idle to face such a demand, without a substantial substitute for what was to be relinquished. The plan was not countenanced by any existing government. The general military service in Prussia did not sanction it, Russia afforded it little support; and though Austria, after the treaty of Campo Formio, passed an ordinance like it, to take place at a period then remote, he did not believe it had ever been acted on. As to the precedent of France before the revolution, he protested against it. Her population was not only double our own, but poor and prone to a military life; and the monarch, in case of emergency, possessed the power of calling forth a conscription. It was true the East India company enlisted troops

for seven years, yet although the service was popular, the limitation did not fill their battalions; for they were always weak, inasmuch that, during the first government of lord Cornwallis, most of them were reduced. The noble lord did not think the scheme would prevent desertion; for amongst new recruits desertion was always most frequent. He was sure it would weigh with the house, that the first impressions of his late right honourable friend had been in favour of limited service; but, upon taking the written opinion of experienced officers, he had given up the system; and his matured sentiments were that so long as part of the regular army did present the facility of entering for limited service, the general change could not afford many more men, while much embarrassment might ensue from such a project. Lord Castlereagh complained of the indirect way, in which it was attempted gradually to get rid of the volunteers. His lordship then expressed his dissent from the leading features of the plan, and remarked that had the late ministry continued in power, they would have been occupied in directing the powerful army, which they possessed, against some of the enemy's vulnerable points, instead of wasting their time in hazardous experiments on the public force; and concluded by a high panegyric on the prosperous state, in which the government and resources had devolved on the gentlemen then in office, whom, comparatively with their predecessors, he described as being on a bed of roses.

Mr. Fox in a very animated strain replied to lord Castlereagh.

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He could not perceive in what the boasted prosperity, delivered to the charge of the present ministers, consisted, except in the unparalleled successes of the navy; which were as much owing to the exertion and the selection of officers of former boards as of the last. Were the finances, or the continent in a satisfactory state? Really he felt insulted to be told he was on a bed of roses, at the time when he was torn and stung by brambles and nettles whithersoever he turned. The noble lord had spoken of making an impression on some of the vulnerable points of the enemy; if there were any such, it was his duty to tell the king's government where they lay. It had ever been his own practice, if possessed of information, to communicate it, whoever might be ministers, so that it might be acted on if useful, and he expected the noble lord would have done so; but as the noble lord probably only meant that the late ministers would have made some diversion, he did not wish for his assistance. The noble lord had observed that the late minister had originally entertained the same ideas on the question before the house, as his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), but had seen good reason to abandon them. He (Mr. Fox) had never heard the right honourable gentleman say so in that house. He congratulated the noble lord on suggesting the happy supposition that mutinies might arise; but the noble lord had himself destroyed its force, for while he argued that the old soldier might mutiny on account of the distinction shown to the new, he added that the former could always obtain his discharge,

and consequently had no preference to complain of. He said the whole scheme rested on theory, but it was evident it lessened the objections to the service, and had been adopted in practice. Part of the Prussian army, notwithstanding the noble lord's broad assertion, was enlisted for a limited term. That of the elector of Hanover was wholly so. It was alleged that no immediate increase of the army would result from this measure, because it substituted nothing; but in truth the merit of the plan was, that it proposed no complicated machinery to produce an effect, which would be gained by the simple mode of recruiting. All the projects hitherto adopted had only defrauded the ordinary recruiting service; and that with great expense and no inconsiderable oppression. Was it nothing that the market would again be left open to government as the only recruiter? Mr. Fox then stated the expedience of particularly attending to the army, and the necessity of maintaining a large force in the time of peace. Whether we could have an army adequate to home defence, and foreign operations, was doubtful; yet he would say that while we took due precaution within ourselves, by training the people to arms, the true policy of the country would be to rise superior to the panic of invasion, and to show that our force and our courage were not to be confined at home.

Mr. York disclaimed any thing like party views and systematic opposition; but he conceived any change in the military establishment had better be postponed till the time of peace. He did not think



think that the proposition before the house would increase the first levy, and far less retain the men who might be enrolled. It had already been found that desertion took place more in limited than extended service. He repeated the assertions, that men could always obtain their discharge after twenty-four years duty, that they retired from the militia at the expiration of their time with eagerness, and that the improvements in the shape of rewards, might be applied to the present army. He approved of the levy en masse bill with some amendment, and of the regulations with respect to the rank of volunteer officers.

Sir James Pulteney and general Tarlton objected to the whole outline of the plan. The latter insinuated that the lords lieutenants of counties had been remiss in carrying the additional force act into execution, with the exception of the lord lieutenant of Lancashire. He disliked encroaching on the volunteer system, and denied that the levy en masse would be the means of recruiting the army. Sir W. W. Wynn said that every man, raised under the additional force act in Denbighshire, had been procured by means of a crimp. Earl Temple commented on the observation of general Tarlton regarding the lords lieutenants of counties, and the former explained away what he had advanced. After a few remarks from several other members, this long debate, which, on account of its importance, and the keenness with which all parties entered into the subject, has been laid before the reader in a more dilated manner, than the nature of this publication may strictly

warrant, was closed; and leave was given to bring in a bill to repeal the additional force act.

The subjects connected with military affairs excited more than an usual contrariety of opinions, and every opportunity was taken to examine them most strictly. Accordingly a debate ensued on the motion of Mr. Yorke for the production of the sentiments, given by several general officers to the commander in chief, on the question of limited service. The only points worthy of notice that presented themselves in this discussion were, the fact stated by lord de Blaquiere that he had in the year 1757 raised a regiment of dragoons for the term of three years, at the expiration of which period the whole corps, except two men, again entered on the same conditions, and when the second term was concluded, enlisted a third time; and the theoretical argument of Mr. Yorke that, as the mutiny bill was passed annually, the soldier could not be said to embrace an indefinite service. No remark was made on this finely-spun distinction, so completely devoid of practical truth, and the motion was negatived without a division; because it was held that it would be a breach of confidence to produce the documents wished for, since they were merely intended to assist the judgment of the commander in chief; although it was acknowledged that the opinions of the military men consulted were equally balanced on the proposition. This debate was shortly followed by another, when Mr. Perceval moved for a return of the actual expenses of the volunteer establishment, which af-

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forded Mr. Windham the means of explaining that the only relaxation or remission of discipline, purposed in regard to the volunteers, was to lessen the number of their drills, and not to require permanent duty from them.

On the second reading of the bill to repeal the additional force act, it met with a strong opposition from sir James Pulteney; who argued that the measure which it was intended to supersede, was perfectly adequate to all its objects in a military point of view, although some of its details were objectionable; and he expressed his dislike to the scheme for which it was to be set aside. He pointed out the dangers likely to accrue on foreign stations by adopting it, and asserted that in every country, where limited service obtained, it was always coupled with a stipulation for its continuance during war. Mr. Canning on this occasion delivered a most eloquent speech, of which, from its extreme length, it is impossible to give any more than a slight sketch. The right honourable gentleman enforced, in a very impressive and masterly manner, the peril of destroying the effects of an act, which was known to be advantageous in a certain degree, and progressively improving in its course, before the value of its substitute was tried. He conjured the house not to act precipitately on so momentous a business. He wished the new system, from which so much was expected, to be tried first on a small scale. He apprehended that the very best description of soldiers were those, who were recruited from amongst the peasantry; and if the mere

physical advantages of the soldier's life over that of the countryman were sufficient to induce the latter to enlist, he did not perceive that what the right honourable gentleman intended to add to that difference would increase its operation. He enlarged with great wit and pleasantry on the ulterior rewards held forth to the troops. He noticed the opinion of general Washington, expressed to the American congress, on the bad policy of short enlistments, and condemned the expedient of drafting the privates from one regiment into another, under any circumstances; for the draft was known to be highly unpopular in the army. It was singular, he added, as the right honourable gentleman had contended that the men who at present filled the battalions were obtained by tricks and delusions, that he meant to except them from the benefit of the alteration, by which omission he excluded from his improvements the very case that gave rise to them. "The right honourable gentleman," said Mr. Canning, "has extolled in the highest terms the advantages of a large regular army. On that subject undoubtedly there can be no difference of opinion; but without carrying to too great an excess a veneration for the establishments and opinions of our ancestors, we may be permitted to doubt the propriety of carrying the regular army to an unlimited extent, without any check or balance in the other parts of the military system of the country. Upon emergencies our regular army might safely be augmented to any point, to which we can conveniently carry it; but it had always hitherto happened

happened fortunately at least, if it has not been contrived wisely, that the other descriptions of force have grown with it in the same proportion. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) is endeavouring to lay the foundation of a large regular army, while he is sapping all the other establishments, that ought constitutionally to accompany it." Mr. Canning said our constitution was a system of mutual balances and checks, which had a sure and silent operation on each other; and he could not help apprehending that, when a huge standing army, unbalanced by any other species of force, should hereafter be in existence, a member of parliament might rise in that house to deliver his opinions on subjects, in which the soldier was concerned, with very different feelings from those, with which he then addressed it. The militia itself if raised by the crown, according to the new mode, would be liable to the same constitutional objections which applied to the standing army, without producing to the country the same advantages. This and the regular army would be the whole that was left us; and he doubted whether the mutiny bill itself would be the same security in point of control, it had hitherto been found. He could not agree that armies were the sole champions, on which countries must depend for their existence, and that when the champions were defeated the country must fall. The right honourable gentleman had instanced the surrender of Ulm, and said that the French marched from that place to the Inn, through an unresisting population, and that

Vienna fell without a blow; but, if between Ulm and that city, there had been four hundred thousand volunteers, or such a militia as this country could boast, would the conquest of that capital have been so easy, or would it, in all probability, have been effected at all? Turning to the utility of the levy en masse, Mr. Canning wished to know how they were to be trained? where were the officers to be found? The fault of the militia was that it was imperfectly officered. The officers of the second battalions had been named; but of the fifty seven second battalions thirty were three hundred strong, and wanted all their own officers, and the remaining twenty seven were officered only in proportion to the amount of the men; but if the levy en masse were trained, in case they were employed with the regular army, would not the defectiveness of their discipline create the utmost confusion? The house must well recollect the obloquy that was cast on the draft from the militia to regiments of the line, when the expedition to Holland took place; yet how infinitely superior must the militia-men be to the peasant, who should only have been trained for twenty six days in the year! Comparing the expense of the volunteers with that of training the people in a mass, Mr. Canning said that the right honourable gentleman had stated the charges of the former at the round sum of ten millions, half of which however he admitted to be defrayed by the volunteers themselves, and the remaining half was certainly 1,500,000*l.* more than the papers on the table showed to have been issued by government;

but even suppose it were granted, that the expenses of the volunteer system were great, all the advantages of it were to give place to that of a loose and inefficient training, at the outgoing of an annual sum of 260,000*l.* for twenty six days alone. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham), had contrived to contradict all his former assertions in his present project, and to retain and embody all the principles, which he had formerly endeavoured to explode. Amongst his other qualities as a debater in that house, he had a happy talent of marking his way, by whimsical analogies and fanciful illustrations, the remembrance of which recalled to mind his arguments, after they had been forgotten. Ballot, he had informed the house, was both odious and intolerable. Accordingly a countryman hit by the ballot was, in the right honourable gentleman's imagination, like a stricken deer; *hærebat "lateri lethalis arundo,"* he was like David Simple looking about for a true friend. Concurrent recruiting, the recruiting for two different services, the limited and the unlimited, was another of his aversions. It was like the man who had two cats, a great cat and a little cat, and who must needs have two holes cut in the bottom of his study door, one to admit the great cat and one to admit the little one. Nothing could be more absurd, except the recruiting from one service to another—from the limited to the unlimited!—and this the right honourable gentleman had absolutely overwhelmed with similitudes. It was like decanting; it was like double distillation; it

was like a pump; it was like capillary tubes; it was like a reservoir; it was like a cow's stomach; it was like the lobby of the house of commons! Yet after all, every one of these measures, which had been so much tortured by comparisons, were to be found in the philosophical apparatus, with which the right honourable gentleman was to exhibit his own military experiments! The ballot he proposed to abolish in the militia, to establish it in his trained men; the concurrent recruiting was to be introduced into the English militia, transfusion or double enlistment he continued, where he found it, in the Irish! The right honourable gentleman was certainly not precluded from forming a good plan merely by contradicting himself; but unfortunately, on other grounds, his scheme was a bad one. Mr. Canning, after endeavouring to demonstrate many constitutional objections to the project, concluded by moving that the second reading of the bill before the house should be postponed until that day three weeks.

Mr. Wilberforce felt it his duty to vote for the repeal of the bill, because he thought it vicious in principle, and impotent in effect; and Mr. Hawthorne contrasted the addition made to the gross force during a period of eighteen months by the last administration, with that, which it had received in the like period, by the efforts of the ministry immediately preceding it. It appeared that on the 1st of July 1804 the gross force was 246,419 men, and on 1st of January 1806, 259,952, being an increase of only

13,553; whereas on the 1st January 1803 it was 104,911, and on the 1st of July 1804, 246,419, making an addition of 141,508; the merit of which must be entirely attributed to the last administration but one. Of the 13,533 men the last ministry were only entitled to credit for so many as had been afforded by the additional force act, it being the only measure proposed or adopted by them for augmenting the army. The disposable force on the 1st of July 1804 was 125,000 men, and on the 1st of January 1806, 161,541, being an increment of 36,541 men; which, since the actual increase of the army only amounted to 13,553, remained to be accounted for; and this had arisen by transferring 14,685 volunteers from the militia, and 600 volunteers from the army of reserve, into the line, and from the influence of the additional force act, between its commencement and the 31st of January 1806, which had produced 3,154 men; making altogether 23,839. The remainder, which he had not the means of specifically tracing, must be placed to Irish levies, the foreign corps, the augmentation of the cavalry, and ordinary recruiting. The honourable gentleman then entered into a number of calculations, to prove that the bill before the house had failed in limited enlistments, and in every other point of view; and though it had been said that the measure had lately been more productive, the improvement had been effected by crimps, by high bounties, by breaches of the law, and by extending the recruiting districts beyond the limits pre-

scribed; thus raising a competition against the recruiting for the disposable force, which if not speedily done away, must end in the total ruin of the regular means of supplying the army with men.

Mr. Thornton stated he had discovered from enquiries, that the expedient resorted to for procuring men in several parishes was to levy the penalty of 20*l.* for every man not produced; and out of the sum thus afforded they took so much as, when added to what was allowed by government for each man, actually made up a bounty of 27*l.* The balance of the penalty was used in the same way; and thus by high bounties the men recently raised were induced to enlist.

Several other members spoke against the bill, and argued that it was a measure of partial taxation, the burthen of which fell on the most numerous and indigent classes; and even those gentlemen, who were against the repeal of it, acknowledged that, without some very material change in its structure, it must be inoperative. The house then divided on Mr. Canning's amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 116. The numbers for it being 119, and against it 235.

This bill being opposed in every stage, another debate occurred on its merits on the 6th of May, before it was committed. As the arguments employed, and the calculations for and against the procedure, were necessarily almost the same as had already been used, no new light was thrown upon it. Additional proof of its failure was indeed substantiated both in Scot-

land and England; and that it had operated in no other way than as a tax. Mr. Babington in reply to lord Castlereagh, who asserted that the county of Leicester had raised its full complement of two hundred men, expressly informed the house that these men had in fact been only handed over by the recruiting serjeants of other corps, as persons under size; and for this arrangement the serjeants had been gratified with a present of 5*l.* a man. Some information was, however, incidentally thrown out respecting the expenses of recruiting parties. It appeared by the statements of lord Castlereagh, that in the year 1805 these parties consisted altogether of six hundred valuable officers and four thousand men; incurring a charge of 201,000*l.* which, on the average of men raised, amounted to no less a sum than 18*l.* a man, exclusive of all bounty to the recruits themselves.

On this day the house adjourned, and when the committee was resumed, the propriety of returning the fines paid by the parishes, that had been unable to produce their number of men, was much questioned. It was contended that such a return would be unjust and partial, and place the districts, that had done their utmost to comply with the provisions of the legislature, on a worse footing, than those who had neglected to make any exertions; but the objection was over-ruled on the principle, that wherever the men had been raised, they had been obtained in open violation of the law; and therefore, though the clause for returning the money was inconvenient, yet that such an expedient

was better than to retain the penalties already paid, and to remit the remainder; because the parishes, which had delivered in the money, could not be compared to those, which had furnished the men; for finding they could not perform what was expected from them, they had paid the penalties rather than contravene the statutes. The clause then passed without further comment.

A fourth debate took place before this bill was read a third time, which principally turned on the merits of Mr. Windham's new plan; and the inexpediency of suffering a soldier to retire from the service during war. Mr. Perceval pointed out the hardships that would arise by the repeal of the additional force, and the army of reserve acts, if the same provisions, which those measures made for the wives and families of the men raised by them, were not retained in the bill. For the purpose of making the amendments in consequence of this suggestion, the bill stood over until the next day, the 14th of May, when it finally passed the house of commons.

The same act which had employed so much of the attention of the lower house, was considered by the peers more abstractedly with regard to its own peculiar provisions, and without reference to the plan for augmenting the army, by which it was to be superseded. Ingenuity, industry, and research being unable to discover any new train of reasoning, or to produce any variety of computations, for or against the proceeding, the debates of the lords were of course nearly an echo of those that had already taken place

place in the commons. The earl of Westmoreland indeed contended that the fact of the bill having injured the regular recruiting service was the most satisfactory proof of its success; because no doubt could exist that a contrivance, by which fifteen thousand men were annually obtained for the army, must take out of the recruiting market no inconsiderable supply; an inference, which had the bill actually increased the number of the forces, or only supplied the ordinary waste of them, would unquestionably have been just; but even in that case, his lordship did not appear to recollect the larger expense, which was incurred by the progress of the act than by common recruiting. It had however been proved both in the house of commons, as well as to the judgment of their lordships, that the measure was not only a ruinous impediment to the service, but had operated greatly to the diminution of the army. In the course of this discussion, an attack was made on the ministry of lord Sidmouth by the

same nobleman, who said that, at the commencement of the present war, the country was in an unprovided state. This remark drew from the noble viscount a defence of himself; and, by the testimony of various statements, he showed the uncommon exertions that had been made under his auspices, and the unparalleled height, to which the forces of the nation had been carried in a very short period. These statements were nearly the same as those before made by Mr. Hawthorne, which it is therefore unnecessary to repeat.

Upon the third reading of the bill, lord Eldon and the earl of Hardwicke spoke against the return of the penalties, incurred by the different parishes; but their sentiments were resisted by earl Spencer, the earl of Roslyn, and lord Holland, on account of the injustice of levying penalties for not executing duties, that it was impossible to perform. The bill was afterwards read a third time and passed.

## CHAP. IV.

*Lord Henry Petty gives Notice that he intends to bring forward the Budget, which he submits to the House on the Day appointed: Supplies: Ways and Means: New Taxes. Substance of the Objections taken to granting the Ways and Means before the Army Estimates were voted. Mr. Francis's Remarks on the Property Tax: His Idea of the Justice of making that Impost attach on the floating Securities of Government at first disallowed by Mr. Fox, but afterwards adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer: Lord Henry Petty proposes a Scale of Exemptions: Debate on the Clause for levying the full Amount of ten per Cent. on all Income: Extraordinary Language of Mr. Fox: Mr. Vansittart's Clause of Exemption carried, and that of Mr. Wilberforce rejected: Mr. Francis wishes to subject the Dividends of Foreigners holding Stock to the Tax; but waves his Motion:*

*The Property of his Majesty, and of accredited Ministers from foreign States, in the Funds relieved from the Duty. Opposition to the Tax on Pig-iron: Sentiments of Mr. Rose, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Mordaunt, Mr. H. Lascelles, Mr. Wilberforce, and Lord Archibald Hamilton on the same: Reply of Mr. Fox and Lord Henry Petty: The Tax is withdrawn, and a Duty on private Brewers substituted; which, being as objectionable as the Former, is abandoned, and an Addition of ten per Cent. is laid on the Assessed Taxes, with certain Deductions. Irish Budget: Speeches of Sir John Newport, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Corry thereon. Opinions of Mr. Rose, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning, Sir Charles Price, Sir William Curtis, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Fox, Lord Henry Petty, and Sir William Young, on the American Intercourse Bill.*

VARIOUS sums of money having been voted for the service of the year in several committees of supply, on the 21st of March lord Henry Petty gave notice that he intended to submit the budget to the house on the ensuing Friday. Mr. Rose objected to the irregularity of bringing forward the ways and means, before the army estimates had been voted; and again on the 24th protested against such a practice. He said that there was no instance since the revolution to warrant this course of proceeding. The supply already sanctioned was 24,640,000*l.* Of the ways and means only the land and malt taxes had been granted. The noble lord might consider the war taxes as a part of the ways and means, which, with those he had already named, would amount to 16,000,000*l.* If to this sum were added the loan about to be made and provided for, the ways and means would greatly exceed the supply; and against this excess there was nothing to be set but conjectural military estimates. Lord Henry Petty replied it was only his wish to put gentlemen fully in possession of the objects of public expense, and the methods

by which he proposed to meet them.

On the 28th his lordship, in consequence of the notice he had given, laid before the house the supplies, and the ways and means, for the year. After panegyrising the system of the sinking fund, he said, by the operation of that measure, in the beginning of January last 123,476,000*l.* of the funded debt had been redeemed, leaving the actual amount of the national debt 517,280,000*l.* He also mentioned that the unfunded debt at the same period was 23,165,747*l.* It then, he continued, became his duty to show that the country possessed the fair means of supporting and reducing this encumbrance. The consolidated fund, arising from permanent taxes, amounted to 32,535,971*l.* from which, after deducting the items for different miscellaneous services, there remained 30,729,321*l.* and upon that sum the interest of the national debt, 23,172,730*l.* was charged. It therefore appeared that the surplus of the consolidated fund, which would go to the extinction of the debt, amounted to 7,566,591*l.* bearing to the whole debt the proportion of one to sixty-eight; whereas



whereas on the 1st of February, 1803, the sinking fund was only in the ratio of one to eighty-two of the existing debt. This circumstance was in itself the best practical eulogium of an expedient, the advantages of which were sensibly felt in the prices of stock, and in contracting for loans, which it enabled the public to obtain on better terms. Lord Henry Petty then detailed the heads of supply and the ways and means to provide for them; and in enumerating the former made several comments to the following effect. He remarked that as the arrangements for the army were not yet complete, he was not able to state the precise sums that would be required on this head, but there was every reason to believe, if those arrangements were approved by the house, the sums required would not exceed the amount of his estimate. The miscellaneous services included several important grants in contemplation, such as the provision

for the family of lord Nelson, and for the remuneration of the seamen. With respect to the claim of the East India Company, which would appear, it had been of long standing. A commission had been appointed to investigate the demand of the company in 1803, a million had been voted, and also last year and in autumn it was understood by the company, that another million would be this year advanced. It might, he observed, be necessary to say a few words to explain the item that would be noticed for interest on exchequer bills. It arose from the method pursued of issuing exchequer bills at a certain interest. It had not hitherto been usual to provide for the interest at the time the bills were voted, but it came into the supply of the following year. It had been thought advisable to bring that expense within the year, and to provide for it accordingly. His lordship then made the general statement.

## SUPPLIES.

Navy, exclusive of the ordnance sea-service	-		£.15,281,000												
Army	{	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">England</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ireland</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	England	-			Ireland	-			18,500,000				
England	-														
Ireland	-														
Ordnance	{	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">England, including ordnance sea-service</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">3,911,000</td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ireland</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="text-align: right;">807,000</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3"></td> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black; text-align: right;">4,718,000</td> </tr> </table>	England, including ordnance sea-service	-	3,911,000		Ireland	-	807,000					4,718,000	
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Ireland	-	807,000													
			4,718,000												
Miscellaneous	{	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">England</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">1,500,000</td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ireland</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="text-align: right;">670,000</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3"></td> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black; text-align: right;">2,170,000</td> </tr> </table>	England	-	1,500,000		Ireland	-	670,000					2,170,000	
England	-	1,500,000													
Ireland	-	670,000													
			2,170,000												
Arrears of subsidies	-	-	1,000,000												
Vote of credit	{	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 60%;">England</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">1,400,000</td> <td style="width: 20%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ireland</td> <td style="text-align: center;">-</td> <td style="text-align: right;">600,000</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3"></td> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black; text-align: right;">2,000,000</td> </tr> </table>	England	-	1,400,000		Ireland	-	600,000					2,000,000	
England	-	1,400,000													
Ireland	-	600,000													
			2,000,000												
Joint charge of England and Ireland			43,669,000												

## ADD FOR ENGLAND SEPARATE CHARGES.

East India Company	-	1,000,000	
Deficiency of Malt duty, 1804		340,000	
Ditto Ways and Means, 1805	-	1,707,000	
Interest on exchequer bills	-	1,000,000	
To pay off the 5l. per cents. 1797,			
at the 5th of April, 1806	700,000		
Ditto, 10th of October	-	500,000	
		<u>1,200,000</u>	
			<u>5,247,000</u>
	Total of Supplies		48,916,000
Deduct, on account of Ireland, 2-17ths of			
the above sum of 43,669,000l.		5,137,528	
Deduct also 2-17ths for the civil list and			
other charges	-	160,000	
		<u>5,297,528</u>	
	Remainder on account of England		43,618,472.

## WAYS AND MEANS.

Malt and personal estate duties	-	-	2,750,000
Grants from proceeds of ships, captured prior to the war			1,000,000
Lottery	-	-	380,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund to the 5th of April, 1807			3,500,000
War taxes	-	19,500,000	
Deduct as likely to be outstanding on the			
5th of April, 1807	-	1,500,000	
		<u>18,000,000</u>	
Loan	-	-	18,000,000
			<u>£.43,630,000</u>

After having remarked that his Majesty's intentions relative to the proceeds of the ships, captured before the war, had already been communicated to the house, the chancellor of the exchequer pointed out the benefits arising from the war taxes. Before the plan of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year was adopted, the annual increase of the na-

tional debt was 25,358,333l. as was proved by the average of ten years ending 1803; but since that period, and by the effect of this laudable principle, the annual augmentation had only been about twelve millions. Feeling the propriety of following this advantageous method of bringing forward the resources of the country, he should avail himself of an impost already

already established, which, compared with those that had preceded it, the assessed taxes and the tax on income, must be acknowledged to be equitable. He therefore proposed to carry the property tax to ten per cent. This increase, which his lordship described as its natural limit, possibly from recollecting that the ancients used to deal out human misery to their victims in the way of decimation, he said was preferable to one more gradual, and less alarming to the public; for it prevented all suspicion of future enlargement. He admitted his hypothesis to be a paradox; and many of his auditors were certainly of his opinion. His lordship was persuaded that by judicious methods the produce might be improved; and, alluding to frauds, committed in the payment of the tax, the facilities for which had been furnished by the mode of exemption, he said it was purposed that ten per cent. should be paid on all property above 50l. a-year; but that the tax-office should be empowered to grant relief to small annuitants, and petty tradesmen claiming deductions; and regulations would also be made respecting hospitals and charitable institutions. He was happy to state, as one means of rendering the tax more productive, that the governors and directors of the bank had agreed to receive the duty on the payment of the dividends. It was also intended to authorise the com-

missioners to make an assessment on houses and land for two years. The sum to be raised by these improvements was estimated at five millions.

He expected another million to be furnished by the customs and excise; and this source was the more agreeable, as it was derived from the enjoyments of the higher classes. It was proposed, with certain modifications and exceptions, to raise the war duties of the customs from one fourth to one third. An addition of 3s. per cwt. was to be made on sugars. As this tax had continued progressively to increase; and, from the bulk and perishable nature of the commodity, it could not easily be smuggled, there was little doubt that the augmentation of the duty would be efficient. The customs he took at 700,000l. Under the excise he wished to lay an additional duty on tobacco; and as, from the distribution of our navy, smuggling was less practicable, he thought it would continue productive. By these means he expected to raise 300,000l.

The loan, amounting to eighteen millions for England, and 2,000,000l. for Ireland, had been contracted for that day at the rate of 4l. 19s. 7d. per cent. interest; and that interest, one per cent. sinking fund, and charges on the same, being 1,136,000l. were to be provided for in the following manner.

The wine duty already existing was to be rendered permanent, and applicable to the interest of the loan, which would give - - - - -  
 A duty on pig-iron of 40s. per ton; the quantity manufactured was estimated at 250,000 tons, which would yield - - - - -

£.500,000

500,000

By

By an equalization of the duties on tea	-	-	-	70,000
By a tax on appraisements	-	-	-	66,000
				1,136,000
			Total	1,136,000

Under the head of pig-iron, there would be countervailing duties on foreign iron; and a fair drawback would be allowed. This tax was to be under the excise. The duty on tea was a regulation rather than a tax. Formerly it was intended for the relief of the lower classes, that no tea supposed to be used by them should fall under the duty; but the fact was, either that the lower classes, preferring a better article, did not buy the inferior kind; or that the vendors mixed it, so defrauding both government and their customers; and thus the inferior tea was not sold. As there was a considerable tax on auctions, it was but fair that there should be an impost on appraisements, both these modes being adopted to give the highest value that could be procured to objects sold. The chancellor of the exchequer then slightly noticed the debts of the civil list, amounting on the 5th of January in that year to 158,000l. His advice was that they should be discharged out of the proceeds of the ships, captured previously to the war; there being a sufficient surplus of that fund for the purpose.

His lordship expressed a wish to be able to describe the burthens, that he had felt it his duty to propose, as light; but this he could not do. He relied, however, on the constancy and patriotism of the country to show itself equal to any difficulties, with which it might unavoidably have to contend. The noble lord then pledged ministers

to the most economical employment of the resources committed to their care, as well as to follow up the research into public abuses; and particularly to recover the sums lost to the community by frauds in the West Indies, which he declared were a disgraceful scene of perjury and speculation.

Great objection was taken in this, and the subsequent debates on the budget, to submitting the ways and means before the army estimates were ascertained and produced. Mr. Rose and lord Castlereagh argued that the procedure was an infraction of the constitutional practice of parliament. The latter observed that there were two principles in themselves perfectly distinct; the one that the public money should not be applied without the express consent of parliament; the other that parliament should not burthen the people unnecessarily, and consequently should neither by loans nor taxes impose a weight on the country, till the necessity for it had been acknowledged by previous votes in the committee of supply. In support of this doctrine, the respectable opinion of Mr. Hatfield was read. Lord Castlereagh said that he was not disposed to contend, that what was meant for a protection and security of the people should be rendered prejudicial to their interests, by the strict and unqualified adherence to the principle in all cases; but the departure from it to the extent now proposed, and

and upon no assigned ground whatever, could not possibly be justified. It was surrendering the judgment of the house, and proceeding merely on confidence. The possible inconveniences were obvious. Suppose the noble lord should have taken five million more, than the house might afterwards think fit to vote in supply, the people were in so much needlessly burthened. If he should have taken five millions less than, in the view of parliament, the public exigencies might require, could he, after having made his loan, and taught the contractors to expect that no more money would be raised, provide the adequate means with the same benefit to the public?

It was admitted, that there was considerable inconvenience in voting the ways and means, before the estimates for the army were regularly before the house; but care would be taken that they should not exceed the supplies to be granted. Mr. Vanfittart endeavoured to prove, that the ways and means did not in this case amount to the supplies by several millions; because none could be called taxes, amongst the ways and means, until they were appropriated by parliament; and Mr. Fox said, that government had only the choice of two evils, either to delay bringing forward the budget till the army estimates could be produced, or to adopt the course that had been pursued; and the former would have been the greater of the two. The same embarrassment had been felt the preceding year with regard to the subsidies, the amount of which depended upon treaties with foreign powers, which at that time were not in great forwardness. It was

besides argued, that an army estimate had already been voted for five months; and that there was a precedent for what was now proposed to be done in the votes of the navy during the year 1802, when a vote was first for four months, then for two, and afterwards for the remainder of the year.

Mr. Rose combated these doctrines, and observed, that in point of fact the moment the war taxes were voted, they were as much under the will of the lords of the treasury, and at their command, as any other sums of money granted by parliament for the public service; and as to the precedent of the year 1802, it was a bad one; for it was a circumstance of which the house did not happen to take proper notice. The attempt to establish it, nevertheless, evinced the propriety of not enduring the same unconstitutional measure again.

As the principal feature of the chancellor of the exchequer's financial propositions, the property tax, was a proceeding on which the late ministers had themselves acted, they could not in common decency oppose it. This being the case, they took a directly different course, extolled in high terms the manly firmness of the noble lord in extending the exactions of this objectionable impost, and with great sincerity tendered to their successors a welcome to the odium and disgust, which they well knew must on that account be sustained. There were not, however, wanting impartial characters, on both sides of the house, to resist some of the more vexatious provisions in a measure altogether so grating to the feelings of the public. Amongst these, Mr. Francis took

took the lead. He first with great justice attacked the singular paradox of the chancellor of the exchequer, that the sudden and excessive increase of the tax was preferable to one more gradual, and less alarming to the country. The honourable member keenly observed, that an extraordinary proposition might be true, although it contradicted a received opinion; but then the evidence, or argument, for it, must be too powerful for the opinion. The noble lord seemed to think, that the more the human mind was surpris'd, the less it was afflicted. The doctrine was new, but the novelty of it, in Mr. Francis's judgment, did not lessen the grievance. Nor could he at all discover why ten per cent. was the natural limit of the tax, or what security there was that no farther increase would take place. He next adverted to the hardship of taking ten per cent. in the first instance from the possessors of small property. He asked if it were possible for a man who had only 100l. a-year, with or without a family, to lay down ten pounds at once, or by two half-yearly payments? As to the proportionate return, which he must apply for at the tax-office on account of exemption, the trouble attending such application operated like a new tax. Mr. Francis next recommended that the duty should be made to attach to the floating securities of government, commonly called the unfunded debt, amounting to about 25 millions; but he chiefly contended that there was no necessity for new taxes, as, under the pressure of existing circumstances, recourse ought to be had to the sinking fund.

Mr. Fox objected to these last suggestions, because, although he had had doubts upon the same point himself, he was now satisfied that the unfunded debt might be exempted from the duty without inconvenience or loss; for as exchequer bills were not liable to the tax, government could dispose of them at a higher rate. It was therefore advantageous to the public to keep them clear of it. Whether Mr. Fox afterwards changed his sentiments or not does not appear; but it is certain that on a subsequent occasion lord Henry Petty acceded to Mr. Francis's idea, and the unfunded property was subjected to the impost. With respect to the application of the sinking fund to the necessities of the country, Mr. Fox was opinion, that if any part of it should be diverted from its proper course, it would be impossible to keep the 3 per cents at 60; and therefore any such attempt was to be deprecated.

Before the bill was committed, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed some amendments, by which a gradual scale of exemptions was inserted from fifty pounds a year, the lowest income on which the tax attached, up to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. A clause was likewise introduced, by which persons receiving not more than 30s. a week, or 5s. on any one day, should be exempted altogether from the operation of the bill.

On the clause for levying the full amount of ten per cent. on all income, derived from funded or landed property, a long debate, or rather conversation, occurred. It was observed, that it was something like a breach of public faith

to place those in a worse posture, who had incomes arising from funded property, than they were, who procured their subsistence by labour; and that the tax would fall with peculiar severity upon persons, who had been enabled, by their industry, to place their small savings in the funds, as a provision for declining age, as well as upon widows and infirm persons. To these objections it was answered, that it was obvious the condition of those, who raised an income by their labour, or who held an annuity, was very different from the person who had a capital in the funds or a landed estate, and therefore the former were entitled to forbearance; and Mr. Fox argued, that if a man had six or seven hundred pounds in the funds, which yielded him an income of 30l. per annum, the tax could not deprive him of the necessaries of life; and that this theory applied equally to the possession of landed as of funded property; in other words, that he might gradually reduce himself to destitution and beggary by diminishing his capital, or selling his estate, and living on the principal sum. It will be remarked with some surprise also, that the man of the people, he who had while in opposition professed so much tenderness and regard for the sufferings of the inferior orders of the community, should venture to observe, that according to the extent of a man's income in many different situations, he might always have it in his power to make such a change in his expenditure, as to prevent the tax *from entirely crushing him!* Mr. Fox, however, in reply to a suggestion from Mr. Smith, declared that he was not himself a friend to the tax, or any of its principles or

effects; that he was sensible the objections to it were just and innumerable, but his majesty's present ministers were reluctantly forced to adopt it, owing to the unexampled pressure of events, which they had the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing.

In a further stage of the business, Mr. Vansittart having proposed a clause for the relief of persons insuring their lives, or the lives of their wives, and providing in all such cases, where the income of the party was less than 150l. a year, the amount of the annual premium paid on the insurance should be deducted from the whole of the income to be assessed, it was carried; and Mr. Wilberforce took the same opportunity to move for the insertion of another, granting for every child born in wedlock, of the persons whose annual income or profits should be under 400l. a deduction of 5 per cent., and where the income of the persons should amount to 400l. and be under 1000l., a deduction of 4 per cent. This proposition, which was supported by Mr. Huddleston, Mr. Wm. Smith, and Mr. Banks, was rejected, because it was contended, that it would render the duty inefficient. The same fate had attended several other suggestions on the same account; and indeed if all the proposals on the subject had been encouraged, the produce of the duty would have been pared down to a sum almost unworthy of collection.

Previously to the passing of the bill, Mr. Francis made an effort to render it more productive, by subjecting the dividends on stock in the funds held by foreigners to its influence.

influence. This idea was originally thrown out by Mr. Kerr, but adopted by the former gentleman, who made a long speech on the occasion. His chief argument was, that as foreigners placed their money in the English funds for the sake of security, which they could no where else find, it was but reasonable they should contribute to the means by which that security was established; and that it was preposterous to exempt from the duty the produce of English taxes, because it was spent abroad and contributed to the welfare of the enemy, when, if it were consumed in this country, with every advantage in a variety of ways both to the state and the community, it would be liable to the regular deduction. This reasoning was opposed by ministers. They said, if it were acted on, it would have the effect of discouraging foreigners from vesting their property in the British funds, and of inducing them to withdraw it altogether, and therefore must be ultimately injurious to the country; neither could they perceive the justice of parliament taxing any subjects but those of Great Britain. After some farther conversation, the motion was dropped; but, at the instance of Mr. Vanfittart, clauses were brought up to exempt stock or dividends, the property of his majesty in whatever name they might stand, and also the stock belonging to the accredited ministers of foreign states. No comment whatever was made on the first extraordinary exception, which, it is to be presumed, was a gratuitous compliment on the part of the king's servants, unauthorised and unexpected by the exalted character to whom

it applied, who no doubt, at a time when the public burthens confessedly pressed with so great severity on the people, would have been anxious to participate in those exertions for the general benefit, which the crisis of affairs seemed to demand. The bill was at length read a third time and passed; but lord Henry Petty afterwards mentioned, that he should move for leave to bring in a bill to allow exemptions to persons in certain cases having low incomes and large families.

The tax on pig-iron had to contend with greater repugnance, and more numerous objections, than that on property. In every stage of this duty through the house Mr. Rose, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Mor-daunt, Mr. H. Lafcelles, Mr. Wilberforce, lord Archibald Hamilton, and Sir John Wrottesley, pointed out the various inconveniences attending the measure. It was advanced, that the tax in question would affect horses employed in agriculture more than the direct duty, which had been abandoned the preceding year; that it would increase the expense of iron railways 7 col. a. mile, tend to the diminution of machinery, and encourage the employment of horses, at a time when the country was paying several millions a-year to the continent for foreign grain. It would raise the price of many of those manufactures, in which iron was employed,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. at a moment when the manufactures of Flanders, Prussia, and Stiria, were already brought in competition with us in the foreign markets, and could be afforded at a less price in the coarser articles; besides raising the value of tools,

and



and placing them almost beyond the reach of the poorer orders. Mr. Wilberforce said, it was a received principle of taxation that no duty should press on any article in its rude and early state, since it caused an uniform rise of price on every commodity, into which it was afterwards wrought up. In this instance, he calculated that though the sum which would enter the treasury could not be more than 200,000*l.* yet a tax of nearly a million would be raised from the community at large; which he considered as a prodigal waste of those resources, that ought to be husbanded for future occasions. Government had estimated the necessary drawback at 150,000*l.* but the manufacturers calculated that 266,000*l.* would be requisite. It was also argued, that the impost would be ruinously felt in the construction of canals, bridges, and shipbuilding, and deprive a very numerous class of the industrious poor of bread. Within the short space of nine years the manufacture of iron had been more than doubled; the annual produce being at present 250,000 tons, and it was therefore the duty of parliament to foster its progress, and not to check it. It was also suggested, that a great part of the tax must revert on government, which was itself so great a consumer of the article, loaded as it generally must be with the additional expense of collection.

Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Fox, and the friends of administration, replied, that farmers had in the value of old iron a deduction of little less than half of the original price. With respect to the export trade, the drawback proposed to be granted was more than was required by a committee of the iron-

manufacturers themselves, who had applied to the treasury on the subject. It was a mistake to insinuate, that this was the first tax upon any raw material in this country; for there were duties on cotton, foreign wool, and malt. The fact was, that though hardly any one of the taxes, which had been laid on within the last twelve years, could be approved of; yet the nation was now placed in such circumstances, that ministers were driven to adopt modes of taxation, which must in some degree affect the prosperity of some branch of our trade or commerce.

As this duty appeared to be so objectionable to the house, and the great body of the country, upon mature consideration, the chancellor of the exchequer was induced to abandon it; in lieu of which he proposed a tax on private brewers. In this measure the noble lord was as unfortunate as in that which preceded it. His plan was, in order to prevent the disgusting interference of the excise officers, to raise the money by a licence, in the way of commutation, on a scale proportionate to the rank in life of the householder, for every person of whom his family consisted; but as some members considered this a second malt-tax, others discountenanced the criterion of the commutation, and all disapproved of the excise laws hanging *in terrorem* over private houses; added to which discouraging circumstances, the proposition being found extremely disagreeable to the feelings of the country at large, the chancellor of the exchequer withdrew this tax also for the present year. He stated, however, that it was by no means his intention to give it up, but to reserve it for future arrangement.

In this emergency, he had recourse to the assessed taxes, to which he made an addition of ten per cent. This increase was accompanied with a deduction of four per cent. for every child, where the assessment was under 40l., and, as far as the ratio extended, applied to incomes of between one and two thousand pounds. No material opposition was made to this resource, although some remarks of no great importance were thrown out on it, and the substitute was accordingly adopted.

On the 7th of May sir John Newport called the attention of the house to the Irish budget. He said he was happy to state, that the exports of Ireland amounted to above 30,000l. more in the last, than they did in the preceding year, and were greater than they had ever been since the year 1792. The terms of the loan lately contracted were highly favourable, and afforded a strong proof of the growing prosperity of the country; for it had been negotiated on better conditions than those of this country, it having been concluded in the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock at 71l. 19s. He should not, have found it necessary to make so large a loan, if there had not been a great deficiency in the taxes proposed the year before. The joint charge upon Ireland, being two 17ths of the general expenditure of the empire, amounted in Irish money to 5,738,988l. The separate charge, as it stood on the 5th of January 1806, for the interest of the debt, &c. was 2,922,346l. That on the loan for the present year was 313,366l. including the discount and management. This

was the whole of the supply, and amounted in Irish money to 8,975,194l. and the following were the ways and means, by which it was to be raised: there remained of the last year's loan in England 192,339l. which had not been drawn for, and was of course applicable to the service of the present year; 140,000l. advanced in the autumn of 1805 by the treasury of Ireland for ordnance services had since been repaid; one-third of the three lotteries for the service of the year valued at 205,000l\*.—two 17ths of the proceeds the prizes granted by his majesty, 127,450l.—the sum of 50,000l. was due from Great Britain to Ireland for seamen's wages; the loan contracted in England for Ireland came, in Irish money, to 2,166,000l.—and that lately concluded for in Ireland to 2,000,000l.—it was intended to raise 500,000l. by treasury bills—and the revenues, comprehending the new duties which he should propose, were estimated at 3,800,000l.—making altogether 9,181,455l. Therefore there would be a surplus of the ways and means, above the supply, of 206,261l. The revenues of the year had been taken at so high a sum, because there was reason to apprehend that about 160,000l. belonging to those of last year remained uncollected. To pay the interest of the loan he intended to lay the following taxes: an augmentation of the duties on sugar of 3s. 6d. per cwt. calculated at 60,000l.—the duty on East India sugar to be carried rateably as upon brown sugars; 2s. per cwt. on foreign iron, 15,000l.—20 per cent. on tea under 2s. 6d. per

\* An irreconcilable confusion, owing, it is presumed, to the different values of nominal money in England and Ireland, pervades many parts of this statement. All the parliamentary debates have been consulted in vain.

pound, 2000l. He meant to move the repeal of the existing stamp duties, for the purpose of substituting a new act, in which all the duties should be brought into one point of view; and he expected that these regulations would be very advantageous by preventing evasions. A tax of 10 per cent. was proposed upon legacies to children, where the sum exceeded 500l.—and a duty of 1l. upon licences for attornies, who had not practised three years, and of 2l. upon those of persons who had practised longer. These various arrangements and additions exclusive of the duties on entries, he estimated at 80,000l. The duties upon entries inwards, beginning with those amounting to 5l.—carrying them on proportionably—and doubling them on bills of view and store, except on coffee and tobacco, he rated at 20,000l. Great frauds had arisen from the employment of small stills; and to prevent them, a bounty of eight pounds had been allowed on stills of 500 gallons, and sixteen pounds upon those of a thousand; but in the last session all stills under 500 gallons had been prohibited, although the bounties continued. The consequence was a considerable loss to the revenue, for individuals reduced their stills to that standard which was most advantageous to them, and received a bounty for working in stills actually directed by law to be employed. It was expedient therefore to take away the bounty upon stills of 500 gallons, and to grant it at the rate of eight pounds upon stills of 1000 gallons, and sixteen pounds on those of 1500 gallons and upwards. It was supposed this change would pro-

duce 70,000l.—The next improvement was to put the malt-houses in the country upon the same footing with those in Dublin, from which 60,000l. would be derived. By these and some minor regulations, and by the duties he had mentioned, the right honourable gentleman said he expected to raise 317,800l. From this sum was to be deducted, on account of old duties, 10,145l. and other articles, by which it would be reduced to 307,655l. He then referred to the balances of deceased and dismissed collectors, which in 1804 amounted to the enormous sum of 188,000l. and had increased last year to 32,000l. more. He was aware that many of these sums were not recoverable, yet he thought that not less than 130,000l. might be brought to account.

Mr. Foster disapproved of raising the whole quota for Ireland without a war tax, or the means of raising any considerable portion of the supplies within the year, because he feared the country would be unable to support the growing debt; and recommended as one method of increasing the prosperity of Ireland, an endeavour to equalize the exchange. He was answered by Mr. Corry, who observed, that the right honourable gentleman had made the experiment of raising the supplies within the year himself, but the produce of his own taxes had given no encouragement to such a proceeding. In the course of the debates on this question, the former gentleman asserted, that he had proposed war taxes to the amount of 1,450,000l. but sir John Newport proved, that they had by no means been effective, and in fact had only raised 70,000l. more

than the revenues amounted to in other years, while they tended to the disuse of articles on which more moderate duties would be highly beneficial. This fact had been exemplified in the additional tax on wine, which out of a revenue of 320,000*l.* a year occasioned an impairment of 74,000*l.* At the same time he said he was perfectly ready to do the right honourable gentleman justice; he certainly had projected regulations which would have very much improved the revenue; these regulations it was his intention to follow up, and he had no doubt when the revenue of Ireland was collected in a fair and proper manner, and as far as possible similarly to the mode that prevailed in England, it would be found infinitely more productive. Nothing farther of any importance occurred in the discussions on this business, except that it appeared that the debt of Ireland had been nearly doubled since the union, it being at the commencement of that act thirty-two millions. As to equalizing the currency between England and Ireland, it was admitted to be a very desirable measure; but it had been found that many preliminary steps were necessary to its accomplishment. The resolutions were then agreed to, and the bills ordered to be brought in upon them.

When the war broke out in the year 1793, the persons in the shipping interest, who had hitherto supplied the West Indies with lumber, salt provisions, and other necessaries, from the continent of America, finding that they could employ their vessels more profitably, as transports in the service of government, gradually relinquished a branch of the carrying

trade so important to the national welfare. In this procedure they were confirmed by the delay or difficulty, on the part of government, in providing convoys for the safety of the ships during the voyage from Great Britain to the West India islands. Under these circumstances, the governors of the different settlements very properly suspended the operation of the maritime laws for periods of six months at a time, by opening the ports to neutral, that is to say, American traders, who eagerly undertook to furnish the articles of which the different planters were in want; and of this measure the governors took the responsibility on themselves. The practice, thus dictated by obvious and paramount necessity, had become a regular routine, and bills of indemnity were annually passed for these contraventions of the navigation act; but when Mr. Pitt returned to power, the ship-owners who, in consequence of the late peace and other causes, had not for some time possessed the same opportunities of using their vessels, wished to resume the business which they had forsaken, and remonstrated against the infractions of the colonial and maritime law. Perceiving the desire again to employ British capital for the service of the West Indies, ministers directed the governors of the settlements no longer to pursue the course, which they had been compelled to adopt, except in cases of real and very great necessity. The governor and council of Jamaica therefore annulled the permission to neutrals of importing lumber and provisions; and when the assembly pointed out the inexpediency of this act, and the distress that

that would ensue from adhering to the resolution, the governor in reply pleaded the instructions which he had received; but advised the assembly to present an address to his majesty on the subject, which was accordingly transmitted to England. No answer being thence returned in time to calm the fears of the planters, the assembly made to the governor a second representation, declaring that the British colonies afforded one twelfth part only of the whole supply of Jamaica, of which six-sevenths were conveyed by American vessels, and they computed that, if this resource were cut off, four hundred and fifty-six additional British ships, navigated by two thousand eight hundred and sixty-two seamen, would be required to enter instantly into the American trade, to avert the complete ruin of the island. They therefore urged the propriety of continuing the ports open. Lieutenant-general Nugent, the deputy governor, however, declined to accede to the prayer of the memorial, until the time, allowed by his last proclamation to suffer the entrance of the necessary provisions from America, had nearly expired; when, in order to prevent the colony from being reduced to extremity, he extended the licence for the admission of lumber and grain for six months longer; and, as it was ascertained by a subsequent petition, that until the Cork fleet arrived, there would be a great scarcity of salt fish, beef and pork, the principal subsistence of the negroes, general Nugent ordered the custom-house officers to receive into the ports those articles, during the existing pressure. Lord Lavington, the governor of the Leeward

islands, not conceiving the absolute necessity for American supplies to be in the least abated, till the fleets with the stores from England should actually sail, had continued the intercourse with the United States by a proclamation, in which he adduced the urgency of the case as the motive and guide for his conduct.

Upon the accession to office of the new servants of the crown, they found it would be necessary to pass acts of indemnity for those concerned in violating the navigation act, during four administrations, including their own; the bills having been omitted to be brought in for that purpose; but, as they were not desirous of committing so serious a power of suspending laws to the discretion of the governors of the islands, lord Auckland, at their instance, introduced a bill into the house of lords, by which the superintendence of the supplies for the West India islands was to be transferred to the privy council, who were alone to be responsible for the directions they issued; since it was conceived better to have the sanction of the legislature for the temporary suspension of a public law, than yearly to connive at the evasion of it. In the mean time, Mr. Windham, the secretary of state for the war and colonial department, had instructed the governors in the West Indies to authorize persons to import the indispensable articles as usual; promising that acts of indemnity should be passed in their favour. In doing so he certainly exceeded the bounds of his authority; for he ought unquestionably to have been content with revoking the last orders from England; and have left the matter

open to the opinions of the public servants abroad, as had before been practised, until the sense of parliament was known on the subject.

This bill, which was strongly opposed in the lords, was however passed and sent down to the lower house, where it was discovered to be deficient in point of form; and lord Temple obtained leave to bring in another, not liable to the same objections. The hostility to the act brought forward by his lordship was great, and attended it in every stage through the house. Mr. Fox and Lord Temple explained the tendency of the measure. They stated that it involved no commercial interest of the country, and repealed no law connected with its commerce and navigation, but simply placed the exercise of a privilege, which was formerly assumed by West India governors without law, in the safe hands of his majesty in council; and guarded it against the possible abuses, to which it was liable by the suggestions of interested persons; for the privy council would have an opportunity of investigating the appeals of the ship owners in this country, as well as the representations of the colonists, and might regulate the business according to the interests of both parties; an advantage which could not be possessed by the governors abroad, who could only hear one side of the question, and must be ignorant of the state and powers of the carrying trade at home. They added, that it could not be doubted, that where an adherence to an important law was rendered impracticable for a long period, it was highly desirable to have the concurrence of parliament to permit the depar-

ture from an acknowledged principle, and to make such a concession to inevitable circumstances legal.

Amongst the opponents of this proceeding were lord Castlereagh, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning, the master of the rolls, sir Charles Price, and sir William Curtis; but Mr. Rose took the lead of them. The latter gentleman endeavoured to show that there had always been a disposition, on the part of the colonists, to obtain their supplies from America; for when they had represented, in the year 1784, that they could not be adequately provided with necessaries by British ships, their complaints, after they had produced all the evidence that they could offer, were discovered to be unfounded; and upon the regulations being enforced from that year to 1793, nine hundred and thirty-five British ships, forming a prodigious tonnage (110,000), and about six thousand five hundred seamen had been employed in this trade. The right honourable gentleman also attempted to establish a most incredible argument, that the decline of this trade had been occasioned by the suspension of the navigation laws; but it is not very likely that all the governors of the islands should have violated their oaths of office, by suspending the law, unless the clearest necessity for such a concession had been proved to them, nor that they would voluntarily have incurred so heavy a responsibility with consequent punishment and disgrace. The probability is therefore, that the navigation laws had been suspended, because the trade had declined. Mr. Rose next, with greater justice, asserted that the British continental colonies would be seriously  
and

and extensively injured, that the British manufactures, especially linens and cottons, would be superseded by German and East India goods, imported by the Americans; and the export trade of Ireland would be diminished, because beef and pork could be furnished much cheaper by the United States. The chief object of the right honourable member was, that a committee of enquiry should be granted, in which he had no doubt it would be proved, that there were merchants and ship-owners in this country ready to embark in the circuitous trade from hence to America, the West-Indies, and home, as soon as they could be assured of convoys, if this bill were dropped; and that they would not only send out ships and settle correspondences to ensure a regular and ample supply for the islands, but to bring home the crops of them; a circumstance of great import, as it was notorious that, for want of a sufficient number of ships in the trade, more than twenty thousand hogheads of sugar were left in Jamaica in the last years, and great quantities in the Leeward islands; and all this benefit might be achieved at an extra expence to the colonists of a sum not exceeding two per cent. on the freight. He besides argued that, as America had loudly complained of our navigation laws, it would be extremely impolitic, in the present aspect of affairs, to afford any reason to conjecture that the country would abandon the principle, which had been hitherto acted on and recognised by nations, as an universal rule, that the parent state should exclusively enjoy the trade to its own colonies.

The propriety of a committee of enquiry, especially as it would occasion no loss of time, was also strongly insisted on by the other gentlemen, who opposed the bill; and it was insinuated that ministers had given no very favourable example of the discretion, with which they would use their power, by their repugnance to such an investigation, as well as by the instructions, that they had sent out to the several governors to open the ports, long before this measure was submitted to parliament, and without ascertaining the urgency for their conduct. It was besides contended that, although the governors of the islands must be ignorant of the state of the markets at home, and the possibility of providing convoys, yet they were better acquainted with the distresses of the colonies than the privy council could possibly be; and, in cases of unforeseen necessity, must use the same discretion which they had hitherto done; therefore the like inconveniences would arise, even if the bill were passed, unless the privy council were uniformly to authorise importation. It was remarked that the members of the ministry seemed to be of opinion, that there was no possibility of carrying on the trade alluded to but in the present manner; the same idea had prevailed at the end of the last war, yet it was found to be erroneous. To enact a law on that persuasion was to publish to America, that our colonies were at her mercy. No expediency for this act had been proved, because the islands had been amply supplied with every thing requisite for thirteen years by the mode already established, and without agitating

So serious a question as the principles of the navigation act. It was said, that notwithstanding sir Francis Baring had declared British merchants would find it impracticable to prosecute this branch of commerce, and that, if they were to make such an experiment, it might subject the colonies to the horrors of famine, yet his opinion, however respectable, was only that of an individual; and there was a numerous body of opulent and experienced men, who entertained different sentiments, and who were ready to engage in the pursuit.

Another objection taken to the bill, was that government did not seem disposed reluctantly to issue such orders, from time to time, as might be dictated by necessity, but to transmit sweeping directions for all emergencies; and therefore the very desire to have such extended power was a good reason why it should not be granted. The time for bringing in the bill was noticed as unsuitable; for it was at the very moment, when intelligence had been received from America of an act having been passed there, giving to the president conditional powers of shutting its ports against our trade, accordingly as he might obtain satisfaction on given points, within a certain period from this country. The enactment of the intended provisions would therefore be attributed to fear in Great Britain; and be disgraceful to the national character. It was asked in what instance the discretionary power of the governors had either been rashly checked, or severely enquired into; or when had the responsibility attached to that exercise of power prevented any governor from using it in case of ne-

cessity? The refusal to hear the ship-owners, when the advice and information, which they could offer, might be serviceable, and deferring such an enquiry till the colonies might be actually destitute, and some instant remedy might be called for, met with severe comments. "It may be said," Mr. Canning observed, "that commercial gain may lead men to promise more than they can perform; but it is true, on the other hand, it must operate as an encouragement to them to do all they can: whereas the passing of the bill, which will at once put an end to all hope of employment, will slacken their exertions, and diminish their enterprise to such a degree of indifference, that if they shall be hereafter called before the privy council to make their offer to carry on this trade, they must come thither not only with abated ardour, but with their general capacity for the purpose considerably impaired; so that by this bill we shall have lost what can never be recovered." The same gentleman also remarked, that to ground this proposition on a constitutional basis, and to say, "that as we had been compelled to subscribe to repeated infractions of the law, it was more prudent and correct to provide by legal means for a necessity, which we could not obviate," was assuming too much; because the argument tended to prove, that we could not at any time supply our colonies. If the navigation laws were found inconvenient in some particular instances, or incompatible with our extent of empire, could not their rigour be abated?—must they be altogether repealed? The responsibility of the governors was always cognizable



zable by parliament in its ordinary course every session, but that of the privy council could not be enforced, except by the cumbrous method of calling ministers of state to account, which was seldom practised. The proposed act went to relieve the governors in the West Indies from all responsibility; for if, on orders being sent out not to open the ports, the greatest distress should consequently arise, the governors could not be punished. It had been said, that no articles but lumber were imported into the colonies from America, yet soap, candles, leather, and other manufactures, did somehow find their way into them; and if they did so before this bill was passed, they would do in a much greater degree after it was enacted.

The speakers on the side of government were Mr. Fox, lord Temple, lord Henry Petty, and sir William Young. They positively denied the necessity of any inquiry, because the measure was by no means meant to be otherwise than temporary, as expedience might require; yet they contended, that it was competent to the ship-owners, and others connected with the business, to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house; but, as they had declined availing themselves of that permission, they could not complain. If they could supply the West-Indies with commodities, why did they not declare so in the mode allowed them for that purpose? It was averred, that the shipping interest would be more attended to by the privy council, than it could be by the governors in the West-Indies, who, by the sudden exercise of their discretion, and by opening the ports, might

render the whole outfit of merchants useless. The bill therefore empowered the council not to permit the freedom of American trade, but to prevent it, when it could be done with security. The house was reminded that, owing to the interruption of the intercourse between the colonies and the United States, during the American war, it had been ascertained that about fifteen thousand negroes had died for want, or from being improperly fed, in the island of Jamaica alone. There was a necessity of resorting to America for articles to enable the colonists to convey their produce to the mother country; and it was indispensable, as it had been ascertained by experiment and practice, to suspend in time of war some part of the navigation laws; especially such a war as the present, where the extent of coast in the power of the enemy made it necessary to employ so large a portion of British shipping to watch it, the crews of which might otherwise have added to the strength of our mercantile navy. As to any pretensions, on the part of America, tending to require the annulment of our navigation act, in all the discussions that had taken place with that power, a claim so monstrous and extravagant had never been hinted at. The facts which a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) had stated, respecting the state of the shipping between 1784 and 1793, might have applied, if the question had been concerning a general principle; but the present act only transferred a discretionary power, which already existed, from one body less fit to exercise the power to another more proper. There was then a statute, by which the exportation

tation of corn to the West Indies was limited to 3,200 tons; but it was impossible that 32,000 barrels could supply the whole mass of the people on the islands; 132,000 had been computed as necessary, but in fact no less than 150,000 barrels were required for the subsistence of the inhabitants. The navigation act, important as it was, had not always been considered indispensably necessary to the welfare of the state. It had been repealed as lately as the 26 of George III. c. 11. when merchants were permitted to have three-fourths of foreign sailors, instead of three-fourths of British: again, in the trade with the cape of Good Hope; and in the Dutch property act, when it was apprehended that Holland was about to be annexed to France. At first an order in council was published, permitting Dutch property to be landed in this country from neutral vessels. This practice was afterwards, by a positive law, extended and continued for upwards of four years. With respect to the persons concerned in the Irish provision trade, instead of supposing themselves at all injured by this bill, they considered that it would promote their exports, and they expected greater security in their speculations from it; and it was positively asserted by sir John Newport, that when they had been applied to on this subject, their answer was, that they would embark in the trade with much greater confidence and spirit than formerly, if they knew that it would be governed by the privy council.

Lord Castlereagh and the master of the rolls replied to many of the points, adduced by the promoters of the bill. The former showed the

object of relaxing the navigation laws in the year 1795 to be a permission of qualified intercourse, during war with the enemy's colonies, which could only take place in neutral vessels; and with respect to the cape of Good Hope, he argued that the case stood on a principle frequently acted upon, where there was reason to presume that a possession newly acquired might materially suffer, if our commercial system were at once applied to it in its utmost strictness. "If," said the noble lord, "as there is too much reason to apprehend, there is some tendency at present in the shipping of the country to advance less rapidly than our trade, let us avoid aggravating this evil. The necessity for relaxing the law, on the score of commercial convenience, must, if this defect in our system continues, be increased, while the danger of yielding to it will be augmented also. Our trade, under a moderate restraint, may and will speedily relieve itself, by forcing capital into the means of its own accommodation; but if the want of shipping is suffered to prevail beyond a certain extent, the demand can no longer, without great national loss, await the supply. The barrier will then be thrown down which now protects our commercial marine." From that moment, the noble lord predicted the greatest inconveniences to the country. He also felt convinced that, whatever might formerly have been apprehended from the sea forces of the enemy, it could not then be beyond the reach of our navy to give complete protection to the ships employed in the colonial trade, during their passage from one port to another. The

master

master of the rolls insisted, that the bill struck out of the statute book, or reduced to a dead letter, all the laws made for the support of the navigation of the realm, without the least necessity; and hinted that some other than the apparent purpose was intended by it, for very great powers were conceded for a seemingly inadequate reason. He contended, that it was the duty of ministers to prove the urgency for granting them so unrestricted an authority, which they had not even attempted to demonstrate. There was not one syllable said at that day in time of war, that had not been advanced in the year 1784, to show that the opening of the trade was expedient; so that whether we were at peace or war, it was implied that no difference existed as to the propriety of the measure intended. The bill, and the arguments by which it was supported, rendered us progressively more dependent on America; for in proportion as that country got hold of this trade, the North American colonies belonging to Britain must be excluded from it; as it was quite impossible for them to come in competition with the former. The trade carried on by the British shipping was confined to certain specified articles; whereas to that of America, it was unconfined and unlimited. "Suppose," said the learned gentleman, "the Americans, who by this bill are empowered to convey your colonial produce whither they please, should chuse to import it into all the markets of Europe, as they most undoubtedly might do by the provisions of this bill, not one hoghead of the sugar of your colonies would come into this country. We may

thus lose at once all the advantages, while we retain all the inconveniences, of the colonial system." The master of the rolls urged the fitness of an absolute specification of the articles to be carried away from the West Indies, by the neutral ships; and wished that specification to be clearly confined to rum and molasses, and protested against the grant of powers so general, which, as they were not called for by any expediency, must be admitted to be dangerous.

Upon a revision of all the circumstances of this act, which met with so much opposition, although it finally received the approval of the legislature, the principal points advanced in its favour were the fact stated by sir John Newport, that the persons in the Irish provision trade had avowed, that they would carry on the commerce with more spirit, when it was under the control of the privy council, than when it was subject to the direction of the governments abroad; and the argument of the attorney-general; that by leaving the discretion of opening the ports with the governors, the whole trade might, in a moment of unfounded alarm, or even through caprice, be anticipated. In any other view of the question, the merits of the proposition did not seem to warrant the interference or the sanction of the legislature. As to the propriety of a committee of inquiry on the subject, it must be acknowledged that, if the parties concerned did not chuse to make known their grievances, or their capability of supplying the islands, by counsel at the bar of the house, it does not appear that there could have been just reason for great dissatisfaction

on that head. At the same time, as the committee would not have caused the least delay, it might surely have been granted; and by

such a concession, every shadow of doubt on the matter at issue would have been removed.

## CHAP. V.

*His Majesty's Message to both Houses of Parliament relative to the Occupation of Hanover by Prussia: Speech of Lord Grenville, who moves an Address to the Throne; which is carried unanimously. Speeches of Mr. Fox and Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons on the same Subject: the Address voted with universal Satisfaction. Lord Howick's Resolutions to increase the Pay of the Navy passed. The Attorney General introduces a Bill to prevent the Importation of Slaves by British Shipping into Colonies conquered by, or ceded to, Great Britain in the existing War; and into the Settlements of Neutral States in the West Indies: It is opposed by Mr. Rose, Generals Tarleton and Gascoigne, Sir Charles Price, and Sir Robert Peele; and defended by Mr. Fox and Sir William Young. The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Westmoreland present Petitions to the House of Lords from several Merchants and Ship-owners against the Measure; to which his Royal Highness, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Marquis of Sligo, Lords Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Sheffield, with the Duke of Sussex, are hostile; and Lords Auckland, Grenville, Holland, Ellenborough, Viscount Sidmouth, the Earl of Darnley, and the Duke of Gloucester, are favourable: the Bill is carried, Mr. Jeffery's Motion on the Conduct of Earl St. Vincent: Speeches of Admiral Markham, Lord Garlies, Lord Howick, and Mr. Fox: the Question for referring the Papers to a Committee negatived without a Division: Mr. Fox's Motion for the Thanks of the House to the Noble Earl objected to by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Canning; but passed without a Division. Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Barrack Department. Mr. Robson's Motion respecting Barracks rejected; but afterwards renewed by Lord Henry Petty. Plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for more speedily auditing Public Accounts: Remarks of Mr. Rose: Progress of the Acts for this purpose: vehement Opposition of Mr. Rose: Comments of Lord Castlereagh. Bills for regulating the Department of the Treasurer of the Ordnance, and those of the Receivers General of the Excise, Customs, Stamp Duties, and Post Office. Lord Grenville's Resolutions in the House of Peers respecting the Scotch Judicature. Proceedings of both Houses with regard to the Measures taken for the final Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

**W**ITHIN a month after the peace of Presburg was signed between Austria and France, the king of Prussia issued a proclamation, declaring that he had en-

tered into a convention with Buonaparté, by which in order to insure the peace of the north of Germany, particularly the electorate of Brunfwick, and to prevent the return

return of the French troops into the latter country, he had taken possession of the whole Hanoverian territory, which he intended to occupy with a division of his army until a general peace. As soon as this transaction was known in England, Mr. Fox presented a note to the Prussian minister resident in London, objecting to the subversion of the civil administration of the electorate by the cabinet of Berlin, expressive of a wish that a precise acknowledgment had been made that this measure was merely temporary, and unequivocally protesting that his Britannic Majesty would never be induced to resign his German dominions upon the basis of any equivalent which could be offered him. The first proclamation of the king of Prussia was followed by a second, promulgating the intelligence that, in pursuance of a treaty with Buonaparté, all the ports of the North Sea were closed against English ships; and by a third dated the 1st of April, in which it was stated that as the electoral states "were obtained by the French ruler by right of conquest," his majesty of Prussia had accepted them in exchange for three of the provinces belonging to the house of Brandenburg: and therefore that he now took definitive possession of them, in virtue of the compact lately concluded.

In consequence of these nefarious proceedings, lord Grenville in the house of peers, and Mr. Fox in the lower house, presented a message from his majesty relative to the subject, and to the necessity of supporting the honour of the British flag. The 23d of April was the day fixed by the lords, as well

as the commons, for the consideration of the business. Lord Grenville, in moving the order of the day, expressed his conviction, that there could be but one sentiment and one feeling in the country respecting the line of conduct which it would be proper to adopt; and he believed that there could be but one opinion as to the behaviour of Prussia. In detailing the circumstances of the case, his lordship said that the court of Berlin had been engaged in confidential intercourse with England previously to the battle of Austerlitz, and there was every reason to suppose, from solemn assurances, that it would sustain the common cause of Europe; nevertheless Prussia had acted as if she had been in league with France from the very beginning. Her first open act had been to occupy Hanover, under pretence of covering the retreat of the British and allied armies; and of securing her own frontier against the danger, which might result from the re-establishment of a French force in the electorate. His majesty had felt this outrage deeply; but as it appeared to affect him more in his private than in his public capacity, he determined to make use of remonstrance rather than measures of a more serious character; but, before time could be given for his representation to be received, and without any attempt to justify itself, the cabinet of Berlin had taken forcible possession of Hanover; and had added to the injury, by shutting all the ports within its reach to the British shipping, at the desire of France. His lordship declared that he purposely abstained from using any strong terms in regard to Prussia; but this seem-

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ed to be her mode of reasoning, "I have no hostility against you; France insults upon my ceding to her a part of my dominions: I must indemnify myself somewhere; you are my weaker neighbour, and I will wrest my indemnity from you." After expatiating on the enormity of this argument, and observing that there was no disgrace in being the victim of conquest, but that the dishonour lay in yielding without a struggle, he stated the grounds on which he should propose an address to his majesty. First, the necessity of evincing that a connection did and ought to subsist between England and Germany, and that there was not a power in Europe which could exclude British shipping with impunity; secondly, he wished to mark with just abhorrence the abominable principle of one power indemnifying itself from loss at the expence of a less powerful state in its vicinity; and lastly, he was anxious to convince his majesty that they felt, as an insult offered to themselves, any violation of his dominions, and that there was no part of them, in the possession of which they were not willing and determined to defend him. Lord Grenville then read the address, which was couched in language, agreeing with the sentiments he had expressed.

Lords Hawkesbury and Mulgrave not only gave their entire consent to the address, but their applause to the whole conduct of government on this occasion, which they described as dignified, prompt and energetic. The former remarked that the territories of Hanover had been invaded, not in consequence of any German quarrel, but ow-

ing to the hatred of France to this country; and the latter avowed his opinion that, after the complete vassalage of Prussia, it was impossible to be at war with France, without being at the same time engaged in hostilities with the former. The question was then put and carried unanimously.

When Mr. Fox called the attention of the commons to this business, he took occasion to point out the unhandsome manner, in which Prussia had availed herself of the proffered support of this country to despoil its sovereign; for her negotiations with France, after the battle of Austerlitz, assumed a higher tone in consequence of that offer. Holland and other powers, said Mr. Fox, have been from terror obliged to make concessions of territory to France; but to be compelled to commit robberies on her neighbours was an abasement reserved for Prussia. When a state was reduced to such necessity, it was impossible not to look on it with a mixture of pity and contempt. The exchange of the people of Anspach, who had requested their sovereign not to abandon them, for what was called an equivalent, the right honourable secretary characterised as an union of every thing that was contemptible in servility, with every thing that was odious in rapacity. "If we are to make exchanges," said Mr. Fox, "let us exchange those things which are the proper objects of barter; let us give a field for a field, or let us exchange its stock, its oxen and its sheep; but let us not consider the people of a country, or the subjects of a state, as matter for exchange or barter. There must be

be in every country a certain attachment of the people to its form of government, without which no nation can subsist. This principle then of transferring the subjects of one prince to another strikes at the foundation of every government, and the existence of every nation."

The address was assented to with universal satisfaction. The only speaker on the subject was lord Castlereagh, who gave his unqualified approval to it, and highly extolled the measures of ministers upon this point. He observed, as an additional circumstance of the iniquity of this affair, that France did not even possess Hanover at the time she carried this ignominious exchange into effect; and therefore the ground, detestable as it was, on which Prussia had accepted the equivalent, was as futile as it was disgraceful.

On the 25th lord Howick brought forward a motion to increase the pay of the navy. He said that he had not been long in office, before he found that it was contemplated to lay the claims of lieutenants in the navy, an addition to whose pay had long been thought necessary, before parliament, by means of a petition, which, although drawn up in proper and respectful language, he had felt it his duty to discourage. His object was to make no partial distinction, and therefore, after recommending the case of the characters, whose cause he was advocating, with appropriate allusions and eloquence, the noble lord made his propositions, which were as follows: To give to every ordinary seaman an ad-

ditional pay of 2s. per month—to every able seaman, 4s.—to all petty officers, the number of whom he intended to increase to the amount of ten in each ship, 5s.—to the captains of the fore-castle, of the mast, of the tops, and of the after-guard, 9s. 6d.—to masters' mates and warrant officers, 6s.—but, as the warrant officers were retained and received pay during peace, this addition was only to attach while they were in actual service. The chaplains were to have the additional appointments of school-master, by which their stipend would be increased 20l. a year. To the pay of lieutenants, who had received only 5s. per day since the time of Queen Anne, he intended to make an addition of 1s. a day; to that of captains and admirals, whose emoluments had been as stationary as those of the lieutenants, an augmentation in the subsequent ratio, to captains, 4s. a day—to rear-admirals, 3s. 6d.—vice-admirals, 5s.—admirals, 7s. and to admirals of the fleet, 10s.

The first lord of the admiralty next turned his attention to those who were disabled by age, infirmities, or wounds. For such persons, he said, the chest at Greenwich would be insufficient to provide, and would require an aid of about 20,000l. Out of this sum he meant a certain increased allowance to be made to each out-pensioner, according to his services and merit. From 7l. a-year it should rise to 1s. a day. To furnish the adequate means, he intended that a deduction of one shilling in the pound should take place on all prize-money, and for this a bill would be necessary; and, as a farther

ther source, he had no doubt his majesty would consent to set apart for the same purpose the droits of the admiralty. As to the marines, they had so much analogy to the regular army, that he had thought it better to postpone their just claims, till the pay of the army should be determined.

Mr. Francis suggested the idea that when the pay of the officers and men was first established, the probability of prize-money entered into the consideration, and lord Garlies mentioned several proposals, which, as they were not adopted, it is unnecessary to notice. The resolutions were then voted.

The attorney-general, on the 31st of March, introduced a bill to prevent the importation of slaves, by British shipping, into colonies conquered by the English arms, or ceded to Great Britain, during the war, and into the colonies of any neutral state in the West Indies. The learned gentleman said, that every state which had colonies in America, or the West Indies, and which was not actually at war with us, availed itself of the opportunity of British ships to carry on the slave trade; and, that, even in time of war, our enemies were accommodated with negroes for their colonies by British capital, although in an indirect manner. The Danish islands of St. Croix and St. Thomas were the depôts for this purpose, from which Cuba, Saint Domingo, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, and many parts of Spanish America, were supplied. It was contrary to sound policy to enable these places to rival our colonies, and equally imprudent to suffer settlements to be stocked

with slaves by means of this country, which might be restored at the conclusion of peace.

Mr. Rose, generals Tarleton and Gascoigne, sir Charles Price, and sir Robert Peele, opposed the principle of this measure, which they thought injurious to the manufactures and commerce of the country, and exceptionable in point of humanity, for if this part of the trade were relinquished by Great Britain, it would be taken up by America; who would not conduct it upon the system of wise and humane regulation enforced by the British legislature. They stated that it was under the colour of importing slaves that British manufactures were introduced into the Spanish settlements; and that if the learned gentleman's proposal passed into a law, it would, in the general trade, occasion a loss of exports to the amount of between two and three millions annually, exclusive of East India commodities, the sale of which would be greatly impaired. It was remarked by one of the members of Liverpool, that the prosperity of that town had sprung from the African trade, and still depended on it, that the trade in question afforded a valuable nursery of seamen, and that the present proceeding was an attempt to abolish the slave trade in an indirect manner. Mr. Rose particularly objected to one clause in the bill enacting that, if a foreign vessel should take on board from this country any manufactures to be disposed of in the African trade, it should be liable to seizure. No human ingenuity, in his opinion, could have devised a regulation more likely to create a breach



a breach between England and America; since vessels from the United States were very frequently in the habit of fitting out from our ports for that very trade.

Mr. Fox, sir William Young, and the author of the bill, were its defenders. The first declared, that if, as some gentlemen seemed to apprehend, this act had a tendency gradually to abolish the slave trade, though he could not flatter himself it would have such an effect, he should only be more friendly to it. He could not conceive how the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) could justly fear the injurious results from it which he had described; as he had in the last war advised, and certainly well advised, his majesty to issue that proclamation in virtue of his just prerogative, which this bill only went to confirm and render more effectual. It was denied that so great a share of our manufactures were sent to Africa as was supposed; and it was affirmed that in the port of Bristol, four ships out of five were not employed in the traffic of slaves.

When this bill was carried up to the lords, the duke of Clarence and lord Westmoreland presented petitions against it from several merchants and ship-owners in the city of London, and from persons trading to North Carolina and Georgia. After these parties had been heard by counsel, lord Grenville retraced the general arguments in favour of the proposition, and moved the second reading of the bill; which was opposed by the duke of Clarence, who argued that it would greatly injure the Bahama islands and Jamaica, as that settlement was several hun-

dred leagues to leeward of all our colonies, and, unless the trade to the Spanish main were allowed, it would not be worth the while of any trader in slaves to go to Jamaica; for, in case, as it might probably happen, he could not find a market for them there, he would be subject to enormous expence and loss. When the order of the day was moved for reading the bill a third time, his royal highness, assuming it as a part of the system for abolishing the slave trade, entered more at large into its merits. He said that the extensive drawback on that traffic, which the proposition would induce, might easily be conceived, when it was known, that out of thirty-eight thousand slaves conveyed to the English colonies, more than twenty-two thousand were afterwards exported to foreign settlements. When he considered the immense capital embarked, the great quantities of British manufactures consumed, and the number of seamen employed, in consequence of the trade, he must reprobate a measure, which would destroy nearly two-thirds of the whole of it. His object, therefore, was to move, by way of amendment, to leave out that part of the title of the bill, which prevented the exportation of slaves into colonies or islands subject to any foreign power. His royal highness was followed on the same ground, and in the same train of argument, by the earl of Westmoreland, although he did not object to the enactment, which prohibited the supply of slaves to colonies taken during the war, as, in case of their being surrendered, the British capital employed would only enrich  
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the enemy. Adverting to the slave trade, his lordship, in the exercise of that happy perspicuity which has distinguished him on all occasions, observed, that the idea of abolishing it originated amongst atheists, enthusiasts, and jacobins; inferring possibly, that Mr. Pitt, lord Grenville, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, and many other noble and celebrated characters, usually supposed to be remarkable for the force and acuteness of their intellectual faculties, were seduced by the wild theories of the jacobin club at Paris! A discovery that must be deemed highly fortunate; since it had escaped the penetration of every other individual.

The marquis of Sligo, lords Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Sheffield, with the duke of Suffex, spoke against the bill, as destructive of a large portion of British shipping, and detrimental to the mariners and merchants of the realm. Lord Sheffield contended, that the measure was a curious mixture of the sentimental in respect to the slave trade, and of job in favour of our old West India settlements. He said, at a time when we had lost nearly the whole of the carrying trade, we ought to be particularly studious of preserving that of Africa, which was a commerce of barter, and in one voyage often gave three or four profits; by which we obtained in exchange for our manufactures and other commodities, all the valuable and necessary raw materials from America, that we used to receive through old Spain, on the payment of heavy duties. The papers on the table proved, that we were every day becoming more depen-

dent on America, especially for cotton. His lordship concluded by drawing a gloomy picture of the prospects of the nation, as to its mercantile marine; and asserted, that there were, at that period, only two ships building in the river for the purposes of trade.

Lords Auckland, Grenville, Holland, Ellenborough, viscount Sidmouth, the earl of Darnley, the bishops of London and Saint Asaph, and the duke of Gloucester, replied to these objections. The following were the arguments by which they sustained their several opinions. While England was mistress of the ocean, it was impossible for any other nation to take up a trade, which she chose to relinquish, without her permission. The majority of the American states were hostile to the slave trade, and all the provinces, except Carolina, were more or less averse from it; there was, therefore, little apprehension that it would be entered into as a national concern. In respect to the clause prohibiting to neutrals the use of British commodities, it was perfectly fair, that the restrictions to English vessels should be enforced as to other vessels trading with Great Britain. It was by no means true, that the importations to the Spanish settlements depended on the supplying of them with negroes; since it was notorious that British manufactures were so acceptable, that the inhabitants would have them at all events. The planters were so far from thinking the bill would have an injurious effect; that they universally agreed it would be advantageous to their interests. As to the question of the slave trade, that abominable commerce

commerce was found to be as unnecessary as it was inhuman; for a census had been taken in Virginia, by which it appeared, that when those unhappy creatures in slavery were treated with common kindness, a sufficient supply arose from the ordinary course of propagation; as their number had increased by fifteen thousand, since the trade had been prohibited, in three years; and lord Grenville, much to his honour, observed, that were the case otherwise, and the advantages of traffic and commerce opposed to the horrors of speculation and murder, he should not have hesitated to form his judgment. A division was demanded, when there appeared contents 43, non-contents 18, leaving a majority of 25; after which the bill was read a third time and passed.

The transactions of earl Saint Vincent at the board of admiralty had been called in question by Mr. Jeffery, who pledged himself to prove certain charges against that noble lord. Various papers were moved for and granted for the purpose of his vindication; but these being of a very voluminous nature, Mr. Jeffery openly accused lord Saint Vincent's friends of a mere desire to procrastinate the business by producing so many and so long documents on the occasion, and which he also declared to be irrelevant to the matter. He therefore, on the 22d of January, wished to move, that the order for printing them should be rescinded, and the whole mass of them referred to a committee, to examine what papers really ought to be printed, and to reject those that did not bear on the point at issue, as useless and cumbersome. The sense of the

house being decidedly against the intentions of the honourable member, and it being besides insinuated, that, as he had not read the documents since they had been produced, it was impossible he should know whether they were relevant or not, unless he had seen them clandestinely and improperly in the office, Mr. Jeffery withdrew his motion. This business afterwards came on in the beginning of May, when the honourable gentleman produced his charges by reading a very long written speech, and concluded by moving twenty-four resolutions against the noble earl. The principal bearings of the charge were, that lord Saint Vincent had neglected to keep up the number of vessels, which he found in the service, by a due attention to building ships; that he had not taken care that the king's yards should be supplied with the proper quantity of timber, and had been guilty of oppression and tyranny in the exercise of his office.

Mr. Jeffery endeavoured to substantiate these accusations by enumerating the ships built on an average by the noble peer's predecessors, in which he, certainly without the least fairness, included those taken from the enemy. Upon this unjust assumption, he made the number of vessels produced to the service amount to sixty-six ships of the line, and one hundred and twenty-one frigates, between the years 1793 and 1801; being, on an average, an annual addition of something more than eight sail of the line and fifteen frigates; whereas, during the three years that lord Saint Vincent was in office, only fourteen sail of the line and thirty-two frigates were

launched, making an average of little more than four sail of the line and seven frigates per annum. It was next stated, that for eight years previously to the appointment of earl Saint Vincent as first lord of the admiralty, the ordinary supply of oak timber to the dock-yards, was 34,000 loads; but from the year 1801 to 1803 it had diminished to 20,000 loads only. Mr. Jeffery then strongly inculcated the noble lord for not building in the merchants' yards, in the above period, more than two sail of the line, and for his ill-timed parsimony in not entering into contracts with private builders for the renewal of the navy; as well as for his injudicious regulations in the king's yards, by which many artificers and shipwrights were not only dismissed, but driven into the service of the enemy; and he contended, that these circumstances proved great misconduct and dereliction of duty in lord Saint Vincent, and were extremely injurious to the nation.

Admiral Markham, lord Garlies, lord Howick, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Fox entered into the defence of the noble earl. The former shewed, that if the captured ships were deducted from the sixty-six added to the service, in the period alluded to, twenty-four only would remain; and that while lord Saint Vincent presided at the admiralty, ten ships of the line had been built in the course of three years, which, on a comparison of averages, exhibited no deficiency; and that equal attention had been paid to providing vessels of a smaller class. With respect to the charge of neglecting the repairs of the navy, it was observed that, after so long

and arduous a war, the number of ships requiring reparation must be prodigious; for out of 220, only fifteen remained in ordinary. If, therefore, there was a seeming diminution, it was on account of the excessive repairs necessary and the enormous expense; but sixty-one ships had been refitted in the space of nine months. From a variety of examples, the prices of building and repairing in the yards of the merchants were proved to be unreasonable, and that the ships constructed in them were, after all, ill calculated for use, and much inferior to those launched from the king's docks. As to the dismissals of the artificers, none were removed but those who were incapable of working, and to these allowances had been granted. The scanty supply of timber had been occasioned by an order of lord Spencer's for the more careful examination of such as was delivered; the consequence of which was, that, while it became less in quantity it was so much better in quality, there was more capable of use than when the stock was larger; but when lord Saint Vincent found that the quantity was not so large as was desirable, he took measures to procure an adequate supply; and besides endeavouring to obtain the article from New South Wales, and ordering ships to be built in the East Indies, had actually contracted for a large quantity of timber from Dalmatia; which exertion would have appeared to the house, if the late minister had granted the papers removed for. The enemy, however, became acquainted with the object, and, getting possession of the province, had obtained 40,000 trees already

already cut down, and prepared to be brought to this country. It was asserted, that the only possible blame which could be imputed to earl Saint Vincent was his delicacy to the navy board, and for not exercising a necessary control over that body; and lord Garies averred; that if the noble lord had carried his notions of economy too far, it was still from the best intentions for the public welfare and the advantage of the navy; but that if any difference of opinion subsisted on this head, it was merely a matter of sentiment, and that, on the whole, his lordship's conduct was very meritorious and honourable. The question of referring the papers to a committee was consequently put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. Fox then said, that if the honourable gentleman (Mr. Jeffery) had brought forward his charge in any tangible shape, he should have contented himself with moving that it was frivolous and vexatious; but, as he had not signified that it was his intention to proceed further in his charge than to refer it to a committee, he thought it but right to do what had often been practised on similar occasions, in order to vindicate the noble person who had been so unjustly attacked. He therefore moved the thanks of the house to earl Saint Vincent for his general conduct, during the time he presided over the naval administration of the country.

This motion was opposed by

Mr. Wilberforce, who expressed great reluctance in being obliged to dissent from the propriety of it. He observed that, although the charges on a certain part of his lordship's ministerial behaviour might be unfounded, it did not follow that the whole of it was entitled to the approbation of the house; and that such a vote would have more the resemblance of a party triumph, than the deliberate expression of the sense of that branch of the legislature. Mr. Canning reminded Mr. Fox that he had always hitherto contended it was most unparliamentary to get rid of a charge in that manner, by turning it into a vote of thanks. He could not conceive on what grounds he was called on, at such a short notice, to express an approval of the naval administration of earl Saint Vincent. What had the building of ships to do with pressing Mr. Bartholomew\*, and other parts of the noble earl's official conduct? If the thanks of the house were wanted, the members ought to have gone into a committee and discussed the whole of his claims. Mr. Fox replied, that lord Saint Vincent's exertions to put an end to the most scandalous jobs, that ever disgraced a state, had provoked this hostility; and that it would be strange if every member had the privilege of coming down to that house, and saying what he pleased against the most distinguished characters, and the house had not the liberty to express its sense of those merits

\* Mr. Bartholomew, having presented a strong remonstrance to the lords of the admiralty, at his not meeting with the promotion which he thought his due, was, by an audacious and criminal stretch of official arrogance and power, impressed as a common seaman.

and virtues, which had formed the very ground of the attack, and the object of its prosecution. Mr. Tierney, in answer to the case of Mr. Bartholomew, argued, that the noble lord could do no less in that affair than what he had done. Bartholomew, he said, was not an officer, but having passed his examination as a lieutenant, presumed upon that circumstance, and was excessively impertinent at the admiralty; while sir Charles Pole strenuously contended that lord Saint Vincent knew nothing of the matter. It is to be hoped that the latter gentleman was correct in his assertion. Indeed it can hardly be supposed that the noble earl, who must doubtless have had the honour of his profession at heart, and in his ministerial capacity was more peculiarly the guardian of every individual member of it, could have been guilty of an action so insolent, tyrannical, and infamous. It is nevertheless to be wished, that more pains had been taken to prove, that he had no share in so disreputable a procedure. If a naval character is guilty of improper behaviour to his superior officers, he may unquestionably be punished by legal means; but if, upon the allegation of impertinence, he may, without trial, be degraded, pressed, and ignominiously turned before the mast, the dignity of the navy is for ever blighted; and the glory of one of the most gallant and honourable professions is subject to the caprice of wanton and despotic authority. After some further conversation between Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Perceval, Mr. Fox's motion was carried without a division. This mode of getting

rid of the question might possibly be irregular, and directly contrary to the right honourable secretary's former opinions of propriety; for indeed he never seemed to be very anxious about consistency, when it militated against his purpose; but it must be admitted, that lord Saint Vincent was exculpated from the direct charges preferred against him, and it is not to be doubted that his zeal in reforming abuses, which might perhaps hurry him beyond the requisite bounds, had raised against him a host of enemies, and some possibly in the petty and subordinate boards of office; although his general conduct might by no means warrant this distinguished vote in his favour.

The confusion in the accounts of the barrack department having attracted the notice of the commissioners of military inquiry, they proceeded to investigate the subject, and on the 16th of March delivered in to the house of commons a long report on the business. The delay in settling these accounts had arisen from a doubt how, and by whom, they were to be examined. Much uncertainty prevailed not only with the secretary at war and the auditors, but also with the treasury on this affair, and a copious correspondence ensued between major general De Lancey and the other servants of the public before alluded to. At length, after considerable procrastination and contradictory directions, it was finally settled, that part of the accounts, such as referred to stores and supplies, should be examined at the war-office, and the remainder relating to the receipt and expenditure of

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cash should undergo a revision by the auditors. To this divided scrutiny major general De Lancey objected as productive of embarrassment, and his remonstrance was sanctioned by the commissioners of inquiry, who suggested the appointment of a special commission to arrange the accounts of the department, as a measure both just and economical; for they stated, that if they were undertaken by the auditors and the persons in the war-office, a great addition of clerks must be made for the purpose. One circumstance connected with this detail called the attention of the commissioners of inquiry in a particular manner. In the year 1792, government having erected some barracks for cavalry in various parts of the kingdom, petitions were presented from several towns and cities to build others. In consequence of this request, major general De Lancey, at that time deputy adjutant general, who had superintended the construction of the former, was directed to make arrangements for the barracks then to be established, according to the customary distribution of troops. He therefore purchased, or hired land for the site of the buildings, and took every step that appeared necessary, leaving the ulterior management of the concern to the several commanders of regiments quartered in the neighbourhood, and all the money expended was drawn for and disbursed by the regular regimental agents; but when he was afterwards appointed barrack-master general, all these accounts with their vouchers were transferred to his office, and he was held responsible for their regula-

rity. To cover himself from any loss, owing to the responsibility that was thus cast upon him, he made a charge on the public of one pound one shilling per cent. on the general outlay of the department as a contingent allowance, which he subsequently withdrew, in order that these accounts might have a more speedy examination at the war-office, which was, however, only cursory. General De Lancey afterwards, to indemnify himself from the consequences of the mode adopted in settling his accounts, by which, he said, he was deprived of the means of recovering disallowances to subordinate accountants, made a charge of one per cent. on the barrack disbursements amounting to 88,923*l.* which the commissioners of inquiry held to be unwarrantable; especially as he had never mentioned this claim to the select committee of finance in the year 1797. They therefore conceived that this sum should be added to that of 6,865*l.* 4*s.* which general De Lancey acknowledged to be due from him to the public; and that an error should be corrected, by which he had taken credit twice for the same allowance of 1,570*l.* 1*s.* Thus the whole amount of what he owed to the nation would be 97,415*l.*

Lord Henry Petty on the 16th of May, after alluding to this report, gave notice, that a plan was in contemplation for the more effectual audit of all the public accounts, which would very shortly be laid before parliament; but on the very same day previously to this announcement, Mr. Robson had called the attention of the house to various abuses in the

barrack routine, which had taken place in Sandown bay, in the isle of Wight, respecting the contracts made for hiring barns as temporary barracks, and the economy of the canteens dependent on them. The honourable member engaged his character to prove, if certain papers, for which he moved, were granted, that a most prodigal waste of the public money in every circumstance connected with these institutions had occurred. His motions were resisted, because it seemed inexpedient, as the house had already delegated their power to a commission to trace all abuses in military matters to their sources, to enter into the detail of topics, which they were not so well qualified to examine as the persons, whom they had invested with authority for that end; and Mr. Robson was requested by several members to communicate his intelligence to the commissioners of inquiry. This he refused to do, alleging the length of time which they had taken to make one report, and the general tardiness of their proceedings. The house did not seem inclined to undertake the business, and the previous question was carried on all the honourable gentleman's motions, except one; but the chancellor of the exchequer, having discovered that much profusion had occurred in this affair, particularly that an exorbitant rent had been paid for the barns, when buildings proper for the reception of the soldiery had been offered at a reasonable rate, renewed all Mr. Robson's motions with some additions to them.

Several debates afterwards took place, and a variety of motions for papers was made on the

subject, which were mostly granted. Mr. Robson declared that he could save 500,000l. a-year to the state by reforming the abuses in the barrack department; and that the articles sold as manure would alone pay the rent of all the temporary barracks and canteens in the kingdom; but the enquiry was not, nor indeed could it be, prosecuted to any ultimate effect, during the existing session of parliament.

On the 21st of May lord Henry Petty traced the outlines of the plan, which had been some time in agitation, for reforming the mode of investigating West India accounts, and the general audit of those connected with the public service. Antecedently to the year 1785, he said, the important office of examining the accounts of the national receipts and expenditure had been vested in two officers of the crown, the earl of Bute and lord Sondes; but they, like many other officers, were charged with duties so far beyond the reach of their exertion, and vested with powers so inadequate, that, although their services were not deemed entirely useless, they were certainly very insufficient. The consequence was that, the business being very much in arrear, the accounts which had accumulated during the progress of the American war became so complicated and expanded, as to call for some more regular plan of investigation. Mr. Pitt had early turned his attention to this defect in the financial system; and he brought in a bill to suppress the office of joint auditors, and to institute a new board of commissioners to execute their duties; but notwithstanding the labours encountered by these gentlemen,



men, and the immense mafs through which they had waded, yet, under the various viciffitudes in which the country had fince been involved, fuch an arrear of unexamined vouchers had accrued, as to demand fome attempt to extricate the national accounts from the confufion in which they flood. Befides the five commissioners of accounts, who were appointed under the bill which he mentioned, two others totally diftinct were nominated to examine thofe belonging to military affairs; but here again accumulation had fo far outftripped refearch and induftry, that the principal fhare of arrears had arifen under their management. Thefe laft officers took cognizance of all monies iffued from the treasury for military purpofes, and alfo of the expen- diture in every way; and, to render their refponfibility ftill ftonger, were declared auditors of the outlay, carried on under their own control and direction; yet their authority had by fome means ceafed, infomuch that large iffues of money had taken place for the fervice of the army, without their knowledge; fuch as fums for hofpital ftores and field works; and for which, during fix fucceffive years in the late war, 700,000l. annually were paid to a Mr. Trotter, who charged ten per cent. on the whole difburfement, over and above all other profits on the articles fo furnifhed. Another head of accounts was that of barracks, on which nine millions had been fpent in the late war, and no part of the outgoing had been fubmitted to the cognizance of the controllers. It had been found that many large fums had been advanced to clerks and fub-account-

ants, which flood in the like predicament. Such an accumulation of unchecked accounts required fome remedy, efpecially as thirty-five affiftant clerks had been added to the eftablifhment without attaining the end defired. In the Weft Indies the abufes had been fo glaring, that in the year 1800 it was held neceffary to fend commissioners thither to obviate the evil; and laft year an attempt was made by appointing a new commiffion for the fame object, which, though it had done much, left a great deal to be effected. In that part of the world forgery, perjury, bribery, and every stratagem which fraud could devife, had been reforted to in order to fcreen profufion and flagitious conduct. The delinquents had even feed the officers of his majefty's customs to fign falfe certificates and fraudulent invoices, proofs of which criminality had been detected in one inftance to the amount of 80,000l. and in another to that of 30,000l. actually applied in the fhape of bribes to conceal frauds to an enormous extent. The noble lord faid, the houfe would be aftonifhed to learn that the laft accounts relating to the army pay, which had been examined, were for the year 1782. There were accounts, he added, including thofe under the head of army pay, and of navy expen- diture, that altogether formed an aggregate of four hundred and fifty-five millions not audited within the laft twenty years. It was a fact that this great bulk of unexamined documents had long ferved as a fhroud, behind which the moft fhocking malverfations had evaded detection and punifhment, while it hung like a gloomy cloud over the heads of confcientious

men, who were thus subject half their lives to anxiety, because they were unable to get their papers passed. To obviate these inconveniencies the chancellor of the exchequer brought in two bills, one relating to West India accounts, and the other to those of the general audit. By the first a new board of commissioners, with extensive and adequate powers, was created, consisting of five members, two of whom were by rotation to repair to the settlements, and three to remain at home. These divisions of the board were to correspond with each other, and thus they would surmount the difficulties that had obstructed the exertions of former agents, and which had compelled them to send one of their body home to make necessary investigations, owing to the complicated state of the accounts, and their being so much mixed with those kept in England, as to render such enquiries indispensable. By the second act the two existing boards of auditors were consolidated, and four more commissioners were added to them, one of whom was to be a chairman, with an increase of salary; but none of them were to be members of parliament. Out of these ten officers were formed three boards, the first consisting of four persons, to whom the current accounts were to be referred; the second of three individuals, and these were to have the charge of the arrear under inquiry; and the third also of three members, whose business it would be to bring up those statements, which had not been entered upon at all, the president of each of these boards being responsible for the accuracy of the audit made by

them. In order to prevent public expense and ministerial patronage, it was provided, that in case of a vacancy by death, it was not to be filled up, without resorting to parliament, until the number of the commissioners should be reduced to five. The authority of these officers was extended over all persons, who had the care of stores, and whom they had the power of calling before them. The controllers of the army were to be retained as a distinct board, and they were to be placed on the same footing that they were on, when the commission was first created by lord Godolphin in the reign of queen Anne. They were to be the advisers of the treasury in all matters relative to military expenditure; and they were to have the power of imposing a fine on such persons as refused to appear before them, when summoned. Besides the boards already mentioned, two persons, with proper assistance, were to be delegated to bring up the accounts of the barrack department, while it was under the control of major-general De Lancey. The chief provisions of the act were, that in order to prevent accumulations of unaudited documents, all accountants should send in their papers, and the vouchers connected with them, within three months after the end of every year; and that all agents, who authorized the expenditure of the public money, should be charged with the disbursement made. These establishments increased the annual expense of the offices of audit from 28,000*l.* to 42,000*l.* but, when that part of them which was temporary had ceased, the ultimate and permanent annual charge would be reduced

duced to 27,000*l.* being a yearly saving of one thousand pounds. When the noble lord proposed this second regulation, in his introductory speech, he took the opportunity of correcting his first estimate of the sums remaining un-audited, which, he said, instead of 455 millions, appeared to be 534 millions of money.

In the course of the debates consequent on these bills, great exceptions were taken by several members of the opposition, and particularly by Mr. Rose, to the manner in which they had been announced, and which they conceived as intended to throw disgrace on the preceding administration for suffering the audit of the pecuniary concerns belonging to the country to be so much in arrear. The right honourable gentleman took fire at its being represented, that so large a sum as 534 millions of money had remained unexamined; and asserted that out of the amount, which the noble lord had so ostentatiously mentioned to be in arrear, 429 millions remained in departments which did not admit of a possibility of abuse, as the particular items of expense were checked and scrutinized in the relative offices, many of which had not been hitherto subject to the auditors, although he acknowledged it was right that all public accounts should be submitted to them.

Indeed, it must be confessed, that while the noble lord deserved every credit for bringing forward these regulations, it would have been but candid, if he had adverted to this circumstance, and taken notice of the exertions of his predecessor in office to bring all the documents, connected with the public expenditure, to a strict ac-

count; for by the unqualified manner in which he announced the business to parliament, a very unfounded persuasion obtained that great sums in balances were due to the public, and would by his plan possibly be recovered. No doubt can, however, subsist that the nation ought to be grateful to the chancellor of the exchequer, for placing these matters in a proper train. Lord Sidmouth, as well as Mr. Pitt, had taken some measures for a purpose so desirable; and though they might be satisfied that, with some exceptions, there might be no actual abuses possible in those offices which scrutinized their own disbursements; yet certainly it would have been better if all the accounts of the nation had been controlled by an effective audit. That much remained to be done was evident; and in this instance a minutious regard to expense would have been a false economy.

Mr. Rose nevertheless affected to consider the whole establishment, especially that part of it appertaining to the West Indies, as originating in a vehement thirst of patronage in the new ministers. His first attack was on the statement concerning Mr. Trotter, of whom he professed to know nothing, but from enquiry. By which, he said, he had discovered, that the house of Trotter had been in the habit of supplying government with stores for the army above fifty years. Respecting this gentleman's profits a former secretary at war (Mr. Yorke) had made an order, that Mr. Trotter should give in an accurate statement of the prime cost, and of the expense of labour, on the equipments, after which he was to be allowed ten per cent.

cent. for his mercantile remuneration; and he had heard that the present secretary (general Fitzpatrick) had approved of all Mr. Trotter's proceedings. Mr. Rose was rather unfortunate in bringing this question into discussion; for Lord Henry Petty in his reply mentioned that Mr. Trotter had originally, besides the ten per cent. alluded to, five per cent. for credit, and five per cent. for incidental charges, making a total of twenty per cent. In the year 1801, in consequence of proper restrictions, he reduced the ten per cent. charge to five, the five per cent. to two and a half, and the remaining five for credit he totally abandoned; so that he then began to find the same articles for seven and a half per cent., which, during the whole of the war, he had charged at no less than twenty. The chancellor of the exchequer did Mr. Trotter the justice to observe, that, as far as he could learn, the articles supplied by him were of the very best quality; but that, in so complete an absence of all check on the extent and nature of the charge, he had thought it his duty to touch on it.

As to the bill for regulating West India accounts, Mr. Rose contended that it contained nothing, which the former act did not embrace sufficiently for the objects intended, except the clauses that related to the punishment of perjury. The additional appointments, he said, would amount to nothing but sinecures; for he was convinced, by the enquiries he had made of persons who had been employed in the West Indies, in different capacities, that no auditors but those who were on the spot could be of any use. Con-

trasting the merits of the late and present boards of treasury in regard to patronage, the right honourable gentleman took the opportunity of stating, that in nineteen years the board, under which he had acted, suppressed above an hundred sinecure places of from 800l. to 2000l. a-year.

To this argument it was answered, that, so far from the employments being an object of patronage, there was great difficulty in procuring proper persons to go to the West Indies; and that the three auditors, who remained at home, would have laborious duties to perform. Mr. Rose wished the whole number of the board to be reduced to three. Foiled in this proposition, he afterwards moved that three of the five commissioners should go to the colonies. This motion was negatived, on the ground, that the chief pressure of business was in England. Mr. Rose here appeared clearly to be supported by the justice of the case, at least as far as experience afforded a guide; for, if it had been found expedient for the former three commissioners to send *one* of their members home to make enquiries, and correspond with them, it did not follow that *three out of five* were necessary for the same duties; and the bill by retaining the majority of the commissioners in England, and sending only two to the West Indies, proceeded on a principle the very reverse of that which actual practice had proved to be requisite.

Lord Castlereagh argued at great length that the new creation of officers could be productive but of three effects: either it would embarrass the existing auditors, turn them into sinecures, or make the new commissioners

commissioners such; and, therefore, he considered the appointment as mischievous. No particular notice was taken of his lordship's reasoning, and the further discussion of the act degenerated into personal remarks relative to sinecure places and ministerial influence.

In the different stages of the audit bill, Mr. Rose repeated that nine-tenths of the sums, mentioned by the noble lord as unaudited, had actually been examined before they could come to be considered by the commissioners of accounts, by whom it had formerly been resolved that it was an unnecessary waste of the public money, to audit the accounts of the navy, army, bank, ordnance, customs, &c. which were actually and effectually scrutinized prior to their coming before them. He asserted that, out of the 534 millions, eight millions at most were the only part on which investigation could attach; and as to outstanding balances, the portion recoverable was about 99,000*l.* so that the construction of all the expensive system of machinery, proposed by the noble lord, was in fact doing nothing for the public.

The general reply made to the right honourable gentleman was, that to suffer accounts to remain for twenty years without any notice being taken of them by the auditors, was to permit the existence of a great temptation to commit abuses; and the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as the attorney-general, protested against the idea that any considerable part of the sums, formerly stated as merely unexamined, were recoverable or due to the nation.

In pursuance of the general principle of reform, at the instance of the chancellor of the exchequer, an act was passed to adjust the office of the treasurer of the ordnance, and to prevent him from retaining in his hands, and making use of the balances of the sums of money, imprested to him for public services, by declaring, that all these balances should be deposited in the bank. Bills of a similar tendency, applicable to the receivers general of the excise, customs, stamp duties, and post-office, were also introduced by his lordship, and confirmed by the legislature. These excellent provisions struck at the root of improprieties of the grossest nature, and protected a considerable part of the national funds from the dangers of malversation, to which it had formerly been liable.

A proposition of the highest importance was offered to the sense of parliament this year for the improvement of the Scotch judicature, by lord Grenville, and to prevent the numerous appeals from that part of Great Britain to the house of lords. It appeared, his lordship remarked, that the business in the court of session had accumulated to so great an extent, that a most material evil arose to the suitors from the delays occasioned by it. By the articles of the union, the appeal from this court lay directly to the house of peers in England, and therefore, without an infraction of those provisions, no other court of appeal could be established; but there existed the means of altering the frame and constitution of the court of session, by which civil justice might be better and more speedily administered.

administered. It was consequently suggested to divide the court, which consisted of fifteen judges, into three chambers, with the same powers and jurisdiction; experience having proved the benefit arising to the public in England, from all the courts having the discretion of entertaining the same species of causes; although they had distinct and separate provinces of jurisprudence originally assigned to them. It was proposed that parties should have the option of bringing their suits in either of those chambers, and that, where there had been a previous hearing before the lord ordinary, the cause should belong to the chamber of which the lord ordinary was a member. It was intended that the lord president of the session should be the chief of one of the chambers, and that his majesty should be empowered to appoint presidents to the others, who were to hold their offices, like other judges, during good behaviour. The next object was to introduce the trial by jury in Scotland. This mode of trial had not for a long period been used there in civil causes, although it had formerly been practised in that country; and as, from the method of proceeding, it was frequently impossible to give a correct decision upon a fact, it was desirable that the process should be put into that form in which, as in England, an issue might be joined; when it might be competent to the chamber, at the request of either party, to direct a trial by jury on the fact stated, and admitted wholly or in part; and that the chamber, without such application, might remit the cause to the circuit to be there tried by a

jury; with a power of appeal, nevertheless, to the chamber, in cases of misdirection by a judge to the jury, or where the verdict was given contrary to evidence. Many advantages were likely to ensue from this change. The judges would hear the arguments of counsel on the cause that they would decide, which circumstance would enable them to form their sentiments with expedition, and they would deliver their opinions in the face of an enlightened bar, whence they would soon become subjects of public discussion, and then the slightest error would quickly be corrected; but in the court of sessions, all the leading arguments, as well as the proceedings, were delivered in writing, a course of practice which necessarily consumed much time in the deliberations of the judges; and after each had examined the written documents, unless they were unanimous, an event which could hardly be expected where the judges were so numerous, another inconvenience arose from their giving their opinions *seriatim*. A farther head of the plan related to appeals, for which it was intended that there should be an immediate court of review, between the chambers and the house of lords, yet without in any degree violating the act of union; and this was to consist of all the lords of the court of session, except those of the chamber, in which the decision appealed against should be made. The appeal from the chambers was to lie to the court of session, without the necessity of going through the intermediate forms now used of bills of advocacy and suspension; and the court of review was to proceed with

with printed cases, and hear counsel, in the same manner as was practised in the house of lords, to which there should be an appeal from this court, but from no other; such appeals being only against final judgment, and not that of an interlocutory nature.

These were the several divisions of the matter, which lord Grenville threw into the shape of resolutions, but a point remained upon which, he said, he had considerable doubt; and therefore he should not include it with the others. It was well known, he observed, that appeals were very often brought to that house without any hopes of ultimate success, but merely to suspend the execution of the courts below. This advantage might, in some cases, overbalance any consideration of costs, which could possibly be awarded against an appellant. It was consequently his purpose to suggest that, notwithstanding execution had been issued on the judgment of the courts below, the appellant might, in the event of a reversal of the judgment, be placed in the same posture as if such execution had never issued; but, on a certificate from the inferior court, the house should be permitted to order execution on the judgment of that court pending the appeal. His lordship mentioned several other methods to abbreviate the proceedings in these cases, and recommended that any person, whose professional pursuits might be injured by the proposed alterations, should be compensated by parliament, and that a provision should be made for gentlemen, whose age or infirmities compelled them to retire from the bench. As it was his lordship's wish that

these matters should be most cautiously considered by the house, he proposed his resolutions with the intention that, after they had passed through a committee, they should be printed, and the future notice of them be fixed for a day, when it was not likely the house would sit, in order that they might be referred to the next session. The resolutions passed unanimously, although lord Hawkesbury doubted the propriety of excluding from the court of review the judges, whose sentence was appealed against.

This year was distinguished by an event intimately connected with the interests of suffering humanity, in the steps taken by both houses to suppress the barbarous and disgraceful traffic, which had so long reduced its unhappy objects to the condition of brutes. Mr. Fox in proposing this measure relative to the slave trade, declared, that it had been his wish that the honourable member (Mr. Wilberforce), who had, for such a series of years, ably and eloquently laboured to induce parliament to abolish a species of commerce so utterly detestable, should take the lead on the question; but that, in deference to that gentleman's opinion and request, he had himself brought it forward. He recapitulated the various votes which had been passed on the subject, as well as recited the sentiments of many of the most illustrious advocates for the suppression of this foul stain on the national character; and after enforcing the arguments of others by his own reasoning, concluded by moving his resolution, which was to the following effect; "That this house conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary

to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable." A long debate ensued, after which the motion was carried by a majority of 99, there being 114 for it; and, for the honour of the British commons, only 15 against it. Mr. Wilberforce then, pursuant to notice, moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty to enter into negotiations with foreign powers for the complete and universal abolishment of this traffic, and for affording assistance mutually towards carrying into effect any regulations, which might be adopted by all or any of the contracting parties, for accomplishing their common purpose. This question also passed in the affirmative; and the resolution was then communicated to the lords, who, after an ineffectual attempt had been made to procrastinate the business by the expression of a wish, that the parties concerned in the trade should be heard by counsel, concurred in it by a majority of nearly two to one; the contents amounting to 41, and the non-contents to 20.

Upon a topic which had already

been repeatedly discussed beyond the limits of satiety, it would be idle again to detail the arguments, which have been so frequently noticed in the former volumes of this work; and it is certainly for the credit of those, who opposed this salutary and benign demonstration of the opinion of the legislature, that their sentiments and efforts should be buried in oblivion. It is to be lamented, that Mr. Pitt, who always unequivocally avowed his dislike to the African slave trade, and sometimes assisted its most strenuous opposers with his powerful eloquence, should have contented himself with his own personal exertions in the cause; for, by making it a ministerial question, the commerce might doubtless have been suppressed many years before that happy day, when it was put in a train of final abolition. In the conduct of that celebrated minister, the reader of history may perhaps be reminded of the behaviour of Philip II. of Spain, who, when his troops had taken possession of Rome, and held the pope in captivity, piously ordered prayers to be put up throughout all his dominions for the holy father's deliverance, which he himself could have instantly effected, by transmitting an order to his general for that purpose.

## CHAP. VI.

*The regulations for limited Service introduced into the Mutiny Bill. Mr. Windham's Speech on the Occasion. Reflection on the Length of Parliamentary Debates. History of the Discussions on Mr. Windham's Clause. Liberal and sound Opinions of Mr. Fox on Military Affairs: The Bill passed. Lord Hawkesbury ineffectually moves the House of Peers for the Production of the Sentiments of the Military Officers on Limited Service. The Clause in the Mutiny Bill supported in the Upper House by the Duke of*



*of Gloucester and the Earl of Moira: Lord Hawkeſbury endeavours to extend the Term of Inliſtment from Seven to Twenty Years, but without Succeſs. Opposition to the Chelſea Hoſpital Bill by Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Percival. Hoſtility to the Training Act. Mr. Combe's Amendment to the Bill for Preventing any Volunteer Officer from Commanding a Field Officer of the Regulars rejected; and the Bill is carried. Sir Henry Mildmay unſucceſsfully endeavours to obtain a Vote of Thanks to the Volunteers. The Military System of Government completed by Suspending the Ballot of the Militia for two Years; and by a Bill for Increate of Pay to the Officers of the regular Army up to the Rank of Major, and to Subalterns in the Militia: Retrospect of the whole Plan. Caſe of Judge Fox diſpoſed of. Bill for Declaring Tortola a free Port. Bill for the free Export of Corn between England and Ireland. Arrangement reſpecting the Laws applicable to the Woollen Trade. Act of Inſolvency brought forward by Lord Holland, oppoſed by Lords Eldon and Ellenborough, and defended by the Earl of Moira: Remarks on the Subject. Grant to the junior Branches of the Royal Family: Sentiments of Colonel Wood, Mr. William Smith, Mr. Roſe, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Colonel Wood's Objection to part of the Nelson Grant. Grants to Lord Collingwood, Sir Richard Strachan, Sir John Duckworth, &c. Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill to alter and amend the Bankrupt Laws. Witneſſes' Declaratory Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion on Vaccination.*

**T**HE regulation of limited ſervice was introduced by a clause in the mutiny act, which was ſubmitted to the houſe of commons on the 30th of May. The only new feature in the propoſal which had not before been mentioned was, that if the recruit ſhould happen to be under eighteen, ſo many years ſhould be added to the ſervice as ſhould prevent the term of ſeven years from beginning to run, till he had actually arrived at that period of his age. Mr. Windham, in opening the buſineſs to the houſe, thought that it ſhould be left to the executive government to vary the terms of the bargain in future years, as they ſhould ſee cauſe; and he poſitively denied that the meaſure was irrevocable, although ſuch a perſuaſion had created ſome alarm. It was irrevocable indeed

as to the army which it might raiſe, towards which the good faith pledged muſt undoubtedly be maintained. In answer to the aſſertions made, that, by repealing the additional force act, the country was deprived of a ſource of increaſe to the army, without any ſubſtitute being left in its ſtead, he inſiſted that by leaving the foundation of the original method of recruiting clear, a great benefit would enſue. Adverting immediately to the plan, he contended, that a preference of limited ſervice was ſupported by the principles of human nature. It had been mentioned, he ſaid, that the recruit already had the option of inliſting for ſervice limited, both as to time and ſpace; but the recruit might prefer a mode limited only in point of time. He might think it diſagreeable to ſtay at home, he might

might pant to see foreign countries, and to engage in those actions, and to see those heroes, so highly celebrated in the annals of fame. In this view, even unlimited service as to space might be a boon, while unlimited service, in point of time, was a check. Entering into the objections which had been made to the plan, Mr. Windham protested he could not perceive why limited service should impair the character of the soldier. The practice had been sanctioned by the government of France under the kings, and although the term had been some times extended by arbitrary authority, yet that circumstance did not interfere with the general principle; and it was certain that the whole experience of the military institutions in Europe was in its favour. Who were better soldiers than the Swiss? Yet they always enlisted for a limited time. As to the loss at the end of the several terms, he had found by calculation, that fifteen years must elapse before we lost a twelfth part of the existing army; and the inconveniences likely to arise in the colonies might easily be met by various provisions, by appointing troops of a different description for it, and by other means. The right honourable gentleman observed that the instance of the East India company's troops was peculiarly applicable, as the directors enlisted for five years only. The most perfect faith was kept with the recruits, and great advantage was found from this method of raising men. Mr. Windham averred that this change would so much enhance the value of the service, that multitudes, who would not have entered, would now resort to it. The character of it would also be

so much advanced in estimation, that a better description of persons and individuals of more respectability would willingly enter into the army. The consequence would be, that as the men were more orderly, the discipline need not be so severe, which improvement would afford a powerful inducement to creditable persons to embrace the military life.

A circumstance that must naturally deter a great number of well-informed and patriotic country gentlemen, peculiarly adapted by education, talent, fortune, and acquaintance with political science, for parliament, from entering into public life, is the immoderate and disgusting length to which the debates are carried. A man of the dullest and most barren intellect may, by a knowledge of the rules of oratory, and industrious attention, become a copious speaker. If he have not the powers of wit and fancy, he may be ratiocinative, laborious in research, and declamatory even to exuberance. He may be admirable in the arrangement of his matter and periods, from technical habit he will be able to adorn poverty of genius with the gaudy tinsel of metaphors and figurative expression, and experience abundantly proves, that he may be prolix. The cultivated regard with disdain a rhetorical faculty, which they know to be so easily acquired by the humblest order of minds; the ingenious sicken at the dilated expanse of forced illustration, while they revolt from the loathsome recital of arguments which have before been detailed; and even patriotism shrinks from a toil more appalling than that of Sisyphus himself, in the tedious

tedious and endless contexture of modern eloquence.

Much of this mischievous spirit has been excited by the admirable style, in which the parliamentary discussions are given in the daily prints. The liberal indulgence of both houses to publish the debates has unquestionably been productive of much good, and disseminated a great store of political and constitutional information, at the same time that the people thus become acquainted with the sentiments of their representatives. It is to be hoped that this permission will never be retracted or abridged; yet every advantage must be attended by some alloy of evil. Vanity spreads her glittering sail before the breeze, and self-applause is delighted to be wafted down the columns of a morning paper. Much of this propensity is also to be attributed to the example of literary adventurers, originally connected with the press, who have by some means found their way into parliament to seek, mend, or confirm their fortunes, by whom many well meaning and harmless country gentlemen have been inoculated with this unfortunate mania, and tempted to affect the diffusive ornament of Tully, or Cervantic wit and whimsical analogies, to the great impediment of public business.

It is true, their hearers sometimes slumber; but no matter, they and the reporters are awake. They know their speeches will be published, and their complacency is indemnified for the drowsiness of the auditor, by the expected attention of the reader to their essays. At least, they may have the satisfaction of perusing the articles

themselves, and thus multiply the sources of enjoyment.

In the debates upon military subjects, almost every argument that had been before brought forward, when the plan was first developed, was again enforced. Besides these, opposition replied to the few novel traits in the digressive and protracted speech of the right honourable secretary for the war department, and added some fresh objections to his proposal. They remarked that it was unwise to take up a system at the very time that France had abandoned it, through dearly bought experience from the seven years' war; in which she had been utterly unsuccessful, and during which her armies had been held in contempt through the whole world, most probably from being formed on this plan. The instance of the Swifs inlisting for a limited period was denied to be in favour of the question; for it was said, that they could be had on no other terms by the powers who engaged them. It never could be expected that men were to be prevailed on to leave their country for life, especially a people so much attached to their soil as the Swifs; and, therefore, the precedent could not be cited as one for the formation of an army, upon which the defence of its native country was to depend. The example of the East India company was still more unfortunate, since they had wholly abandoned that mode of inlistment at the suggestion of lord Cornwallis, and there remained but one battalion of all their troops that was not to serve for an indefinite term. It was denied that the country could look, with the probability

bability of success, to any persons as likely to enrol themselves, except the peasant and the inferior artisan, and therefore all idea of improving the respectability of the troops was treated as theoretical. The practical danger likely to arise was shewn by a mutiny, which took place at Portsmouth, in consequence of a regiment, engaged for a term of years, being ordered to the East Indies, at the end of the American war. Lord Castlereagh calculated the expenses of the project in the following manner: bounties 380,000l.—increased pay 162,000l.—pensions at the end of fourteen years' service 792,000l.—pensions at the same rate after twenty-one years' service 684,000l. making a total of 2,018,000l.

The grand objections, however, were the method of carrying the plan into effect by ingrafting it on the mutiny bill, which reduced parliament to the dilemma either of foregoing the due exercise of its deliberative functions, or of suffering the army to disband; an inconvenience, which, it was observed, applied more to the house of lords than even the lower house; for the mutiny act partaking of the nature of a money bill, if the peers made any alteration in the clause, the whole bill would be lost; and the embarrassment was still greater as it affected the crown, since the measure would probably be presented for the approval of his majesty, within a period so near to the expiration of the existing mutiny bill, that the king could hardly have a moment to pause, much less to exercise his judgment and discretion. A strong hint was also thrown out that the entire proposition was not

agreeable to the sovereign. It was too contended, that the project was an unwarrantable encroachment on the prerogative. It was argued, that the principle might be tried by the just exercise of the royal authority; and, therefore, it was unnecessary and indecorous for parliament to interfere on the occasion. It was true, that parliament had exerted itself to augment that part of the military force, which was more immediately under its cognizance, and which was obtained by compulsory means that the crown could not use, without parliamentary sanction. The militia, the army of reserve, the additional force, were all of this description, constituting the defensive and limited armament of the country, and might fairly be called the parliamentary army, in contradistinction to the regulars under the control of his majesty. It was recommended, that a trial of the plan should first be made by raising the men for the second battalions; and lastly, it was predicted that, if the scheme failed, no resource would be left to avert the ruin of the realm but conscription, to which this refinement of the right honourable gentleman ultimately tended.

In answer to these remarks, ministers said, that if the measure had been introduced in the mutiny bill, it was because such was the constant usage of parliament; and that objections to any interference, by a popular assembly, with the army of the crown came with a bad grace in that house, where the mutiny bill was annually passed for the avowed purpose of subjecting the army of the country in some degree to parliamentary control. They declared they had never

never heard of a parliamentary army before, except in the year 1641; and as to any distinction between parliamentary and royal troops, no writer, no speaker, nor any man acquainted with the constitution, had ever taken notice of it. Every army in this country was both royal and parliamentary. The ordinance for limited service in France had obtained for seventy-seven years, and therefore it was not fair to take seven years of that period as a criterion, when it was known that for the longer space of time the French had preserved a high military reputation. The precedent of the Swifs was pronounced to be perfectly to the point, since it proved, that however men might be attached to their country, and desirous of returning to it, they were excellent soldiers during the term of their engagement. To calculate on the common sense and common feelings of mankind was no wild speculation, no empty theory. That the idea of limited service would be acceptable to recruits in general was manifest from seventy-eight thousand men being quickly raised on that condition in the American war. The case of the mutiny, which had been advanced, was only a proof that men would resent the bad faith of government; for they had been enlisted to serve during the war. Preliminaries of peace had been signed, and yet, in the interval between these and the final treaty, the regiment received orders to embark for the East Indies. How was it possible for men, so circumstanced, to have the benefit of the terms on which they had entered? In reply to the calculations of the expense likely to

be incurred, it was asserted, that there was an overcharge of above a million in them; and besides that the cost of the arrangement would gradually arise, it was not to be put into competition with the principles of safety, justice, humanity, and advantage. In a constitutional respect it was laid down, that any mode, which rendered it possible for the soldier to revert into the character of the citizen, was laudable. The opinion of Mr. Justice Blackstone was quoted to show the danger to a free state from enlisting men for life. Mr. Fox took occasion to express his opinions on the propriety of maintaining a large army, and making a common cause with Europe against the encroachments of power; and deprecated the idea of withdrawing from continental connexions, and relying exclusively on the protection and prowess of the navy for insulated greatness. In the best periods of the English history, he said, the martial spirit of the country had been witnessed in Europe. "When William III. was at the head of a confederacy of nations, England had acquired considerable renown. Again in the reign of queen Anne, when the duke of Marlborough commanded our armies, although the native British forces were but a small portion in number, compared to their German allies, yet they ranked highly in military fame, and contributed powerfully to the common cause. In the seven years' war, a few British troops, under the command of prince Ferdinand, essentially promoted the victory at Minden. It was in this way the country acquired renown '*Sic itur ad astra.*'

It was by the valour of her soldiers, and not merely by the power of subsidizing foreigners, that she had gained so exalted a character amongst the nations." The object of the period, according to the ideas of Mr. Fox, was not so much to repel invasion, as to regain for the country that military rank and influence, which it had till very recently preserved. So far from thinking that the numbers of the army were too few to defend the realm, he stated most distinctly, that if he saw any prospect of recovering for Europe what had been lost in the late unfortunate campaign, he should have no objection to risk a part of the troops that we already possessed in the attempt. He was always an eager and ardent friend of peace, but a peace preserving our connexions with Europe, and above all, such a peace as would maintain the national point of honour, which he conceived of the highest importance, and one of the few legitimate grounds of war. In conclusion, Mr. Fox said, "much clamour had been raised against the proposed principle as new and untried, and the alarm was loudly sounded to warn his majesty's ministers against its adoption, lest they should render themselves unpopular to the whole nation; but he must beg leave to say, that however unwilling they were to oppose their own opinions against those expressed by the majority, or any great portion, of the people of England, still they felt it their bounden duty, at a crisis so arduous as the present, not to temporize upon a measure of such vital importance to the

security of the kingdom, under any apprehension of risking a temporary popularity; nor to sacrifice to the caprice of the people or selfish considerations the real interest and security of the empire; neither did any man, in his mind, deserve the name of a statesman, who would not firmly adhere to this principle."

When the committee divided, on bringing up the clause, there appeared for it 254, against it 125, the majority in favour of it was therefore 129; but ministers wishing to have the clause read a second time, no less than seven divisions took place, four of which were on repeated motions for the speaker to leave the chair. The business was terminated by the suggestion of the speaker, that an amendment should be proposed on the following Monday, *pro formâ*, so as to admit of a farther discussion on the clause.

When the subject was resumed on the 6th of June, another long debate took place, without producing any novelty of reasoning on either side. Nothing occurred worthy of notice, except an amendment which was offered by Mr. Sturges Bourne, "that the men should not be discharged until six months after the termination of any war, in which the country might be engaged." This effort proved fruitless, as the motion was negatived by a majority of ninety, and, to the extreme satisfaction of the silent members on both sides, the house came to a final decision on the question, by which the bill was passed.

A struggle was made on the 10th of June, in the house of lords,

at the instance of lord Hawkesbury, for the production of the opinions of the general officers, who had been consulted on the point of limited service. It was, however, held by the peers, that it would be irregular to debate on the sentiments of others, and the motion was lost. When the mutiny bill came before their lordships, it was attacked and defended with precisely the same arguments, which had before been exhausted by the commons. The invasion of the royal prerogative was much insisted on. Strong insinuations were uttered, that his majesty was unfavourable to the principle of the new clause; but the duke of Gloucester having, in a neat speech, expressed his decided approval of it, it was dexterously assumed by ministers, that his highness had spoken the sentiments of the whole royal family, although certainly nothing appears in the reports to warrant such an inference. Lord Moira read a letter from a general officer, formerly in the service of Holland, by which it appeared, that seventy-two battalions had been raised during twenty years for the Dutch army, employed both at home and in the colonies; in which it was the uniform practice to enlist the men for limited periods of three, six, and nine years, without any other stipulation than that their discharges should only be demanded in the month of October, or at the end of a campaign, consequently during a war; and that no inconvenience whatever had resulted from the usage. On the third reading of the bill, lord Hawkesbury moved, that the word "twenty" instead of "seven"

should be inserted in the clause mentioning the number of years, for which the recruit was to engage; but the house decided otherwise, and the bill was carried according to the original provisions.

All the military measures of government were sharply contested. The Chelsea hospital bill, which was to sanction the various rewards and advantages proposed for the army, was vehemently disputed, because it was observed, that it pledged parliament to pecuniary supplies, for which there was no estimate. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval particularly distinguished themselves on this subject. The latter made a very extended speech, chiefly remarkable for verbal criticisms, and invective against ministers; yet it cannot be denied that he pointed out several inaccuracies extremely discreditable to the drawers of the act. The training bill, the intention of which was, if a sufficient number of persons did not offer themselves to be drilled, to call out by ballot, and discipline 200,000 men for twenty-four days, until the whole mass of the people had acquired some knowledge of the use of arms, was opposed as oppressive, unnecessary, expensive, derogatory to the volunteers, and breaking the faith of government with the country; since it had been clearly understood, that if a number of persons equal to six times that of the militia should voluntarily stand forward in defence of the realm, the nation was to be exonerated from all compulsory proceedings. It was relied on the part of government, that these two acts were

part of a general system, and therefore their merits ought not to be discussed separately; that the latter bill was so far from being proposed to injure the volunteer associations, that it was designed as an auxiliary to them; that no very great hardship could exist, when it was competent to any man to avoid being trained by choosing his companions in arms, and entering a corps of volunteers, or by paying the small penalty of five pounds; and as to any implied breach of contract with the people, it never could be supposed that ministers were to forego a measure of political necessity, because his majesty had formerly acceded to a proposition made under different circumstances. Several efforts to include Scotland in the operations of this bill were counteracted, because the rarity of her population, scattered over extended districts, rendered it inapplicable to the condition of that part of the kingdom.

Some other points still remained as necessary to Mr. Windham's general plan, and the first of these was to determine the rank of volunteer officers in actual service; for which purpose a bill was brought in to provide that no officer, of whatever rank, belonging to these corps should command a field officer of the regulars. An amendment was submitted by Mr. Combe, that the enactment should only be prospective, and leave the efficient rank and command with those gentlemen, who had already received their commissions. No very great struggle arose in support of this proposal, which was negatived; indeed the propriety

of the regulation was so clear, that it is extraordinary any person could be found to object to it. An attempt was also made by sir Henry Mildmay to obtain a vote of thanks for the volunteers; but it was resisted as inexpedient and premature till the conclusion of the war, when it might be judiciously offered to a body of individuals, whose merits were universally acknowledged.

The completion of the system was effected by suspending the ballot for the militia during two years, unless an absolute necessity should arise to have recourse to it; and by an act to give a slight increase of pay to the regular officers of the crown, up to the rank of major inclusively; the benefit of which was also to extend to subalterns in the militia, but no farther. This exception was ardently canvassed. It was argued, that it tended to degrade officers of the militia, and was besides an infringement of the original constitution of that species of defensive force, by which it was provided, that the officers should be entitled to the same pay as those of the line. The answers to these objections were, that it was impossible to conceive any slight was intended to the militia; that the superior officers of it were mostly men of fortune, and therefore any augmentation of emolument was not called for; that it could not be meant that the regulars were never to have their pay increased, without the same advantage being extended to the domestic troops; that the former were liable to every species of service, and in every climate whether unfavourable or otherwise, while



while the latter always remained in the kingdom; that if this arrangement had the effect of bringing back the militia to its former principle of admitting no captains without the proper qualification, it would have a beneficial result.

Upon a retrospect of the various details of the combined military system, no very satisfactory arguments were adduced by ministers, that the training bill was not an breach of the implied compact with the country to avoid all procedures of a compulsory nature, if a requisite body of men should stand forward as volunteers for its defence; and as to the distinction taken between the existing and future pay of the line as applicable to the militia, it approached very nearly to an equivocation. The leading trait of the plan, inlistment for a limited period, seemed undoubtedly founded on the obvious principles of human nature, and corroborated by the spirit of humanity and justice; at the same time the exclusion of the troops, who had already entered, from the benefits of the proposition, was not only a powerful drawback on the equity of the general rule; but, in spite of sophistry, tended to create much envy and uneasiness, a perpetual source of rancour and discontent, and a prolific soil for desertion and mutiny of the most alarming description and consequences. The project held forth no advantages to confirm the expectation that persons of a superior class would be led to take up arms as a means of subsistence; nor would it be possible for the ingenuity of man to perfect any

scheme for that purpose, consistent with the resources of any state, however opulent or patriotic. The ulterior provisions for the soldier, at the end of twenty-one years, were certainly improvements, and calculated to afford a solace and recompense for the toils of the lower classes of the community, who had served the country; but the inducement to enter the army again, when the first term of seven years was expired, by holding forth an increased pay of six-pence a-week, was really ludicrous. It was upon a par with the thought that men might eagerly flock to the recruiting officer, with the hope of rising to the rank of serjeants, when they were to enjoy the privilege of having a particular bench appropriated to them at the theatres, and of receiving the substantial reward of a permission to shoot partridges. \* Such an idea might be supposed naturally enough to have arisen in the conception of the celebrated hero of Cervantes, and have been perfectly characteristic in the metaphysical knight of the sorrowful countenance.

The case of judge Fox †, against whom a petition had been presented for misconduct during the assizes at Donegal, which had lain in suspense for two years before the house of lords, was this session finally decided, or rather disposed of, on the motion of lord Grenville to take the matter into consideration on a day, before which it was certain that parliament would be prorogued. His lordship, after mentioning that the proceedings on this topic had amounted to nothing more than postpone-

\* See Annual Register for the year 1805, page 73.

† See Vol. XLVI. page 237.

ments from time to time of the order for witnesses to attend, declared it to be his firm conviction that they were wrong *ab initio*, and that they were instituted in a court not competent to inquire into the dispute; for nothing was clearer than that no criminal complaint could be preferred and followed up in the house of peers; the jurisdiction of which ought to be confined to the trial of criminal matters upon impeachment by the commons, or limited to the revision of the sentences of other courts, by appeal or a writ of error; and never, with the exception of the maintenance of its own principles and privileges, should be extended to the original cognizance of criminal causes. This doctrine was sanctioned by the opinion of chief justice Holt, one of the greatest lawyers of his time. The subject of the petition was indisputably proper to be referred to the inferior tribunals, in which redress might be obtained according to the laws of the country; and therefore his lordship thought it very inexpedient that it should be pressed on the attention of the house, when in every case of wrong a remedy was to be had by a regular course of prosecution. He did not say that the cause was excluded from their lordships' power, but from all the legal and prudent exercise of it. Lord Grenville, subsequently to expressing a wish to dismiss the affair, if it were merely for want of time to weigh it properly in the existing session, pointed out an important inconvenience that might ensue, if the house were to proceed to a decision on the business. If it came to a conclusion, which would in fact pronounce the severest judgment, and determine

to address his majesty to remove Mr. Justice Fox, the resolution must be communicated to the commons, and it was possible they might think an impeachment necessary; in which event every peer would be liable to be challenged as being prejudiced on the occasion; for their sentiments would be already recorded.

On the other hand, it was contended that it was perfectly regular, that the houses of lords and commons should jointly address the throne for the removal of an unjust judge; and that it would be in the greatest degree indecent, if such an address were not preceded by patient and deliberate inquiry; that the house, by entertaining the question, would only exercise the inquisitorial authority vested in it by the constitution; and if it were to be restricted from the exertion of that power, because it was possible the commons might consider the offence, which they were investigating, as fit for impeachment, it could neither address for the removal of a secretary of state, a first lord of the admiralty, nor the governor of a colony; and besides that the house had placed itself in such circumstances, that it could not recede with propriety. It had heard witnesses, had passed a bill to continue the proceedings in the present session, the commons were privy to the transaction by giving their consent to the continuance of them; and great disappointment would be felt in Ireland, where redress was expected from their lordships; for, if the business were evaded, it would be conceived as a slight to the claims of that part of the kingdom resulting from indifference to its interests.

One of lord Grenville's arguments,

ments, that of the expediency of getting rid of the petition, on account of the advanced period of the session, must be considered as liable to peculiar objection; for it would be applicable to any measure of the highest constitutional importance. This, however, met with no comment; and his lordship's motion was carried by a majority of nine. As the house had so far entered into the merits of the question, it might have been advisable to go on to a decision. At all events, the reasons, brought forward for adopting the mode of quashing the proceedings that was sanctioned, were advanced too late, and the supposed inconvenience, arising from the possible opinion of the commons, was a mere assumption on most improbable grounds; for as they had consented to the bill for the farther cognizance of the matter, no conduct could have been fairly expected on their part, which would have placed the house in an unpleasant predicament. Witnesses had been encouraged to come from Ireland, and had been in attendance during that and the preceding session; and it certainly did seem hard after this expense was incurred, although, as it was stated in Mr. Justice Fox's petition, it was defrayed out of the public treasury, that the cause should be dismissed without the sentiments of the house having been previously expressed.

Several regulations of a commercial nature were adopted by parliament this session. Amongst these the harbour in the island of Tortola was declared a free port. The object of this measure was to divert the capital of British merchants from being vested in the

neutral island of Saint Thomas, and to take from it some part of the carrying trade, in which a number of British shipping was employed. The bill for this end encountered a slight opposition, because it was said that if the free importation from foreign islands of sugar, coffee, and other articles, the produce of our own settlements, were allowed into one of our own colonies, it would be impossible to prevent them from being re-exported to this country. To meet this argument it was observed that there was a clause, by which no more sugar was permitted to be sent to England, than the average produce of the island of Tortola; and it was also mentioned, that the present board of trade had in this respect only followed the example of their predecessors, who had introduced a similar act the year before for establishing a free port at Nassau in the Bahamas.

Another proceeding, which met with the approbation of all parties, was to establish a free intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, in the mutual export and import of corn. The next measure was merely put in train, and related to the laws concerning manufacturers of woollen goods. Some of these laws had become obsolete and inapplicable to the present circumstances of the trade. Various petitions had been presented respecting them; and several motions made on the subject, which was at length referred to a committee of revision, who were to report from time to time the result of their researches, until such a body of information could be obtained as to warrant a decisive act, comprehending

ing rules generally suitable to individuals interested in this branch of manufactures.

An act of insolvency was also passed, though not without meeting with the decided hostility of lords Ellenborough and Eldon. The former of these noble persons objected to the frequency of introducing bills of this description, as an encouragement to thoughtless profusion, and injurious to the course of fair trade. He had ascertained, he said, by returns for which he had moved, that more than half of the persons, who were confined in the different prisons of the metropolis, had been committed to gaol since the preceding Michaelmas term; and it was most probable that they had thrown themselves into prison, with the intention of availing themselves of the act to defraud their creditors. In the reign of queen Anne there had been only two insolvent acts passed; and even these had a proviso that the persons, who were discharged by them, should enter into her majesty's service. Both the noble lords disapproved of the avowed principle of the proposition, which was, that the gaols were overloaded with prisoners. Lord Eldon admitted that the existing laws between debtor and creditor required improvement, and wished for some permanent and general regulation of them. At present, he said, the discharge of the person of a debtor, when taken in execution, was an effectual surrender of the claim of the creditor. This of itself reduced the creditor to the necessity of keeping his debtor in prison, or of renouncing his demand. He thought this hardship might be immediately removed. At the same time he ap-

pealed to the remembrance of the chief justice of the king's bench, that formerly when a bill, similar to that before the house, was rejected, many debts then deemed hopeless were at length paid.

Lord Holland, who was the author of the bill, was supported by the earl of Moira, and the duke of Norfolk. The first stated that, as lord Moira had thought, from the pressure of his official business, he should not be able to bring forward this session any specific plan for the amelioration of those laws, the severity of which was by the most eminent characters universally acknowledged, he conceived that the sufferings of the unfortunate should be alleviated by some temporary expedient. He denied the justice of confounding the unfortunate with the criminal debtor, objected to the reference to the prisons of the metropolis alone, as an unfair criterion of the different commitments, and contended that it was unwarrantable to assume that all of them had taken place at the instance of debtors themselves; while lord Moira argued that even, if the fact were as it was supposed, and that a majority of persons had entered into confinement for participating in the benefits of the act, their conduct was both natural and just; as they had invoked the wisdom and humanity of the legislature to interfere between them and their rigorous creditors; and being ready fairly and honourably to deliver up every species and sort of their property, they were by every view of equity entitled to the advantages of the compromise: a piece of sophistry so obviously untrue as to need no remark. It was besides generally advanced, that the act took nothing from creditors,

ditors, as the future property of the persons to be relieved would be liable to their present debts; and that acts of insolvency were by no means so frequent as they formerly had been; since no less than six had been passed in the early part of his majesty's reign, previously to the year 1781. It was, however, allowed that a strict inquiry should be made to distinguish between the claims of the unhappy and the delinquent; but it was replied that the bill contained no such power of discrimination, and would set all at liberty without the least exception.

The laws on this point, as they now stand, are certainly austere, and even seem to defeat every rational purpose of legal interference. It is very desirable that some effective and judicious revision of them should take place not only to moderate their harshness, but to give greater security to the creditor himself; yet it is impossible for candour to deny that the thoughtless and profuse as well as the fraudulent individual, who incurs debts without the probability of the means to pay them, is in the first instance at least as cruel to the objects of his conduct, by depriving daily exertion and unwearied industry of their fair reward, as the most inexorable creditor; nor can he justly complain of the vindictive feelings of him, whom he has so atrociously deceived; although it is extremely improper that any sentiments of vengeance should be carried into effect with the sanction of British jurisprudence.

Much of the lustre of false humanity has always been employed to decorate the veil, that is frequently thrown over the iniquity

of extravagance, and the efforts of mistaken kindness will always be popular; yet an attentive observer cannot fail to remark that the facility with which improvidence is often extricated from difficulty, promotes speculative habits and a lightness of character, to the destruction of every thing that is valuable in the human breast. If this consequence arise with respect to that part of the world, whose pursuits are not commercial, it follows, with features still more pernicious, as applied to the trading part of the community, who, instead of rigidly and conscientiously limiting their views to just or even probable resources, embark on the fluctuating waters of adventure; and degrade the solid, laudable, and honourable routine of a merchant, into the calculations and practices of a gamester; while the mischievous example, which is thus held forth, undermines the perceptions of justice, and tempts no small number of the people to regard the useful spirit of commerce as a game of chance, from the failure of which no disgrace is usually to be expected.

Amongst the grants of public money, that to increase the incomes of the junior male branches of the royal family excited particular animadversion. The chancellor of the exchequer delivered a message from his majesty, recommending such a procedure; and lord Henry Petty proposed to add six thousand pounds per annum to the twelve, which had been voted for the maintenance of these illustrious persons in the year 1778. The Duke of York, he said, generously declined any farther appeal

peal to the nation, as he was perfectly satisfied with his present establishment, which amounted to two and twenty thousand pounds a-year. The depreciation of money was the principal inducement offered to the house for their concurrence on this question. Colonel Wood deprecated extending national munificence at a period of unexampled pressure, when almost every man was paying fifty per cent. in taxes on the support which he derived from his estate or industry; and conceived the exemptions from several imposts, enjoyed by the exalted subjects of the debate, as equal to a virtual increase of income. To which immunity was to be added, that some of them held appointments of considerable emolument under the crown. In the last reason against the proposal he was joined by Mr. William Smith; but Mr. Rose pointed out to the reflection of the honourable members, that these offices could never properly be taken into contemplation, when the question was respecting a permanent settlement. He considered the provision as very moderate, when he recollected, that fifty years ago the stipend to the duke of Gloucester was fifteen thousand pounds a-year, which was equal to forty thousand pounds at the present time; and both he and the chancellor of the exchequer insisted that the retrenchment of certain tables, and other allowances under the civil list, to the princes, amounted to more than the augmentation, which was submitted to parliament.

The dislike to this grant on account of the appointments, which might have been held at the pleasure

of the crown by the princes, was not warranted by any sound principle of policy; for admitting that the difference in the value of money rendered the proceeding salutary, those offices contributed to make them dependent, and as peers of parliament, it was most obviously proper that their revenues should place them above the reach of influence. It was nevertheless generally supposed that ministers, by this proof of their bounty, were actuated by a desire to conciliate the favour of some part at least of the royal family, by whom altogether, it was thought, they were regarded with no peculiar affection; and it is certain, that the public were so far from applauding their complaisance in this instance, that few of their proceedings were more unpopular, or created more disgust, than the resolution that was passed, at a time when the country was smarting under the lash of a ten per cent. property duty, which, besides drawing blood at every stroke, laid the circumstances of every man bare to the cauterizing inspection of the tax-gatherer.

Colonel Wood also objected to that part of the Nelson grant, which was for the purchase of an estate and mansion to be attached to the earldom. He deemed it at once unnecessary and profuse, as the hero who had so highly conducted to the benefit of the nation, had fallen in battle; and the reward was to be enjoyed by those who had no possible claim to this distinction, but that of accidental consanguinity. The justice of this comment was acknowledged by Mr. Wilberforce and others; but they held the remuneration to be sanctioned by expediency, as an example

example to the navy, and a stimulus to the future exertions of valour and prudence in the service of the state. The grants to the seamen who were engaged at Trafalgar, to lord Collingwood, sir Richard Strachan, and sir John Duckworth, were objects of unanimous approval; and were passed with pleasure, as tributes of gratitude.

A bill to alter and amend the bankrupt laws, under the superintendence of the solicitor general, was passed this year. The chief remedies enacted were, that all *bonâ fide* debts contracted, and every conveyance and engagement entered into by the bankrupt, as well all payments made by and to him, at any period which should be more than two calendar months before the commission against him was issued, should be good and valid, notwithstanding any antecedent act of bankruptcy; if the person or persons entering into such contracts, or making or receiving such payments, should have no notice of a prior failure of credit. The debts arising from these transactions were to be capable of proof under the existing commission; and the certificate obtained by the bankrupt was to afford an effectual protection against them. No commission was thereafter to be superseded by any past act of the bankrupt, provided the petitioning creditor was not aware that the former was insolvent at the time, when the debt due to him was incurred, and on which his process was founded. These improvements in the law were at once rational and humane; and, as sir Samuel Romilly justly observed, some melioration of it had long been wanting in this respect.

It may be remembered, that in the preceding session, Mr. Whit-

bread brought in a bill to indemnify Mr. Trotter, and such persons as should be required to give evidence on lord Melville's trial, against the effects of any criminal prosecution for the matters which they might disclose. An amendment was adopted, on the motion of sir William Elford, extending the indemnity to civil suits; and the bill thus amended was sent to the house of peers. Some difficulty there occurred in this matter, and it was determined to refer the point as to the civil actions to the judges. The bill was then passed by the lords, without the clause suggested by sir William Elford, and in that state returned to the lower house, where it was rejected on account of the omission. Mr. Whitbread therefore on the 11th of February substituted another bill to indemnify the witnesses generally, which was carried through the house of commons, and transmitted to the peers, who then immediately made an order for the judges to deliver their opinions, whether a witness was liable to answer questions, which would involve him in a civil suit, and if a witness, who, on making a full and fair disclosure, was to be excused from certain debts, could be legally objected to, on the ground of his being interested?

The judges differed in their sentiments on the first proposition; but on the latter were unanimous that the testimony of a person, under such circumstances, could not be impugned, he being bound by his oath, as well as by law, morality, and honour, to tell the truth. In consequence of this diversity of opinion on the first doubt felt by their lordships, it was resolved to hear the judges *seriatim*,  
and

and they were accordingly directed to attend. The affair seemed to be entangled in much perplexity, many exceptions being made to any precise rule. However, lord chief baron Macdonald, justices Chambre, Le Blanc, Lawrence, Heath, barons Sutton and Graham, concurred, that a witness was compellable to answer all questions, which did not subject him to a criminal action; but lord chief justice Mansfield, Mr. justice Grose, barons Thompson and Rooke, held that he might refuse his testimony, where it would endanger his pecuniary interest. Lord Ellenborough did not make a formal declaration on the case; but it was clearly to be implied, from his speech on the propriety of instituting a declaratory act, that he agreed with the majority of his brethren, with whom lords Eldon and Erskine also coincided. A legislative provision was subsequently originated to set the business at rest, by which it was decided, that in all cases, a witness was bound to give evidence, when it did not render him liable to criminal process. The bill, that was introduced with this view, met with some opposition in its various stages through both houses, not so much in regard to its principle, as in re-

spect to branches of detail, and the necessity for the measure. It finally, nevertheless, obtained the sanction of the lords and commons, and received the royal assent.

The system of vaccination, which had occasioned the greatest variety of opinion and controversy in every circle, from the learned college to the domestic fire-side, engaged the notice of parliament, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, for an address to his majesty to direct the royal college of physicians to enquire into the state of that mode of inoculating persons in this country, and into the causes that retarded its progress, and to report their sentiments, with the evidence on which they were founded, to the house of commons.

His lordship was doubtless actuated in this respect by the most benevolent motives; but it is not easy to discover how the interference of the legislature could be advantageous on a subject, which admitted so much dispute. A vote of parliament is not calculated to remove obstinate prejudice, whether well or ill-grounded, which must be long left to the effects of time and experience, before it can reasonably be expected to subside.

## CHAP. VII.

*Indifference of Parliament to questions concerning India. Mr. Francis withdraws his Motion on the Loan to the Guicowar. Debate on Mr. Johnstone's Motion for the Production of two Letters from Lord Cornwallis to the East India Company, soon after his Arrival in Bengal. Mr. Francis declares that he shall withdraw his Attention from all Subjects purely Indian. Mr. Hobhouse's Bill relative to the Debts of the Nabobs of Arcot: Speeches of Mr. Francis and Mr. Whitshed Keene: Curious Anecdote*



*of Lord Macartney. Lord Archibald Hamilton's Motion for Papers negatived. Mr. Paull's first Charge against Lord Wellesley: Proceedings thereon. Mr. Paull's second Charge against his Lordship respecting the Transactions in Oude: Strange Assertion of Mr. Whitshed Keene reprobated by Mr. Francis and Mr. Fox, and disclaimed by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Mr. Paull's third Charge relative to the Rajah of Ferruckabad. Mr. Paull moves for the Attendance of several Witnesses on the Oude Charge, who are examined. Ineffectual Attempt of Lord Temple to bring this Accusation to an Issue. Mr. Paull produces a supplementary Charge to that of Oude. Lord Morpeth lays the Indian Budget before the House of Commons; Sir Arthur Wellesley's Statement controverted by Mr. Grant. Mr. Prinsep Attacks the Monopoly of the Company; which is defended by Mr. Huddleston. Substance of Lord Castlereagh's Speeches on Indian Affairs. Parliament prorogued.*

WHOEVER at this period attempted to bring the complicated subject of Indian statistics or finance before parliament, was perfectly aware, that he would not have the advantage of a willing audience. Even the gentlemen who returned from India, with fortunes accumulated in the service of the company, seemed to recoil from a task so unpromising of either thanks or reward, as the investigation of the intricate system of political arrangements in that part of the world, and the dry detail of matters of account. For several years Mr. Dundas had exulted, lord Castlereagh had felt hurt, and Mr. Francis had deplored, that the announcement of an Indian budget was the never-failing signal for the members of the house of commons to desert their seats. The first rejoiced because he assumed the thin attendance as a proof of the confidence, which was regenerated in the nation as to the economy of India; the second naturally felt mortified that affairs, which had cost him so much labour and difficulty to digest, should be explained to empty benches; and the last, besides his

regard for the interest of the state, and his conviction of the weight and consequence of the concerns of Asia, lamented this indifference, which rendered the studies of his whole life nearly useless. With the conclusion of Mr. Hastings's trial all taste for Indian topics appears to have been extinguished. Prior to that event, they presented a ready and abundant theme for attack on the minister of the day; and the members of opposition were of course anxious to be well informed on the point; but the French revolution broke out, and after that occurrence, viziers, nabobs, and rajahs, faded in the memory of every partisan; and the concerns of the Hindû provinces, with every thing relating to them, became an antiquated and deserted region in the warfare of debate. Great praise is therefore due to the persons, whose public spirit impelled them to elucidate questions respecting our Oriental settlements, and enforce the importance of them to notice; especially when they felt convinced that the only probable return, which they could expect for their patriotism and exertions, was the con-

consciousness of deserving that applause, which they must have despaired to obtain; and who were certain that, in the prosecution of their laudable course, they would have to contend with impatience and disgust.

Undismayed by these adverse circumstances, Mr. Paull, lord Folkstone, Mr. Prinsep, Mr. Francis, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Huddleston, lord Archibald Hamilton, and lord Ossulston, stood forward in the present session to serve the public. The views of the honourable members were possibly various; but whatever was the motive for their conduct, it merited the gratitude of the community as productive of general benefit. Of these the most prominent was Mr. Paull, who was induced, according to his frequent declarations, by a sense of duty, to prefer articles of charge against the marquis Wellesley, for the mode in which he had administered the government of India. In following up this purpose, he had already, during the preceding year, moved for a variety of papers to illustrate his object, and continued perpetually to demand other documents with the same intention. The major part of his wishes met with the concurrence of the house, the materials, which he so perseveringly required, being as copiously produced. In addition to his principal aim, he also entered into the extended merits of the company's affairs; and from time to time took part in the debates brought on at the instance of others.

On the 25th of February, Mr. Francis moved for papers to explain a transaction in the Guzerat. The honourable gentleman had, in the year 1805, adverted to this

business, which was an item in the disbursements of the presidency of Bombay, with no other explanation than the words "lent to the Gwicowar." The sum specified was equal to 352,000*l.* Mr. Francis wished to know for what reason this loan was made. The company had taken possession of the territory of this prince, they held it in his name, and the first thing they had done was to lend him a large sum of money. "Does any man," said the honourable member, "believe that the Guicowar ever received a shilling of this loan? If there be really such a man, I shall only say, that that man knows nothing of the politics of India. The house ought to be aware of two things; that the several presidencies in India are generally in distress for money, and constantly employed to raise it by every possible expedient; that Bombay is the poorest and most distressed of them all; and, under this pressure, the company's servants professed to have lent an enormous sum to this their tributary prince." In the other part of Mr. Francis's speech he made some severe remarks on the omission of bringing forward an Indian budget in the last year. Lord Castlereagh replied, that this occurrence arose from the delay in transmitting the accounts from the settlements, which rendered it impossible to prepare any statement of the finances.

Lord Morpeth and Mr. Hiley Addington requested the honourable gentleman to postpone his motion, as an indulgence to a board of control so recently appointed, promising that no time should be lost in enquiring into the case; and the

the former assured the house, that he should produce the budget, as soon as the documents could be arranged. In consequence of these suggestions, Mr. Francis withdrew his motion.

A debate of considerable length took place, when Mr. Johnstone moved for copies of two letters addressed to the court of directors by lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival in India, relative to the unfortunate state of the presidencies in pecuniary matters, and subjects generally connected with expence. Mr. Johnstone disclaimed any personal animosity to the marquis Wellesley, to whom he thought the empire was indebted for so much of his system as established our military reputation and ascendancy in India; but he thought it necessary that parliament should turn its attention to the mode in which that country had been for a long time ruled. He hoped the house would recur to its former resolution, and that the future plan of the Indian government would be established on the basis of it. He conceived it to be highly expedient that ministers should declare the precise line of conduct, which they meant to pursue on this momentous question. No repugnance was shown to grant the papers; but Mr. Fox objected to giving any explicit declaration on the part of ministers as to their intentions in Indian affairs; although he professed to retain all his former opinions on them. He thought such a pledge the more unnecessary, as the present board of control evinced every wish to comply with the resolution formerly entered into by the house. Mr. Huddleston, in advocating Mr. Johnstone's motion,

said, that, if the papers were produced, a solid benefit would arise by showing the true nature of the principles, on which Indian concerns had been conducted, stripped of those ornaments and decorations, which had dazzled the eyes, and for a time led captive the understandings of good and able men in this country.

This discussion, in the course of which much praise was bestowed on the rectitude and moderation of lord Cornwallis, was chiefly remarkable for the speech of Mr. Francis, who, after enumerating his services to the East India company, and complaining of the want of support which he had experienced, avowed it to be his deliberate purpose to withdraw himself generally from the consideration of political questions purely and properly Indian, and not involving any immediate British interest. He also declared that he never would be concerned in the prosecution of Indian delinquency, or in any impeachment whatever; protesting that Mr. Hastings's trial had cured him of that folly. At the same time, he said, this bargain was only with himself; and, as he held himself responsible to no man, he should depart from it whenever he thought proper.

Mr. Francis, however, either in consequence of allusions to his sentiments, or from a paramount regard to duty, largely assisted in the several debates that ensued on motions respecting the company's debts and commerce; which it is needless to present to the reader, as all these circumstances were amply unfolded and commented on, after lord Morpeth had laid the Indian budget before the house.

He also took a part in most of the preliminary conversations, that arose on Mr. Paull's demands for papers to substantiate his charges against Lord Wellesley, whose transactions he conceived merited impeachment; yet in the expression of a wish to obviate existing inconveniences, by a change of measures for the improvement of the company's resources, and for a more moderate exercise of policy in their dominions, without any retrospect to past improprieties, he generally concurred with Mr. Fox; who acknowledged, that he had not lately attended to Indian measures so much as other gentlemen, or as he ought to have done, and that, in fact, since the verdict on Mr. Hastings, he had rarely taken part in any discussion on the affairs of India, and had even seldom been present when they were likely to be argued.

The debts of the nabobs of Arcot, to which the notice of the house was called, formed a topic of an extremely complex nature; but it is only requisite to developé that part of it, in which the public was more materially concerned. These princes, to raise the supplies for the wars, in which they were engaged in common with the East India company, had become indebted to various British subjects and others in large sums of money; some of the loans were also of a private description, and were obtained for the support of their rank, and to meet temporary distresses. For the discharge of these encumbrances the nabobs had set apart a certain proportion of their revenues; but the state of the Carnatic finances being involved in great confusion, the reigning prince

in the year 1801, transferred the collection and management of all his resources, with the civil and military government of the country, to the company's servants; reserving a proper maintenance for himself and successors. Under British management, the revenues of the state were greatly augmented, and a large surplus remained to be appropriated to the discharge of the debts, the more considerable of which had been liquidated. The remainder were at first referred to a committee in Calcutta for examination; but commissioners were subsequently appointed in England, as well as India, to trace the justice of the claims. When these gentlemen entered on their functions, they found that they had no power to ascertain the reality of the debts but by the voluntary oaths of the claimants; and a doubt arising in their minds as to the legality of these voluntary attestations, they took the opinion of several eminent lawyers on the case, which confirmed their repugnance to proceed in this manner. Mr. Hobhouse, therefore, applied for leave to bring in a bill to empower the commissioners to administer an oath, and to subject the persons who broke it to the penalties of perjury. He also wished that there should be a clause in the act to vest in the transferee of the claims, a legal as well as equitable interest in them; in order to prevent the inconvenience of the parties, applying or suing for sums due to them, in the name of the persons, by whom they were formerly advanced to the nabobs.

Mr. Francis and Mr. Whitshed Keene made some remarks on the equivocal character of these claims.

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The former said it was material for parliament to consider the assets of the company; since, if they were deficient, the burthen must inevitably fall on the revenues of this country. As to the debts in question, they were a tolerably notorious subject. Every body must remember something of the nabob of Arcot's encumbrances; and Mr. Burke had many years since very properly stated his opinion, that a combination of evidence served to show, that sums had been distributed for a course of years, in the name of the old nabob of Arcot, to the servants of the East-India company in the most scandalous manner; and that there was strong reason to suspect, that most part of the debts demanded were wholly fictitious. Mr. Francis particularly wished to have the amount and the nature of the demands specified. He was not prepared to say, that none of them were equitable; but he conceived it to be unsafe for the house to proceed, without actual knowledge on the business. A mercantile firm of great eminence had lately failed at Madras, amongst whose assets was found an item amounting to ten lacs of pagodas of these debts. That firm had employed the money intrusted to it, in buying up the paper of the nabob of Arcot, which, from being a drug, worth next to nothing, and which, in all probability, did not cost more than two-pence in the pound, would, if admitted without proper inquiry, produce a fortune to the holders. The honourable member concluded by moving for a number of papers to explain the points, to which he had alluded.

Mr. Whitshed Keene could not help remarking that, in looking

over the list of the claimants, he saw a number of names of persons bearing high appointments in India, who perhaps had no very strong pretensions to the equity of the company in this instance. He also mentioned a curious anecdote of lord Macartney, with whose intimacy he had been honoured. That nobleman had informed him that, when he was appointed governor of Madras, he had scarcely arrived at that place four and twenty hours, before he received a message from the nabob, requesting to see him. The noble lord accordingly paid him an immediate visit, and was astonished to find it was for the purpose of receiving a present adequate to 30,000l.—with proportionate tenders to the officers of his suite. Lord Macartney expressed much surprise, and declined accepting the money; at the same time wishing to know the motives that induced such an offer, he was told by the nabob, that it was quite a customary donative to every new governor, and had never before been refused! The prince added, that there was no infringement whatever of propriety in accepting it; and the offer was repeated with a pressing request to take it, as it was considered a just compliment due to the head of the British government; whom, ever since the taking of Pondicherry, he considered as his protector against the French. Lord Macartney, however, still persisted in his refusal, assuring the nabob of his determination to render him every service and protection in his power, as earnestly as if he had accepted his largess; but the result of this upright and exemplary integrity was, that his lordship's

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despotic control and with the most guilty profusion, and for corrupt purposes, squandered the money of the company to an enormous extent; insomuch that they were unable to keep their contract, entered into in the year 1793, to pay to government, out of the surplus of their annual profits, the sum of 500,000l. yearly; and that consequently a debt to the public of 6,000,000l. had accrued, and that the result of the noble lord's conduct was that the whole debt of the company, independently of that already noticed, had arisen from 11,033,648l. at which sum it stood in 1798, to above 31,000,000l. in 1805: and that his extravagance had even driven him to the expedient of attempting to sell the imposts on the lands in Bengal, and had so much embarrassed the affairs of the company as to endanger the loss of their territory. The charge next adverted to the letter received by the directors from lord Cornwallis, in which he gave a deplorable statement of the company's concerns, arising from the prodigality of his predecessor; particularly in keeping up unnecessarily a body of irregular troops, which the marquis Cornwallis was compelled to disband at the risk of their engaging in other service; considering them less formidable to meet in the field, than to be retained at an expense so enormous; and that in order to clear the arrears of pay due to these irregulars, he had been forced to detain the treasure, destined to be sent to China for commercial purposes, to the amount of 250,000l. It then mentioned, that, upon the taking of Seringapatam, large sums

of money were extorted, by the order of lord Wellesley, from the nabobs of Oude, Arcot, Ferruckabad, and some others: that as, by the treaty of Hyderabad, the annual revenue of the provinces, which became tributary after the Mahratta war, was above 544,000l. a-year, and that no other warlike operations took place except against Holkar and the rajah of Bhurt-pore, in the latter of which the only loss sustained was that of lives and honour, the embarrassments of the Indian government could only be attributed to lord Wellesley's boundless profusion, in which he had engaged in contempt of the orders of his employers: that these embarrassments partly arose from new-modelling the criminal courts in Bengal, from increasing wantonly and uselessly the number of their officers, and giving large salaries to his friends and favourites, amongst which improprieties was the grant of 1500l. per annum to sir William Burroughs, amounting altogether to the sum of 1,300,000l.—from the expenditure of a vast sum for the establishment of packets; the erection of a college at Fort William without the consent of the company, which cost 181,689l.—from an unnecessary journey of the noble marquis in 1801, to the upper provinces, accompanied with the most extravagant expenditure, one item of which was for 1100 boats, and the whole charge 30,000l.; by building a palace at Calcutta, which was decorated in a style of splendour unparalleled even amongst Indian princes, at the sum of 220,000l.—besides purchasing a house and garden at Bhurt-pore, valued at 15,000l.; by reviving the institution of a body guard,



guard, abolished by sir John Shore, maintained for five years, including horses, accoutrements, and outfit, and the annual outgoing, at the rate of 240,000*l.*; by advancing a large sum to build a town-house at Calcutta, which sum was to be reimbursed by the citizens, and this was done at a time when an arrear of five months' pay was due to the troops. The charge further expressed the irregular appointment of his lordship's brother, the honourable Henry Wellesley, to be governor and commander in chief in Oude, at the cost of 26,000*l.* in thirteen months, which exceeded in its ratio the yearly allowance of the company to the governor-general; the arbitrary retention in his own hands, to the exclusion of all authority or interference, patronage to the extent of 628,206*l.* per annum; under the influence of which he procured addresses from every part of the country commending his justice, conduct and services: and further, although the trade-laws strictly forbade him to accept any money from the people of the provinces, yet he received for the luxuries of his table, and for other purposes to his own private gratification, no less than 120,000*l.*; and that while he was misapplying the company's property in a corrupt and profligate manner, and for maintaining his household in the most gorgeous style of splendour, he was also supporting that extravagance by loans, borrowed in the name of the company, nominally at the interest of 12 per cent.—but, from the manner in which they were raised, at a real interest of 16 per cent.

Mr. Paull having finished, moved that the charge should lie on the

table; but, in consequence of several suggestions from the speaker, the honourable gentleman, who seemed to be totally unacquainted with parliamentary usages and precedents, at last moved, that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on that day three weeks. When the question was put, as Mr. Paull had not previously secured any member to second the motion, a pause occurred; after which sir William Geary rose for that purpose. A debate followed, in which it appeared, that although Mr. Paull had obtained so many papers, he had actually brought forward a charge, grounded upon none of them, and therefore unsupported by a single authenticated instrument; yet, as he expressed his confidence that he could prove every thing which he had advanced by documents that he specified, Mr. Fox proposed that the debate should be adjourned until the 29th of the month, and moved the house to that effect. After considerable altercation, it was at length determined that both motions should be withdrawn, and that when some further information was obtained, it might be competent to Mr. Paull, or any other gentleman, to renew the subject on a day subsequent to the production of the papers required. This procedure left the order for printing the charge untouched, and Mr. Sheridan gave notice that he should move the house to rescind it; since he conceived it to be unjust to the character of the noble Marquis to leave this stain upon it, in the absence of all proof. Mr. Sheridan therefore, on the following day, made his motion, which was carried. On this occasion it was re-

marked by Mr. W. Smith, that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Paull) had not been handsomely used on the former night; for though his procedure had been impolitic and hurried, it was rather the business of the house to lead him on with kindness, than to treat him as a calumniator; and when Mr. Paull made on the 28th another fruitless effort to have his charge printed, and adduced several precedents in his favour, although the sense of the house was ultimately against him, he obtained the assistance of Mr. Windham, lord Douglas, Mr. Fox, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. W. Smith; but, in consequence of what fell from them, he abandoned his motion for the present. He made, indeed, several attempts afterwards to obtain his object, but never had the good fortune to succeed.

On the 28th of May he brought forward his second charge against the marquis, relating to the transactions in Oude. The inculpation stated, that the principality in question, adjoining on one side the British territories, was somewhat larger than England and Wales, and that Lucknow, the capital of it, exceeded in the total of its inhabitants London and Westminster, the number of people in the whole state being about six millions; that the government of it, monarchical in form, was absolute in the person of the sovereign, whose title was that of nabob-vizier, who had under him, previously to the spoliations of the marquis Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility, whose court exhibited every mark of splendour, his jewels being of immense worth, and his retinue numerous and superb, and whose army consisted of

13,000 horse, and 30,000 foot, exclusive of artillery and an armed police; and that the country was flourishing in agriculture, commerce, and revenue, which was collected by farmers-general, called aumils, who were great nobles, having under them persons denominated zemindars, a superior class of whom were rajahs, and these latter, who were hereditary feudal chieftains, rented the taxes of their several districts from the aumils, which were exacted from the ryots, or husbandmen and manufacturers; to each of which last was left, out of the produce of his labours, the means of subsistence in a greater or less degree of ease; as the only property known in the country arose from the profits of the taxes, since, by the laws and usages of the state, the nabob vizier was the sole and exclusive owner of the lands. The charge then recited the several treaties concluded between the company and the nabob, by which he was to have for his protection a certain number of auxiliary troops, and to defray the expences of them by monthly instalments; as well as the act, passed by the legislature in the year 1784, against the extension of our territories in India by conquest, and prohibiting any future governor from engaging in a war with any prince of India, without the consent of the court of directors or the secret committee; unless the British provinces should actually be attacked, or preparations were made for that purpose: that nevertheless lord Wellesley determined to undermine the power and subvert the government of the nabob, without communicating his intentions to his employers, and without consulting the

the council at Fort William (as by the act of 1773 he was bound to do) under the colour of complaints that the instalments, due for the services of the troops, were not regularly paid: that he also, with this intention, devised various measures to foment discord between the subjects of Oude and the sovereign, and to instigate them to open rebellion, by the agency of a Mr. Scott, whom he appointed resident at Lucknow: that although the instalments had been increased by a former treaty from 305,000*l.* to 950,000*l.* yet the nabob used every exertion to discharge them with good faith, and that the secret committee were perfectly satisfied of the rectitude of his intentions; and though the arrears of the subsidy were paid up even before the day that they were due, and the nabob was desirous of making such revisions of his military establishment and household, as should lighten his embarrassments, the marquis Wellesley dictated to him in arrogant and arbitrary terms a reduction of his troops, that would have left him without authority, besides unduly interfering in the affairs of his government, and threatening to march a large body of forces into his dominions to be maintained at his expence, in order to induce the nabob to abdicate his sovereignty: that, wearied by exactions and tyranny, the nabob did make proposals to that effect, offering to resign his authority in favour of his son; but that he was urged to cede in perpetuity to the company the sole administration of the affairs of Oude, and all its dependencies, to the utter exclusion of his family, which proposition he

rejected. The paper next stated various acts of perfidy and criminal intrigue, by which the marquis endeavoured to excite the hatred of the principal persons in Oude against the nabob, and make him suspicious and contemptible in their eyes; particularly by clandestinely insinuating to them, that the nabob would agree to the cession of a part of his territory, provided he were permitted to seize on the property and jewels of his remaining subjects under certain pretences; and finally, that the marquis having reduced this unhappy prince to extremity, extorted from him, in the year 1801, one-half of the dominions of Oude, yielding an annual revenue of 1,682,500*l.*—permitting him to retain the remainder solely on the condition, that he should hold it under such a system of administration, as might be recommended by the officers of the East India company: that on taking possession of the ceded country, lord Wellesley, in concert with his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, imposed such new and unprecedented burthens on the people, that some of the zemindars revolted, and that he then caused their mansions and castles to be surrounded, and the rajahs as well as their vassals to be slain; thus finishing in violence and murder what in perfidy and fraud he had begun, falsely proclaiming to the people of India, that his conduct “had already received the approbation of his sovereign, of parliament, and of the company.”

This transcript was ordered to be printed, and considered on the 18th of June. A short conversation occurred on the matter, in the course of which  
Mr.

Mr. Whitshed Keene having advanced the extraordinary opinion, that the rights of Indian princes were not entitled to the same respect as those of European sovereigns, since there existed in Hindustan no power but the sword, Mr. Francis and Mr. Fox reprobated such doctrine; and sir Arthur Wellesley disclaimed any principle so detestable, engaging to prove that the noble marquis had violated neither a right nor a treaty. On the 2d of June Mr. Paull gave notice, that he should on the following Monday present a third charge against lord Wellesley; and lord Temple expressed his impatience to know when it was the honourable gentleman's intention to proceed upon those charges which he had already presented, and declared that, unless Mr. Paull appointed some specific day, he should move for one to be named for that end. Mr. Paull replied that all the papers, on which the charges were founded, were not yet before the house; but, when they were, he should take the earliest opportunity to go into the business. Accordingly on the next day lord Temple moved that the Oude charge should be considered on the 18th of June; and Mr. Paull said he had no objection to the time mentioned, provided the documents were ready.

On the 9th of June the Ferruckabad charge was presented. The tenour of it was that the rajah, whose revenues amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum; had for a long time maintained such forces only as were requisite for the purposes of state, relying for protection on the nabob

of Oude, who, by virtue of several treaties, was bound to guarantee his dominions, in consideration of an annual tribute of about 50,000l. When the marquis Wellesley induced the nabob of Oude to cede a portion of his territories and revenues, amongst the other branches of them, this tribute was included; but not satisfied with that, taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the rajah, who was a minor, he by bribes caused the regent of Ferruckabad, uncle to the rajah, to enter into a conspiracy to prevail on the latter, while he was to enjoy the nominal possession of the throne, to resign his whole power to the East India company; and though the nabob had the utmost repugnance to the measure, yet being, by his lordship's intrigues and machinations, utterly defenceless, and in the power of the marquis, he was terrified into compliance. The charge proceeded to declare that when this treaty was concluded, lord Wellesley assigned to the nabob a pension of only 13,000l. per annum, and to his mother, officers, and dependents, stipends amounting altogether to 30,000l.—reserving the residue, nearly 90,000l. to the company; contrary to his solemn written proposal to pay whatever balance remained from the revenues collected, after deducting the tribute of 50,000l.—the charges of government—and the expense of a battalion of sepoy's to be stationed in Ferruckabad—into the nabob's treasury.

The house directed this charge also to be printed, and to be discussed on the 19th. In the mean time Mr. Paull had moved for the

the attendance of several witnesses on the Oude charge, who, after Mr. Bankes had failed in persuading the commons to submit the whole transaction to the tribunal appointed by the statute for entertaining causes respecting Indian delinquents, were examined. Their evidence, which is not detailed in the reports, was ordered to be printed, and on the 6th of July, lord Temple pressed the house to come to an immediate decision on the Oude charge; but he was successfully opposed by Mr. Paull, Dr. Laurence, Mr. R. Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Grant, Mr. Martin of Kinsale, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Hutchinson.—These gentlemen argued on the propriety of greater deliberation, as the charge in question ought to be connected with others which claimed farther inquiry. They contended that it would be indecorous to proceed, when the house was so thinly attended, and Mr. Grant said, if the motion were persisted in, he thought there ought to be a call of it. It was besides observed that an acquittal, under the present circumstances, could not prove satisfactory to the noble marquis himself; and Dr. Laurence pledged himself to move that any resolution, which should be passed, should be rescinded in the following session. Lord Temple, therefore, proposed to defer his motion till the 11th; but Mr. Paull would not agree to bring the affair on in the present year, without a call of the house; in which determination he was warmly supported by Mr. Windham and several other members.

On the 10th a supplementary charge was produced to that of Oude.

This related to acts of violence said to be committed by lord Wellesley against the rajah of Sasnee, and certain zemindars on the Doab, who were tributaries of the nabob of Oude. These noble personages not complying with his lordship's desires, in respect to the collection of the duties, which they formerly gathered under that potentate, the marquis ordered their castles to be invested; but so formidable was their resistance, that it was found necessary to send the commander-in-chief against them; who, in reducing their fortresses, killed many of their vassals. The rajahs, unwilling to put themselves in the power of the governor-general, effected their escape with considerable difficulty and much loss; and their possessions were seized for the use of the company.

No farther proceedings occurred on these various arraignments before the close of the session. When Mr. Paull originally determined to prefer articles of accusation against lord Wellesley, he could hardly have expected support from any of the members at that time in opposition, after Mr. Fox had connected himself with lord Grenville, who was in habits of the strictest intimacy and friendship with the distinguished character, whom he meant to prosecute; and he could have hoped for still less encouragement, after that party had succeeded to office, and had coalesced with lord Sidmouth. Nevertheless, unconnected as he was, possessing no recommendations from the development of high talent, unacquainted with parliamentary forms, and moreover precipitate and rash in the management of his cause, from the manliness of his carriage,

carriage, and the apparent purity of his designs, he had, in the progress of his arduous undertaking, procured the assistance of many persons of rank and ability, who stood forward in his behalf to counteract the manifest wishes of his opponents to crush him; exhibiting a convincing proof that no individual in this happy country, however humble he may be in his qualifications for notice, who seems to embark in the service of justice and truth, has any reason to dread the resistance of power and station in the pursuit of his designs. By this remark it is not intended, in the slightest degree, to give any opinion on the transactions of the eminent and highly gifted nobleman, whose claims to public gratitude were brought into dispute, much less to cast any stigma on his fame; for it must be recollected that his friends had hitherto had no opportunity of being heard in his defence; but every inhabitant of the British islands must exult, that he lives under the genial influence of a constitution, in which the principles of liberty and rectitude are perpetually brought

into action, by the most honourable and conscientious practice of public duty.

It was not until the 10th of July that lord Morpeth laid before the house the details of the Indian budget. His lordship said that, though the statement would not be so flattering, as those which had been made of late years by some of his predecessors in office; yet it would be as candid and clear as he was enabled to make it. Since many persons may be much interested in Indian affairs, and as no review of the financial department of them had been offered to parliament for some time, it has been thought advisable to give the entire arrangement, as presented to the house, rather than an abstract of it; which only enumerating the results and leading features of the whole, might not be so satisfactory to those who feel themselves peculiarly desirous of examining this branch of politics; but to abridge the labour of the general reader, such parts of the account, as are sufficient for common use, have been printed in italics.

### BENGAL.

Revenues, No. 1.—Excluding the revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude, on account of their intermixture with the arrears of subsidy in some of the years, and the variation of the mode of statement in the last year, and taking the company's fixed ancient revenues alone, the average in the three years in this statement amount to	-	-	-	£.6,166,581
Which exceeds the average on the three years one year back	-	-	-	337,692
No. 3. Estimated for 1803—4.	-	-	-	8,064,981
Actual amount	-	-	-	8,060,993
				<hr/>
			Less than estimate	£.3,988
				Charges

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Charges No. 3.—Estimated for 1803—4	-	5,066,940
Actual amount	-	5,434,291
	More than estimate	367,351
Add deficiency of revenue to excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated by	-	371,339
And the net revenue for 1803—4 is	-	2,626,702

## ESTIMATES FOR 1804—5.

Revenues, No. 1.	-	8,167,792
Charge, No. 2.	-	5,956,208
	Net Revenue	2,211,584
Revenues estimated more than actual, 1803—4	-	1,06,799
Charges estimated more than ditto	-	521,917
Net revenue estimated for 1804—5 less than the preceding year	-	415,118

## MADRAS.

Revenues—excluding the revenues of Arcot and of the provinces ceded by the nizam, on account of the early years being in part subsidy and in part revenue collections, the average receipts on the years 1801—2 to 1803—4, as by No. 4, is	-	2,965,199
Being less than the average of the three years 1801—2 to 1802—3 in the sum of	-	49,102
Revenues, No. 6. estimated for 1803—4	-	4,888,895
Actual amount	-	4,653,401
	Less than estimate	235,494
Charges, No. 6. estimated for 1803—4	-	5,018,157
Actual amount	-	6,136,845
	More than estimate	1,118,688
Add deficiency of revenue to excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated by	-	1354,182
And the net charge for 1803—4 is	-	1,483,444

ESTIMATES

## ESTIMATES FOR 1804—5.

Revenues, No. 4.	-	-	-	-	4,659,326
Charges, No. 5.	-	-	-	-	5,420,029
					<hr/>
				Net charge	760,703
Revenues estimated more than actual 1803—4	-	-	-	-	5,925
Charges estimated less than ditto	-	-	-	-	716,816
					<hr/>
Net charge estimated for 1804—5 less than the preceding year	-	-	-	-	722,741

## BOMBAY.

Revenues, No. 7.—An adjustment of these revenues, as of those of the other presidencies, should have been made on account of the addition to the two last years by Treaty and Conquest. As the amount is not specified, the average must be stated on the gross receipts on the years 1801—2 to 1803—4, it amounted to 408,062  
Which exceeds the average 1801—2 to 1802—3, excluding a small receipt from the ceded countries 99,020

Revenues, No. 9. estimated for 1803—4	-	-	-	-	518,575
Actual amount	-	-	-	-	558,650
More than estimate	-	-	-	-	40,075
Charges, No. 9, estimated for 1803—4	-	-	-	-	1,478,881
Actual amount	-	-	-	-	1,642,978
					<hr/>
				More than estimate	164,097
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated by	-	-	-	-	124,022
And the net charge of the year 1803—4 is	-	-	-	-	1,084,328

## ESTIMATES FOR 1804—5.

Revenues, No. 7.	-	-	-	-	731,391
Charges, No. 8.	-	-	-	-	1,873,933
					<hr/>
				Net charge	1,142,542
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1803—4	-	-	-	-	172,741
Charges estimated more than ditto	-	-	-	-	230,955
Net charge estimated for 1804—5 more than the preceding year	-	-	-	-	58,214

BENCOOLEN



BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

No. 10. A. Revenues of Fort Marlborough in the year 1802—3	-	-	-	13,985
Charges of ditto	-	-	-	122,132
				108,147
			Net charge	108,147

SUPPLIES FROM BENGAL TO FORT MARLBOROUGH.

Penang, &c. estimated for 1803—4	-	-	-	212,628
No. 18. Actual amount	-	-	-	304,056
			More than estimated	91,428
No. 11. Supplies estimated for 1804—5	-	-	-	287,680

GENERAL REVIEW.

*Result of the year 1803—4, collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal by No. 3.	-	8,060,993	
Madras 6.	-	4,653,401	
Bombay 9.	-	558,650	
Total Revenues			13,273,044

Charges—Bengal by No. 3.	-	5,434,291	
Madras 6.	-	6,136,845	
Bombay 9.	-	1,642,978	
Total charges			13,214,114

Net Revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	58,930
Deducted from supplies to Bencoolen, &c. by No. 18.			304,056

Leaves a net charge of 245,126

Add interest, &c. paid on the debts at Bengal by No. 18.	-	-	957,727
Madras 19.	-	334,179	
Bombay 20.	-	* 242,852	
Total interest			1,534,758

The total amounting to 1,779,884 is the sum in which the charges and interest exceeded the produce of the territorial revenues

\* This sum includes 140,436*l.* paid the commissioners of the sinking fund for interest on the securities in their hands,

From which deduct the number of the sales of imports, by No. 15.	-	-	-	-	655,481
				<i>The remainder</i>	1,124,403
<i>Shows the amount in which, in the year 1803—4, the re- sources from the revenue and sales of imports were insuf- ficient to pay the charges and the interest of the debts.</i>					
Amount advanced for the purchase of investments, pay- ments of commercial charges and in aid of China					
At Bengal by No. 18.	-			1,380,855	
Madras 19.	-			706,771	
Bombay 20.	-			193,844	
Fort Marlborough 22.	-			39,014	
Total advance for investments					2,320,484
Cargoes consigned to Europe in 1803—4, with charges by No. 22.	-			-	1,674,645

## GENERAL VIEW.

*Results of the estimates 1804—5 collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal by No. 1.	-			8,167,792	
Madras 4.	-			4,659,326	
Bombay 7.	-			731,391	
Total revenues					13,558,509
Charges—Bengal by No. 2.	-			5,956,208	
Madras 5.	-			5,420,029	
Bombay 8.	-			1,873,933	
Total charges					13,250,170
Net revenue of the three presidencies					308,339
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. by No. 11.					287,680
				<i>Remainder</i>	20,659
Deducted from interest on debts by No. 16.					* 1,754,843
				<i>The sum then remaining</i>	1,734,184
<i>is the amount in which the charges and interest are esti- mated to exceed the revenues.</i>					
Deduct amount estimated to be received on the sales of im- ports, by No. 15.					602,993
				<i>The remainder</i>	1,131,191
<i>is the amount in which the charges of government and in-</i>					

\* Includes 166,454l. payable to the commissioners of the sinking fund.

*Interest on the debts are estimated to exceed the resources expected to be derived from the territorial revenues, and from the sales of imports, in the year 1804—5.*

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated in April 1803	-	21,881,571	
Deduct in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund	-	2,012,348	
Net amount of debts on the 30th of April, 1803	-	<u>                    </u>	19,869,223
Amount on the 30th of April, 1804, by No. 16 of present accounts	-	25,336,263	
Deduct sinking fund as above	-	2,800,056	
Net amount of debts on the 30th of April, 1804	-	<u>                    </u>	22,536,207
		Increase	<u>                    </u> 2,666,984

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount in April 1803	-	18,712,933	
Deduct in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund	-	1,686,917	
Net amount of debts bearing interest on the 30th of April, 1803	-	<u>                    </u>	17,026,016
Amount on the 30th of April, 1804, by No. 16.	-	21,276,466	
Deduct sinking fund as above	-	2,244,532	
Net amount of debts bearing interest on the 30th of April, 1804	-	<u>                    </u>	19,031,934
Increase of debt bearing interest	-		2,005,918
Amount of interest payable on debt owing in April 1803	-	1,574,011	
Deduct interest on securities in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund	-	126,360	
Net amount of interest payable on debt owing 30th of April, 1803	-	<u>                    </u>	1,447,651
Amount payable on debt in April, 1804, by No. 16.	-	1,754,843	
Deduct sinking fund as above	-	166,454	
Net amount of interest payable on debt owing on the 30th of April, 1804	-	<u>                    </u>	1,588,389
Increase of interest payable	-		140,738
VOL. XLVIII. or VOL. VI. NEW SERIES.		[K]	ASSETS

## ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. in April, 1803	-	-	14,630,971
Deduct balance and securities in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund			2,012,348
Net amount of assets on the 30th of April, 1803	-	-	<u>12,618,623</u>
Consisting as above on the 30th of April, 1804, by No. 21.	-	-	17,252,399
Deduct sinking fund as above			2,800,056
Net amount of assets on the 30th of April, 1804	-	-	<u>14,452,343</u>
Increase of assets	-	-	<u>1,833,720</u>
<i>Deducting increase of assets from the increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs, in this view, is worse in April 1804, than in April 1803, in the sum of</i>			833,264

## HOME ACCOUNTS.

No. 25. Aggregate amount of sales in 1804—5	-	8,044,392
Less than the year preceding	380,876	
The sales of the company's goods were less by	609,991	
The sales of private trade goods were more by	229,115	
Making the net difference as above	380,876	
The sales of the company's goods were estimated at		6,868,700
The actual amount was		<u>5,267,578</u>
Being less than estimated		1,601,122
The receipts on the sales of the company's goods were estimated at		6,598,496
They actually amounted to		<u>5,730,133</u>
Being less than estimated		868,363
The charges and profits on private trade were estimated to amount to		150,000
The actual amount was		<u>90,000</u>
Being less than estimated		59,464
		<u>GENERAL</u>

GENERAL RESULT.

From the disappointment in the produce of the sales, with a large payment in bonds by the purchasers, and from a greater expenditure on account of India and China than first intended, the deficit would have appeared in the cash balance of this year to a considerable amount; but a sum borrowed from government, a loan from the bank, and an issue of company's bonds have so operated, that the balance of cash estimated to remain in favour of the company on the 1st of March 1805, to the amount of

157,634

12,020

which was less than estimated by the sum of

145,614

HOME ACCOUNTS.

ESTIMATE 1805-6.

No. 23, sale of the company's goods estimated to amount to

6,301,414

GENERAL RESULT.

Notwithstanding the receipts from the sales are estimated much higher than the actual of the last year, and the expectation is stated of a payment by government of a million, the various demands on the treasury are so great for freight and demurrage, the repayment to government of the 500,000l. borrowed in the last year, and on other accounts, that the balance on the 1st of March 1806, is estimated to be against the company in the sum of

62,836

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March 1804

4,788,865

No. 23, on the 1st of March 1805

6,012,196

Increase

1,223,331

ASSETS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March 1804

19,168,736

No. 23, on the 1st of March 1805

20,442,659

Increase

1,273,923

Deducting the increase of debt from the increase of assets, the home concern exhibits in this view an improvement in the year amounting to

50,592

## CHINA AND SAINT HELENA.

Balance at China on the 31st of January 1803, against	-	-	260,900
Balance at China on the 29th of January 1804, in favour, No. 24,	-	-	182,390
			<hr/>
Increase at China			443,290
Balance at Saint Helena on the 30th of September 1802, in favour,	-	-	105,194
Balance at Saint Helena 30th of September 1803, in favour No. 24,	-	-	105,382
			<hr/>
Increase at St. Helena			188
			<hr/>
Total increase at China and St. Helena			443,478

## GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India	-	-	-	2,666,984
Increase of debts at home	-	-	-	1,223,331
				<hr/>
Total increase of debts				3,890,315
Increase of assets in India	-	-	1,833,720	
Increase of assets at home	-	-	1,273,923	
			<hr/>	
			3,107,643	
Add net increase of balance at China and Saint Helena	-	-	443,478	
Total increase of assets				3,551,121
Deducted from an increase of debt will show a deterioration to have taken place on the whole concern in this view, during the years 1803-4 abroad, and 1804-5 at home, to the amount of	-	-	-	339,194
Add—amount received in India, and included in the quick stock there, dated April 30, 1804, which formed part of the cargoes afloat outwards, in the assets at home	-	-	583,299	
Goods in the export warehouses in India on the 30th of April 1804, arrived in England and included in the assets at home	-	-	43,619	
				<hr/>
The amount of the deterioration will then be				626,918
				966,112
				The

The assets at home exhibited an increase in value during the year in the sum of 442,192l. from the insertion of the amount of the claims of the company on the public, it having been calculated, before it was under the consideration of parliament. As this branch of the concern is under examination, on principles recommended by a committee of the house of commons, which will lessen its amount, a further considerable adjustment will hereafter be requisite.

## ABSTRACT OF ADDITIONAL ACCOUNTS.

*Budget 1805. General view of the estimates 1805-6.*

<i>Revenues of Bengal</i>	8,763,220	
<i>Madras</i>	4,774,296	
<i>Bombay</i>	742,017	
<i>Total revenues</i>		14,279,533
<i>Charges of Bengal</i>	7,415,370	
<i>Madras</i>	5,650,182	
<i>Bombay</i>	1,580,292	
<i>Total charges</i>		14,645,844
<i>Net charge of the three presidencies</i>	- - -	366,311
<i>Add—Supplies to Bencoolen, Prince of Wales's Island, &amp;c.</i>	- - -	266,800
<i>Total surplus charge</i>	-	633,111
<i>Add further—Interest on the debts</i>	-	1,823,040
<i>Interest payable to commissioners of sinking fund on securities redeemed</i>	-	195,788
<i>Total interest</i>	-	3,018,828
<i>Total excess of charge beyond the produce of the revenues as estimated for the year 1805-6</i>	-	2,651,939
<i>Exclusive of commercial charges not added to the invoices amounting to 199,806l.</i>		

## DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount of debt on the 30th of April 1804, by No. 16, - - -	25,336,263	
Deduct in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund - - -	2,800,056	
	<hr/>	
Net amount of the debts on the 30th of April 1804 - - -	-	22,536,207
Amount as to Bengal, January 1805, and Madras and Bombay, 30th of April 1805 - - -	28,197,499	
Deduct sinking fund as above - - -	3,151,065	
	<hr/>	
Net amount of debts in 1805 - - -	-	25,046,436
		<hr/>
Increase - - -	-	2,510,227

## DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount in April 1804, by No. 16, - - -	21,276,466	
Deduct in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund - - -	2,244,532	
Net amount of debts bearing interest on the 30th of April 1804 - - -	-	19,031,934
Amount on the 30th of April 1805, generally - - -	24,221,706	
Deduct sinking fund, as above - - -	2,616,739	
	<hr/>	
Net amount of debts bearing interest on the 30th of April 1805 - - -	-	31,604,967
Increase - - -	-	2,573,033
Amount of interest payable on debt owing on the 30th of April 1804, by No. 16 - - -	1,754,843	
Deduct interest on securities in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund - - -	166,454	
	<hr/>	
Net amount of interest payable on debt on the 30th of April 1804 - - -	-	1,588,389
Amount payable in April 1805 - - -	2,017,358	
Deduct sinking fund, as above - - -	195,788	
Net amount of interest payable on debt owing on the 30th of April 1805 - - -	-	1,821,570
		<hr/>
Increase of interest payable - - -	-	233,182



Lord Morpeth concluded this statement by observing, that the deficiency, or excess of charge, could not be less than three millions; but although he admitted that the financial department in India did not wear the most cheerful aspect, still he thought it would be wrong to give way to unmanly despondency.

Several debates of considerable length occurred on the various topics connected with the budget, of which it will be impossible to offer to the reader more than one or two leading features. Sir Arthur Wellesley entered into calculations nearly as extensive and intricate, as those produced by viscount Morpeth, to prove that, during the government of lord Wellesley, the revenues of India had been increased by a sum of 6,608,239*l.* that when the various branches of the presidencies were reduced to a peace establishment, there would be a disposable surplus of revenue, after providing for every demand, amounting to 740,130*l.* He maintained that the greatest part of the formidable debt, which had been incurred, arose from the practice of borrowing money at a high rate of interest for the investments; and, to corroborate this assertion, he read an extract of a minute put on record by the marquis Wellesley, which traced much of the embarrassment to that source. He calculated the loss on the commerce, from April 1798 to April 1804, at 3,147,725*l.*—and argued too, that no small portion of the distresses of the company were occasioned by advancing large sums for services chargeable to his majesty's government. The Egyptian expedition and many other operations having been carried on at the expense of

the Indian finances. He enlarged on the improvement in the company's paper between the years 1798 and 1805; and drew the inference that, notwithstanding their debt was considerable, it was not of that magnitude to create any danger.

Mr. Grant produced an account to controvert the honourable general's position respecting the balance of the trade, by which it appeared that there was no evidence of the commerce owing any thing to the territory, or that any part of the Indian debt was to be charged to it. He thought that debt, upon mature inquiry, would amount at least to thirty millions. He denied that there was any merit to be attributed to the government for meliorating the company's paper. Much had been said, he observed, of the increase of our Indian revenues; but in vain were our resources multiplied, if the augmentation of our expenses kept pace with them. During the eight years of lord Wellesley's ministry, a debt of twenty one millions and a half had accumulated. As to the general influence of the late wars in India on the prosperity of the British possessions, he said he would not take that occasion of digressing on a subject, which deserved direct and serious discussion; but he held it right to observe that those wars had enormously added to the charges and debt of the company, without providing the security necessary to the different settlements, without even permanently affording much to their revenues, and had impaired the English character for justice and moderation in the eyes of Hindûstan.

Mr. Alderman Prinsep went much at large into the conduct of

the company's commercial affairs; and, by numerous computations, he attempted to establish the opinion, that the trade was badly and improvidently managed. He complained of the very small portion of English manufactures, which was exported to India, and the inconsiderable British tonnage that was employed. He uttered many severe strictures on the monopoly of the company, and endeavoured to demonstrate the propriety of extending to the subjects of this country the advantages, which were freely possessed by neutral nations. Reverting to the subject immediately before the house, the honourable member descanted on the great drain in every point of view, which our Indian acquirements were likely to create at home; and insisted that, if there must be an *imperium in imperio*, the subordinate empire ought at least to bear its own expenses.

Mr. Huddleston made a very able reply to Mr. Prinsep's assertions. He showed that the loss sustained by the company was chiefly on the exports, in the manufacture of which many thousands were employed in this kingdom. He particularly instanced the case, that by annually exporting woollens to the enormous value of 1,300,000*l.* at a heavy loss, the public were great gainers; for the provision of these articles promoted the industry of forty thousand persons, and was of incalculable benefit to the counties of Gloucester, Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall, not to mention the city of Norwich. He sarcastically demanded if the parties concerned in a private trade would either be so patriotic in their views for the ad-

vantage of the state, or could endure such drawbacks? He eloquently defended the company from the honourable alderman's attack. He said the exchequer derived annually from its trade three millions, and that ten thousand British seamen, forming a valuable nursery for the navy, were embarked in its service. He reminded the house of the gallant exploits of the company's mercantile marine; and contended, that Mr. Prinsep's system would tend to colonization; and consequently to the ultimate dismemberment of the Indian settlements from the British empire. The honourable member did not conceive, that the accumulation of the debt had arisen entirely from the war; but was in a great measure owing to a system of policy, which sought the aggrandizement and extension of the British dominions and influence in India, through the medium of what was called subsidiary alliance; which brought all the native states into subjection, by the means of large bodies of troops stationed in their respective capitals, with agents or ministers on the part of the company to watch and direct their political conduct. This plan became the fruitful parent of an extended scale of expense, in which economy was disregarded.

The substance of lord Castlereagh's speeches on this subject is included in the following sketch. He maintained that the tendency of the revenues in India was to augment in the manner and proportion, which he had formerly described to the house; and that his predictions had been falsified by events, upon which it was impossible for any man to calculate.

He also adduced many accounts to prove that the major part of the debt was occasioned by a large increase of assets at home and abroad. The result of his opinion was, that it would be advisable for the whole concerns of the company to be referred to a committee of the house; and he recommended that the directors should be permitted to borrow 2,000,000*l.* by an extension of their capital stock, which would produce 4,000,000*l.* and 16,000,000*l.* on the security of their territorial revenues, guaranteed by parliament; the money to be raised in the first instance like any other public loan, and paid over to parliamentary commissioners, charged with its application to reduce the Indian debt, who should be authorized to receive the annual interest, together with the one per cent. sinking fund, payable on account of the same. This measure would relieve the company to the extent of 800,000*l.* per annum, such being the difference of the terms, upon which a loan could be procured here and in India; and thus they would be enabled to pay the 500,000*l.* a year to the public, according to their contract. The noble lord affirmed, that there was ample security for such a transaction, which would have the most beneficial effect. With respect to the monopoly of the company he said, before the expedience of abolishing it could be brought in question, it must be shown that nothing injurious to the prosperity of India would arise from an unsteady and unequal demand for produce. If it were assumed that individuals, by using an inferior description of

tonnage, could carry on the trade at a less expense, it must be proved that it was not merely by throwing the onus on the public, and thus rendering numerous convoys necessary in time of war to protect their feeble craft; while the company's ships, with a slight aid, could set the enemy at defiance; and it must be demonstrated, that such an establishment, as that in India, could be kept up without a qualified monopoly, as well as that the manufacturer at home was interested in a change.

Many other gentlemen delivered their sentiments on the matter, but nothing very material was advanced. Some of them indeed protested that the company was on the eve of bankruptcy, and others that they were actually insolvent. All parties concurred in the absolute urgency of investigation; and it was generally admitted that the Indian debt could not be much short of thirty-one millions sterling.

After what has been said of the extreme apathy of parliament to Indian affairs, the reader will not be surprized to learn, that the patience of the few members, who attended the discussions, was nearly exhausted by the voluminous calculations, and multiplicity of comments, made on the several points at issue by the honourable gentlemen that spoke. Indeed the latter never perceived that they had the good fortune to possess the *mollia tempora fandi*. In proportion as they laboured to convince, they found they incurred the actual peril of being totally deserted by their audience. The house was frequently in danger of being

being counted out ; and on one occasion only seven-and-twenty members were found to be present.

The session, which was distinguished by the variety and importance of the measures submitted to parliament, for the vivacity of the debates, and the laborious application of the members of both

houses to their high duties, especially the lords, who, in addition to the general business of the state, were occupied with the trial of lord Melville, was terminated on the 23d of July by commission, the lord chancellor, earl Fitzwilliam, and earl Spencer, being appointed for that purpose.

### CHAP. VIII.

*Trial of Viscount Melville. Mr. Whitbread moves in the lower House, that the Committee for the Impeachment should proceed in their Duties. Lord Melville's Answer to the Charges preferred against him. Mr. Trotter is committed to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for not replying to certain Questions of the Managers of the Impeachment; but is discharged on his petitioning the House of Commons. Additional Article of Charge: Lord Melville's Answer to the same. Debate on Mr. Whitbread's Motion to conduct the Trial in Westminster-Hall, which is carried: Lord Grenville moves the House of Peers to make the necessary Arrangements. Resolutions of the Peers, at the Instance of Lord Auckland, to prevent any Disclosure of the Proceedings during the Trial: Remarks thereon. Substance of the Preamble to the Articles of Impeachment,—of the ten Articles,—of Mr. Whitbread's opening Speech,—of the Evidence,—of Sir Samuel Romilly's Recapitulation of the same,—of the Defence, containing the Evidence in Lord Melville's favour, made by his Lordship's Counsel, Messrs. Plumer and Adam,—of Sir Arthur Pigott's Reply. Questions proposed by the House of Lords to the Judges: their Answer. The Thanks of the Commons voted to the Managers of the Impeachment, on the Motion of General Fitzpatrick. Sentence of the Court: Lord Melville acquitted.*

**M**R. Whitbread had taken the earliest opportunity of moving the house of commons, that the committee appointed for conducting the impeachment of lord Melville should proceed in the business, and that lord Robert Spencer should be added to it, in the room of Mr Kinnaid, who, by the death of his father, had become a peer; and, in pursuance of an order of the house, lord Melville, on the second day of the session, delivered to the peers

his answer to the articles of accusation preferred against him. It contained a denial that he was guilty of any of the matters with which he was charged.

On the 5th of March, Mr. Whitbread having reported to the house, that Mr. Trotter refused to answer certain questions, proposed by the committee nominated to manage the impeachment, moved that he should be committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and

an order was made to that effect. Mr. Trotter had acted by the advice of counsel, and had declined affording the required information for fear of criminating himself; but his conduct proving satisfactory to the managers on the next day, Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from him on the 6th, stating that his reserve had not arisen from any disrespect, but solely from a regard to his own security, which, he had been informed, would be endangered by giving the replies demanded. In consequence of which he was discharged, on the payment of his fees, after having received a reprimand from the speaker for his offence.

In the mean time fresh circumstances, relative to lord Melville's official transactions, having come to the knowledge of the committee, an additional article was made to the general charges against him; to which, his lordship, although he protested that he was not bound by the law of parliament to answer an accusation, exhibited in a manner for which there was no precedent, yet, relying on the consciousness of his innocence, returned a general plea of not guilty. Mr. Whitbread having now completed all the requisite arrangements, moved that the house of commons should be present at the trial of viscount Melville as a committee of the whole house. This procedure rendered it necessary, that the impeachment should be prosecuted in Westminster-hall. Accordingly his lordship's friends exerted themselves against the motion. They objected to the measure as productive of delay and expense. They pointed out several inconve-

niences that would result from it, particularly, that when any question occurred, on which the house of lords thought proper to deliberate, they must retire to their own chamber; but if the trial took place at the bar of the house, on such occasions it would only be needful for the managers to withdraw, till the point was determined. They contended, that it was obvious, from Mr. Whitbread's train of arguments, he originally intended to adopt the latter course, and contrasted the length of time occupied by the trial of Mr. Hastings, that took up eight sessions, with that employed in the case of lord Macclesfield, which, being entertained at their lordships' bar, was finished in one and twenty days. It was advanced, that this mode would also ensure the substantial ends of justice as well as the other, and give greater publicity to the proceedings; for every body might go into the house of lords, when the doors were open, but no one could gain admittance into Westminster-hall without special permission; that not only the public, but parliament, had pronounced their opinion on the dilatory process in Westminster-hall, by appointing a new judicature to try offences of that description in future; and, lastly, that the costs of the method proposed would have a ruinous effect on the fortune of the accused, and inflict the punishment of guilt on a person who might be innocent.

It was replied on the part of the managers, that the delay in the cause of Mr. Hastings ensued from the variety of charges brought against him; that the celerity in concluding lord Macclesfield's trial,

rial, arose on account of its simplicity, and the small number of exceptions taken in the detail of it; and that the commons were not accountable for the delay which might take place. Mr. Whitbread declared that, when it was resolved to proceed by impeachment, he had always intended that it should be prosecuted in Westminster-hall. As to any subsequent inconsistency in those, who had wished to have the trial in an inferior court, it was said that they had embraced the proposition; as the only alternative in the first instance between obtaining the purposes of enquiry and judgment by any method, and abandoning the question altogether, for lord Melville's friends had used every endeavour to prevent a trial at all. It was admitted, that equal justice might be administered in either place; but it was argued, that more solemnity would attend the transaction in Westminster-hall; and in reference to the privilege of admission, it was observed, that the peers could exercise the same authority any where on that point. The gentlemen who spoke in favour of the motion also contended, that the space, below the bar in the house of peers, was too small even to admit the members of the house of commons, who would certainly desire to give their attendance; and therefore that the argument of superior publicity by a trial at the bar fell to the ground; since, if there were not sufficient room for them, the people in general could not possibly gain admittance. It was remarked, that when lord Macclesfield was before the house, so great was the pressure of the crowd, that one of the managers for the prosecution

was squeezed to death; and that besides the lords had on that occasion entered a protest against impeachments being conducted in such a manner, and stated on their journals the propriety of trying them in Westminster-hall, as due to the honour and dignity of their house; that the assertion of parliament having expressed its disapprobation of impeachments, by establishing another court of judicature, was not correct; for that appointment was made in 1784, whereas Mr. Hastings trial did not occur till the year 1788. The doctrine that the mode desired should be avoided, on account of its bearing hard on the fortune of lord Melville, was reprobated; because, if such an inference were encouraged, it would destroy all prosecutions; for the party accused had only to plead poverty, and thus escape from the punishment which he perhaps merited. With regard to the expense of the noble lord, it was said, it might, in the event of acquittal or conviction, be a subject to be considered in future; but as to the public cost, it was not the expense of paper which might be consumed, or of benches that might be erected, but the want of those constitutional inquiries into the uses of the national money, which would ever prove detrimental to the country.

Mr. Whitbread's motion was then put and carried; and when that gentleman carried the message to the lords, that the whole house of commons meant to be present at lord Melville's trial, and that they required accommodation to be provided for them, lord Grenville moved the house of peers to address his majesty, and to request that Westminster-hall might be fitted

up for the purpose. The address was voted, and every preparation was accordingly made for conducting the trial with proper decorum and dignified solemnity.

Lord Grenville took this opportunity of suggesting that, in order to attain the ends of justice as speedily as possible, it would be proper to proceed in the trial from day to day, until it was finished, by which it would in a greater degree be assimilated to a trial in the courts of law; and that the hour of assembly, when fixed, should be rigidly adhered to. It would also, he said, be a great saving of time, if some plan were adopted, or if some understanding took place with respect to collecting the opinions of their lordships upon any disputed point of evidence, without the necessity of retiring on every such question to their chamber. When the committee, which had been appointed to search for precedents, made their report, the first of lord Grenville's salutary propositions was adopted, on the motion of lord Auckland; and the last was strictly acted on during the whole trial, on an agreement amongst their lordships to that effect.

On the day previous to that on which this august tribunal was opened, lord Auckland made a motion, which certainly greatly disappointed the community in general. The object of it was to prohibit any publication whatever of the proceedings, during the continuance of the trial. Although his lordship acknowledged there was no precedent for such a measure, he argued that it was called for by reason and justice to prevent hasty, crude, and partial opinions arising on lord Melville's case, from the disclosure of the plead-

ings and other circumstances, as they daily occurred. This motion was successful, and thus the country was deprived of the usual source of intelligence on this subject by means of the press, until the business was concluded, when all interest on the topic had nearly ceased; most people being satisfied with the knowledge of the ultimate event of the trial, whatever ideas, from ignorance of the particulars, they might entertain of the sentence pronounced; few having the leisure, and a still less number the inclination, courageously to wade through the enormous mass of matter, contained in the volume printed with their lordships' sanction. That the prohibition was founded on the principles of substantial justice is not to be denied. Much mischief undoubtedly ensues from the discovery of detached portions of judicial process, and a great deal of injury is sustained by individuals, who are thus too frequently prematurely condemned, for a time at least, to labour under all the odium attached to guilt. Accident or indolence may also prevent the party, who has read an accusation, or the evidence for it, from perusing the defence with its appropriate testimony; and in that case, the detriment to character, as far as popular esteem goes, is irreparable; yet it must be recollected, that the conduct of the house of peers, in this instance, was not analogous to the practice of the ordinary courts; although it is not by any means meant to be here insinuated, that the proceedings of the highest tribunal in the kingdom ought to be regulated by the usages obtaining in those of an inferior jurisdiction. As to the

argument

argument of some noble peers, who disapproved of this restraint, that it would be impossible to prevent what transpired at the trial from being circulated by those who were present, it does not seem to possess much weight; no man trusts greatly to the memory of persons not habituated to the minute relation of facts; nor would the public rely on the authenticity of garbled extracts or surreptitious accounts. Accustomed to look to the diurnal prints as the common channels of information, the people regard with doubt and suspicion whatever does not wear the appearance of an open and licensed statement. It is, however, to be apprehended that the unthinking and superficial considered this prohibitory decree of the lords as an attempt to screen lord Melville, as much as possible, from just reprehension, instead of protecting him from the effects of prejudice. It was, indeed, believed by no small part of the community that the majority of those, who had assisted Mr. Whitbread in bringing his lordship to trial, had become entirely indifferent to the business, under the change of circumstances that had taken place, and after the accession of the new ministry, by which the only real object that they had proposed to themselves had been gained. It was surmised that the apparently ardent desire of subjecting a supposed criminal to the law originated in party views and a struggle for power. These conjectures were certainly, though improperly, in some degree confirmed by the regulation alluded to; and the progress of the trial was witnessed, or rather heard of, without anxiety: a pretty strong confidence arising

that his lordship would in the end be acquitted.

From the known and active integrity of Mr. Whitbread, it is not to be questioned that his course would always have been shaped by intentions of equity and honour; but it may fairly be concluded, that if Mr. Pitt had died in the beginning of the year 1805, much of the zeal, which the honourable gentleman experienced in his aid, would have slumbered in tranquillity, and never have been called into action. There was incontestably a great mixture of party spirit with the purer exertions of patriotism in the whole transaction; yet while this truth must be admitted, it only furnishes another proof of the excellence of a free government, which extracts the best consequences of the principles of justice and virtue from the baser passions of mankind; and, from the conflict of interested motives, ensures the means of branding culpability or of establishing innocence.

On the 29th of April the court entered on its high functions with the usual forms. The preamble to the impeachment recited the regulations, which had been adopted, in consequence of the report of a committee of inquiry in the year 1782; the resolution of the commons to prevent the treasurer of the navy from making use or profit of the public money; the increase of salary to Mr. Barré, in lieu of all other advantages; the farther addition of income to Mr. Dundas, on his representing to his majesty, that the salary of the office fell short of the stipulated sum of 4000l. per annum; the bill that was passed in the year 1785 by  
the



the lower house of parliament, prepared by that right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) himself, and carried by him up to the lords, by which it was enacted that the money for the navy department, issued from the exchequer, should be paid into the bank for the uses specified, and not be drawn thence for any other than navy services, but by drafts mentioning the particular branches of them, for which it was destined. The introduction to the articles also stated that, though the provisions of this act were to take place from the 1st of July 1785, they were not carried into execution by Mr. Dundas till the 13th of January 1786; when he opened an account with the bank, according to the rules prescribed, having constituted Alexander Trotter esq. his paymaster on the 10th of the same month.

The first article set forth that lord Melville, before the 10th of January 1786, while he held the office of treasurer of the navy, took from the money imprested to him the sum of 10,000l. or some other large sum or sums of money, and applied the same to his own use, or to a corrupt purpose, and continued such application of the same after the passing of the restrictive act; and that he had declared he never would reveal to what employment it had been diverted, particularly on the 11th of June 1805 in the house of commons; and then added, that he felt himself bound by motives of public duty, as well as private honour and personal convenience, to conceal the same.

The second charged lord Melville with permitting his paymaster, Alexander Trotter, after the

regulating act had passed, to draw large sums of money from the bank for other than navy services; and with conniving at, and suffering the latter to place the same, or a great part of it, in the house of Messrs. Coutts in his own name, and subject to his own control.

The third stated, that the money so taken by Alexander Trotter was, with his lordship's connivance, employed for private emolument; and lodged in the house of Messrs. Coutts, mixed and undistinguished from Mr. Trotter's own monies; by which it was not only applied to other than navy purposes, but also exposed to great risk of loss, and withdrawn from the disposition of the treasurer.

The fourth alleged that Alexander Trotter had placed, with his lordship's permission, sums of money in the hands of Mark Sprott for the purposes of profit.

The fifth charged lord Melville with converting 10,000l. or some other large sum of money, to his own use, or to a corrupt purpose, after the 10th of January 1786.

The sixth accused lord Melville of having received advances of several large sums of money from Alexander Trotter, in part out of the public property directly drawn from the bank, and in part from that which had before been illegally lodged with Messrs. Coutts; and represented that all the pecuniary transactions between these two persons formed an account current, and were entered in certain books; but that, in pursuance of an agreement between his lordship and Alexander Trotter, mutually to deliver up to each other, or to destroy, all vouchers and memoranda

randa relative to these concerns, the books and all the papers belonging to them were burnt in February 1803, in order to prevent any discovery that such intercourse had occurred.

The seventh declared that, amongst other advances, lord Melville had procured from Alexander Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* or some other large sum of money, partly out of the public navy fund, without interest, and that to conceal the same the books of account and vouchers had been destroyed.

The eighth averred that, amongst other advances, lord Melville had obtained from Alexander Trotter the further sum of 22,000*l.* or some other large sum of money, for which his lordship alleged that he was to pay interest.

The ninth affirmed, that during all or great part of the time that Alexander Trotter was paymaster to lord Melville, he transacted his lordship's business as his agent gratuitously, and was frequently in advance to lord Melville to the amount of from ten to twenty thousand pounds, which advances were in part taken from the public money; that Alexander Trotter had thus performed his lordship's private business without fee or reward, in consideration of lord Melville suffering him to make use of the national treasure; and that it must have been well known to lord Melville, that Alexander Trotter could not have made him such advances otherwise than from naval money, which he drew from the bank with his lordship's connivance and permission: all which proceedings and conduct of lord Melville were declared to be contrary to the duties of his office,

in breach of the great trust reposed in him, and in gross violation of the laws and statutes of this realm; and that by all and every one of these acts he was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The tenth, or supplementary article, further added that lord Melville, between the 19th of August 1782 and the 5th of January 1784, and also between the latter day and the 1st of January 1786, took and received out of the public money 27,000*l.* or thereabouts; and converted the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt purpose, and continued the fraudulent and illegal conversion thereof, after the act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy had passed.

The principal points, which Mr. Whitbread seemed desirous of establishing in his introductory speech, were that the sum of 10,000*l.* mentioned in the first article, as illegally taken by his lordship, and respecting which lord Melville had positively refused to give any information, was not converted by him to any public service whatever, but was compounded of fractional parts of other sums of money to a large amount, that never could have been so applied; and that the only sum of 10,000*l.* which he did take out of the office at any one time, could not have been devoted to the use of the country; moreover, that at the period his lordship took it, he was not even a servant of the state; and that the money was in fact lent by him to the house of Mure and Atkinson.

It appeared, according to the honourable manager's narrative, that

that when lord Melville resigned the office of treasurer of the navy in the year 1782, he had been accommodated by his paymaster, Mr Douglas, at various times, with money altogether making the sum of 13,000l.—which he then owed to the public; and that shortly after his resignation, (it being usual for the ex-treasurer, according to the forms of the office, to conclude all the payments which he had commenced, and not to refund his balances till his accounts were closed) Mr. Douglas drew for the further sum of 10,000l. which his lordship directly advanced to the parties already mentioned. His debt, in the whole 23,000l. was afterwards reduced by various means—and particularly by one item, through the hands of Mr. Atkinson, amounting to 6000l.—to 7600l. at which sum it stood when lord Melville was again appointed treasurer in 1784. His lordship then transferred 6000l. from his new to his old account; so that he then owed to his former treasurer'ship 1600l. and to his latter 6000l. besides which he took the produce of two drafts of 2000l. each, and converted the money to his own use; paying 2000l.—the very day on which he was ordered to carry his own bill for the regulation of the office to the house of lords—to his account at Messrs. Drummond's, which was overdrawn 2,500l. Mr. Douglas then died, and when lord Melville had nominated Mr. Trotter his paymaster, he acknowledged to that gentleman that the deficiency of 11,600l. was his own debt. The remainder of the accusation is sufficiently explained by the charges and evidence: it will

only be necessary to recollect, that part of the advances from Mr. Trotter, after the restrictive act was passed, was for the purpose of subscribing 10,000l. to the loyalty loan in 1797, and of purchasing 13,500l. East India stock.

It would be superfluous to call the attention of the reader to the evidence for the preliminary matter, which was duly proved. It was shown by the certificate book of Mr. Douglas, that on the 6th of November 1782, he received at the exchequer, in his capacity of paymaster to lord Melville, 45,000l. but that the treasurer of the navy was only credited in the bank books for 40,000l. and on the 22d of the same month that he received 50,000l.—while 47,000l. only was carried to the credit of the treasurer at the bank; Mr. Douglas taking away the differences of both these sums in bank-notes of 1,000l. each. It was also proved that one of these identical notes was on the 25th of November paid to the private account of lord Melville at Messrs. Drummond's; and that another of them was received in the same month by Messrs. Moffatt and Kensington, in discharge of a bill for 1,000l. drawn by a person of the name of Newbiggin on his lordship, then Mr. Dundas and lord advocate of Scotland. It was likewise given in evidence that, when the noble viscount retired from the office on the 30th of April 1783, there was a difference of 23,000l. between the sums charged to him at the exchequer and his credit at the bank, contrary to his duty and the terms of the warrant, by which he had held his appointment; and that this balance was reduced

by several payments of Messrs. Mure and Atkinson, as well as by other means, to 7,600*l.* on the 31st of July in that year; by which modes of reimbursement, through the hands of private individuals, it was inferred that the money must have been diverted from public services to private advantage.

The following circumstances were also proved,—the transfer, upon his lordship's second appointment to office in 1785, of 6,000*l.* from his new to his old account, reducing the balance of the latter to 1,600*l.*—the apparent difference of 6,000*l.*, in consequence of this transaction, between the treasurer's credit at the bank and his receipts at the exchequer;—the augmentation of this sum to 10,000*l.* by two drafts of 2,000*l.* each, issued by Mr. Douglas, the first in June 1784, and the second in May 1785, and payable to Mr. Swaffield, though never received by the latter gentleman, nor noticed in the official books, and which therefore could never have been applied to public purposes;—the payment of 2,000*l.* by Mr. Douglas into the house of Messrs. Drummond to the account of lord Melville, the day on which the latter of these drafts was cashed;—the payment in October of a part of lord Melville's salary as treasurer amounting to 1,000*l.*, through the hands of Mr. Davis, in reduction of the balance of 10,000*l.* by which it was diminished to 9,000*l.* the actual deficiency on the new account at the period, when Mr. Douglas died in December 1785;—and the acknowledgment of lord Melville to Mr. Trotter, after the latter was nominated paymaster, that he was

indebted to the public in the sum of 10,600*l.* which precisely tallied with the money due on his lordship's two accounts.

The act of parliament to regulate the office of treasurer was then read, by which, after the 1st of July 1785, all money issued for navy uses was directed to be placed in the bank, appropriated to the distinct heads of account for which it had been received at the exchequer, and that it should not be drawn thence unless for specified navy services.

The subsequent points, by which the act was violated, were afterwards given in evidence: that lord Melville permitted Mr. Trotter to draw sums of money from the bank for other uses than services immediately naval, and suffered him to place the same in the hands of his private banker:—that Mr. Trotter did consequently take large sums from the bank, and lodge them with Messrs. Courts in his own name; by which the public funds were withdrawn from the control of the treasurer, and the provision of the act, enjoining the transfer of the treasurer's balance, in case of his death, resignation, or removal, to his successor, would have been in a great degree defeated, if Mr. Trotter had died while the money was so deposited:—that the motives assigned by his lordship for this removal of the money, viz. to facilitate public business, and add to the convenience of those who were to receive small sums, besides that no such discretion was allowed by the act, were extremely improbable, on account of the routine established at the bank and at the navy office:—that Mr. Trotter applied the money, so drawn from the bank and lodged with

with Messrs. Coutts to his own private emolument, and actually did derive much advantage from his employment of it; and that lord Melville had admitted that, though he had never given him direct authority to make any profit of the public money, he believed and understood that he did so, and never prohibited him from so doing.

The suspicious circumstance of lord Melville's refusing to answer certain questions of the committee of naval inquiry, and his lordship's statement in the house of commons, that nothing should compel him to reveal how 10,000*l.* of the public money had been applied; and his observation that he was actuated in such reserve by motives of public duty, private honour, and personal convenience, as well as that the tendency of his speech implied, that the money was not converted to his own private profit; and his lordship's avowal that a further sum of 10,000*l.* had been made use of by him in Scotland for other than naval purposes, with the like assertion that it was not applied to his own emolument, were also proved.

It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Trotter, Mr. Sprott, and others, that Mr. Trotter had employed the public money in purchasing government securities, exchequer and other bills, and in discounting bills of private individuals of credit, by which transactions he had made a large profit, although the state had never sustained the least loss by them; that he had opened an account with lord Melville, called the chest account, which he considered his lordship's account with the public; the first article in which was the

sum of 10,000*l.* due from lord Melville to the public, at the time Mr. Trotter was appointed paymaster:—that Mr. Trotter had acted as lord Melville's agent in regard to his salary as treasurer of the navy, and occasionally with respect to his rents from Scotland, and kept an account current between himself and his lordship, but never charged interest for the advances which he made; and though it was impossible for him to accommodate lord Melville from his private fortune, at that period not exceeding one or two thousand pounds, he had in the year 1786 lent his lordship 4,000*l.* on bond without interest, derived from a mixed fund of official and private money, kept at the house of Messrs. Coutts:—that on the 4th of September 1792, he drew 8,000*l.* from the bank, as for navy services, of which sum 4,057*l.* 10*s.* were vested the very same day in the purchase of 2,000*l.* East India stock, at lord Melville's desire and for his sole benefit; and that no interest was ever charged on that sum, although the dividends were placed to lord Melville's credit, and the stock sold for him in May, 1806:—that in 1797 his lordship subscribed to the loyalty loan, but the instalments were furnished by Mr. Trotter as they became due, from the public money, though his lordship did not know from what fund they were paid; that the aggregate sum of them was first entered in the account current, but that Mr. Trotter, for his own security, subsequently carried it to the chest account, and had frequently afterwards, in the course of business, presented copies of that account, in which this item appeared, to lord Melville; who regularly

settled and signed the same, and received duplicates thereof:—that though it was extremely rational to suppose, that lord Melville must therefore have been aware, that the funds used for the purchase of this stock were official, he suffered the interest accruing thereon to be placed to his credit in the account current till May 1800; at which time the stock was sold by Mr. Spratt, under an authority signed by his lordship, for the purpose of providing means to liquidate the balance he then owed to the public, on his retiring from office; no interest having ever been charged to lord Melville for this accommodation:—that Mr. Trotter had also advanced a sum without interest to his lordship for the purchase of 7,000*l.* stock in the reduced annuities, for the profits of which the latter was always credited in the account current; but it appeared when Mr. Trotter made this investment, he had either actually received, or expected shortly to have, money from lord Melville's private funds, which he deemed it incumbent on him to lay out for his lordship's advantage:—that lord Melville having expressed a wish to obtain some India stock, and not possessing the means to buy it, Mr. Trotter suggested to him, that he had in his hands considerable balances of the public money, which might be so applied; but his lordship rejected the proposal with indignation; yet, as Mr. Trotter was anxious to carry his lordship's wishes into execution, he intimated that he had a friend, who would advance the money on the security of the stock itself; but, as he found great difficulty in arranging this loan, that he had

himself advanced 23,000*l.* from navy funds to a Mr. Lind, in order to procure the stock, and for this loan his lordship was regularly charged interest:—that from this time Mr. Trotter's balances, which had hitherto never exceeded 64,800*l.* rose by degrees to 344,500*l.* in consequence of his becoming holder in his speculations, sanctioned, as he supposed himself to be, by his principal participating therein:—that Mr. Trotter was worth about 60,000*l.*—that lord Melville's balances on his quitting office in the year 1800—amounting to 70,000*l.*—were partly discharged by the sale of 20,000*l.* of his lordship's funded property, by 30,000*l.* arising from the disposal of India stock, 20,000*l.* of which went to discharge the debt thereon, and by 13,000*l.* borrowed from Messrs. Coutts on the following securities; an assignment of his lordship's salary as keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, an assignment of his salary as keeper of the signet in the same country, 2,000*l.* India stock, and the collateral security of Mr. Robert Dundas, his lordship's son:—that the release between his lordship and Mr. Trotter was suggested by the latter, through a regard to his own interest, as his lordship, although very attentive to public concerns and official business, was very careless in investigating his own private affairs, to which Mr. Trotter could never draw his notice.

Thirty-five cancelled bank-notes, issued from the exchequer, and amounting to 32,024*l.*, were proved to have been paid into the house of Messrs. Coutts, in discharge of two drafts of lord Melville on Mr. Trotter, one for 13,000*l.*

23,000*l.* and the other for 19,024*l.*, and appropriated to the act of parliament new account on the 22d of May 1806.

Mr. Kaye, a solicitor, proved that the interest on the various sums advanced to lord Melville from the public money, during the time his lordship enjoyed the use of these loans, was 22,962*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

As soon as the evidence for the prosecution was closed, sir Samuel Romilly, the solicitor general, recapitulated the bearings of it in a speech remarkable for its ability, and neatness of arrangement. The day after he had concluded his summary, Mr. Plumer addressed the court on behalf of lord Melville; and the part of the defence undertaken by this gentleman occupied two whole days, when Mr. Adam was likewise heard on the same side. It has been endeavoured to bring the arguments of these gentlemen, which contained the evidence for the defendant, under one view in a connected detail.

They divided the charges into two heads, the one comprehending the first and tenth articles, which related to circumstances prior to the act of the 25th of his majesty; and the other embracing the second article, which stated the abstract proposition of the breach of the act as a criminal offence; and the remainder of the articles, in which the corrupt use of the money was united with the charge of withdrawing it from the bank. In respect to the first division of the matter, they denied that lord Melville had violated the duty of his office or trust, or any law or statute of the realm; and contended that whatever obligation

existed on the subject resulted from the compact with the king, as there was no law in being to restrain him from making use of the money; provided it was at all times ready to answer the public exigence. They showed that such had been the impression of many illustrious characters, and of former law officers in the highest stations. They asserted that the balance of 10,000*l.* which remained in the noble lord's hands as an ex-treasurer, before the act in question was passed, might have been deposited in a drawer, with a friend, or in a private bank, at his option with impunity; if it were not applied to a criminal purpose, of which there was not the least evidence. They admitted that the warrant, by which the noble lord had held the place of treasurer, created an obligation not to employ the public money for his own emolument; the breach of which, had it been committed, and that they denied, would have rendered him liable to civil consequences, but could not have constituted a public crime or offence; for that warrant could establish no law, and, at all events, that the operation of it ceased when the person went out of office, and would have no effect upon him, as to any balance that he duly held in his hands as an ex-treasurer. They argued that lord Melville, in his voluntary defence before the house of commons, was at perfect liberty to remain silent on such parts of the charge as he thought fit; and had an undoubted right in every place, and before every assembly, to use his discretion on what he chose to reveal,—to defend himself in whole or in part; and after a positive assertion

that he had made no private use of the public money, which was all the charge against him, and to which he did explicitly answer; if he chose to prefer a regard to a high and imperious duty, bound, as he conceived himself to be, as a minister of state to carry with him to his grave the secret services, for which this money, and another sum of 10,000l., were employed, and were to suffer for this conduct, he scrupled not to expose himself to all its consequences; but they contended that this part of the charges, depending as it did upon the allegation of criminal corruption, was not only unsupported by any testimony, but clearly and positively disproved by the witnesses, who had been brought forward on the occasion. With respect to the two sums of 1000l. each, they said that suppose Mr. Douglas, who then appeared to be lord Melville's private agent, having taken at the exchequer a bank note of 1000l., did pay that identical note into Messrs. Drummond's bank, if he had received, or was to receive, an equal sum from lord Melville's own resources, there could be nothing criminal in that action; and that the circumstances of the second sum of 1000l. stood exactly in the same predicament.

Turning to the first part of the second head of charges, posterior to the passing of the act of regulation, they affirmed that the provisions of the legislature, in that respect, had not been in the least degree infringed upon, and that much fallacy had prevailed in the construction of them. The objects of them were to cause the treasurer's business to cease with his office, to prevent the issue of

money from the exchequer before it was wanted, and to restrain the actual treasurer from drawing from the bank a greater sum than the service required. For these purposes it was determined that he was not to specify the quantum of the sum, which was to be ascertained by the proper boards connected with the navy. They admitted that the act directed the bank to be the *primary* place of deposit; but, after establishing this regulation, it left the course of office precisely as it existed before; and provided the money was drawn from the bank for navy services, that it permitted the treasurer to place it where he chose, as an *ultimate* deposit, for the convenience of the public, as it should be wanted. They insisted too that this must necessarily be the case, in order to carry on the great number of small payments, which it would be both cruel and vexatious to refer to the bank.

As to the other articles, stating a corrupt application of the money, they remarked that it was not alleged that any of these acts were done by Mr. Trotter for want of due vigilance and care in lord Melville, the want of which would have been blameable; but expressly that they were done with his lordship's privity and connivance. They drew the notice of the court to the declaration made by lord Melville, when he admitted before the naval commissioners that he had given Mr. Trotter leave to take the money from the bank, and lodge it with Messrs. Coutts for the public service; and, when it was fairly placed there for that purpose, that he did suppose Mr. Trotter made some advantage of it. This emolument



lament they protested lord Melville imagined to be a small percentage, allowed to Mr. Trotter for the limited and temporary deposit. In regard to all the other matters of accusation, notwithstanding the principal witness had every motive, if the truth had suffered him, to give testimony hostile to the defendant; in order to exonerate himself, and transfer an equal share of guilt to lord Melville, without one inducement to speak in favour of his fallen patron; yet he had completely absolved his lordship from all participation in his own improper conduct. Mr. Trotter had thoroughly cleared up the transaction of the loan for the purchase of the East India stock, by acknowledging the imposition which he had practised on lord Melville, who had given the best possible proof of being deceived, by refunding 3,000*l.* of the money that he had supposed to be borrowed, and by regularly paying interest on the principal. Mr. Trotter had also shown that the subscription of 10,000*l.* in the loyalty loan did not originate with him; although the instalments were paid up by him, without lord Melville's knowledge; and as it also appeared by his evidence, that lord Melville had executed a power of attorney to Messrs. Coutts to carry the dividends to the credit, or to sell out the whole stock for the benefit of Mr. Trotter, and thus put that gentleman in possession of the means of paying himself, his lordship considered the advance as a private debt. Mr. Trotter had proved that the money, invested in the reduced annuities, had either actually come, or was immediately

to come, into his hands on lord Melville's private account; and which money he thought it proper to lay out in some manner to produce an interest to his lordship. In short, he had removed all suspicion from the defendant's character, either by fairly explaining the nature of the proceedings, or by admitting every part of the culpability of them to remain with himself. His lordship's counsel also mentioned that, while the defendant was supposed to be so eager in the pursuit of emolument, he had actually declined to take the salary and perquisites, while he held the situation of secretary of state for the home department, and while he discharged the duties of that for the colonies, amounting to 34,730*l.* *os.* 7*d.*; and this voluntary forbearance they proved by Mr. Pollock and Mr. Chapman, the chief clerks in those offices. They concluded by observing, that any doubt on the subject of the clause in the release to destroy all vouchers had been obviated by the evidence of Mr. Trotter; by which it in fact appeared that the clause had been inserted by Mr. Sportiswoode, Mr. Trotter's solicitor, as a matter of course, without any directions, and therefore that clause could be taken neither as the act of lord Melville nor of Mr. Trotter; and that the release itself was the most natural and obvious mode of settling the private accounts of the parties.

Sir Arthur Piggott, the attorney general, in a very able and eloquent reply, gave a history of the act that had been so frequently referred to in the course of the trial, but which it is impossible to insert in this place, on account of

its length. He then proceeded to notice the leading points, advanced by the counsel for the defendant. He endeavoured to prove that, though contracts between individuals could only be vindicated by civil remedies, yet the moment a public duty was cast upon a man, he was responsible, as far as regarded the duty in question, by the process of the common law. He corroborated this position by citing the case of the king against Bembridge, on which lord Mansfield had clearly given his opinion that, if a man accept an office of trust and confidence concerning the public, especially when it is attended with profit, he is amenable to the king for the faithful discharge of it, and his majesty can call upon him, by way of indictment, for any failure; that any breach of trust, fraud or imposition which between subject and subject would only be actionable, if it concerns the public, is indictable; and that this principle is essential to the existence of the country. The attorney general, after confirming this doctrine by quoting lord Coke, and by several arguments, commented in the severest manner on what Messrs. Plumer and Adam had termed lord Melville's *silence* before the house of commons, which he pronounced a confession, aggravated by a resolution of concealment; and he ridiculed the distinction between permitting a subordinate to do an act, and giving him authority to do it.

He then dwelt with considerable asperity on the construction, which had been given to the act for regulating the office of treasurer. He contended that, both by the letter and spirit of that act, the

treasurer was meant to be a mere accountant; and that the money issued for naval purposes should be *bonâ fide* kept at the bank, until actually paid. This interpretation of it he enforced by mentioning the clause stating, "that nothing shall be construed to prevent him (the treasurer) from drawing for such limited sums, as may be thought necessary by the navy board, for paying ships or carrying on recals," which he insisted completely demonstrated what was the intention of the legislature; and that to pretend to fix on it any other design would render the exertions of parliament absurd and a perfect mockery. He remarked on the danger, as well as on the inconsistency and error, of the arguments of Messrs. Plumer and Adam, which would tend to sanction a rule, that would destroy all control over public accountants of every description; but he trusted that their lordships, in their exposition of this act of parliament, forgetting all the personal consequences to the noble lord, and applying the same law to him, as they would to the meanest subject of the country, would not disappoint the anxious expectations of the commons of the united kingdom, and of an intelligent and enlightened public.

Mr. Whitbread then replied generally to the defence. This answer took up two days; after which, on the 17th of May, the lords adjourned to the chamber of parliament; where it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of the business till the 28th of May; in order that the whole of the evidence might be printed. Accordingly on that day their lordships met; but, as strangers were

were excluded, no authentic report was made of their proceedings. All that can be relied on as certain is, that various discussions ensued on the subject, and that on the 3d of June the following questions were put to the judges: "1st. Whether monies issued from the exchequer from the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, pursuant to the act 25 Geo. III. c. 31. may be lawfully drawn from the said bank by the person, duly authorized by the treasurer to draw upon the bank, the drafts of such person being made for the purpose of discharging bills, actually assigned upon the treasurer before the date of such drafts, but not actually presented for payment before the date of such drawing; and whether such monies so drawn for such purpose may be lawfully lodged and deposited in the hands of a banker other than the bank, until the payment of such assigned bills, and for the purpose of making payment thereof, when the payment thereof shall be demanded; or whether such act, in so drawing such monies, and lodging and depositing the same as aforesaid, is in the law a crime or offence?"

"2d. Whether monies issued from the exchequer to the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of the navy, pursuant to the act 25 Geo. III. c. 31. may be lawfully drawn therefrom by drafts drawn in the name, and on the behalf of the said treasurer, in the form prescribed in the said act, for the purpose of such monies being ultimately applied to navy services; but in the mean time, and until the same should be required to be so applied, for the purpose of

being deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depositary of such monies, in the name, and under the immediate and sole control and disposition of some other person or persons, than the said treasurer himself?"

On the 5th the lord chief justice of the common pleas delivered the unanimous opinion of the judges, that it was *not* in the law a crime or offence for the person, duly authorized by the treasurer of the navy, to draw and lodge money in the manner stated by the first query. Upon the second question they said, if by the expression "for the purpose of being deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depositary, is to be understood that such was the object or reason of drawing the money out of the bank of England, the judges answer that money may not be lawfully drawn out of the bank of England, by the treasurer of the navy for such purpose; although the money be intended to be, and may in fact be, ultimately applied to navy services: but if by that expression it is to be understood, that such intermediate deposit in the hands of a private banker, or depositary, is made *bonâ fide* as the means, or the supposed means, of more conveniently applying the money to navy services, in that case the judges answer, that monies issued from the exchequer to the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of the navy, pursuant to the act of 25 Geo. III. cap. 31, may be lawfully drawn therefrom by drafts drawn in the name, and on the behalf of the treasurer, in the form prescribed by the said act, for the purpose of such monies being ultimately applied to the navy services

vices; although in the mean time, and until the same shall be required to be so applied, the money may be deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depositary, of such monies, in the name and under the immediate sole control and disposition of some other person or persons than the treasurer himself."

On the sixth this additional question was also put to the judges: "Whether it was lawful for the treasurer of the navy, before the passing of the act of 25 Geo. III. c. 31. and more especially, when by warrant from his majesty, his salary as such treasurer as aforesaid, was augmented in full satisfaction for all fees, wages, and other profits and emoluments, to apply any sum of money, impressed to him for navy services, to any other use whatsoever, public or private, without express authority for so doing; and whether such application by such treasurer would have been a misdemeanor, or punishable by information or indictment?" To this inquiry the lord chief justice of the common pleas declared the unanimous opinion of the judges on the 9th: "that it was *not* unlawful for the treasurer of the navy, before the said act, although after the warrant stated in the question, to apply any sum of money impressed to him for navy services, to other uses public or private, without express authority for so doing, so as to constitute a misdemeanor, punishable by information or indictment."

In the mean time, general Fitzpatrick had made a motion in the house of commons, on the 23d of May, to thank the managers of the impeachment for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them;

which was seconded by sir John Newport, and carried with only one dissentient voice. The speaker accordingly delivered the thanks of the house to these gentlemen, who stood up in their several places. On the motion of the same member, the speaker's speech was directed to be printed. It turned principally on the exemplary diligence and dispatch used by the honourable managers, that had "rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and had restored them to their ancient strength and honour;" and it concluded in these terms: "The issue of the whole is now with the lords; and whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the fairest hopes of ultimate justice: but, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty you have satisfied the expectation of the commons; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks."

On the 12th of June, the lords having come from the chamber of parliament into Westminster-hall in the usual order, the lord chancellor, after a short preface, put the following question to the junior baron: "Is Henry viscount Melville guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors in the first article of the impeachment, or not guilty? John lord Crewe, what says your lordship on this first article?"

Whereupon lord Crewe standing up in his place, uncovered, and laying his right hand on his breast, answered—"not guilty, upon my honour."

The same ceremony was repeated

ed on this and the remainder of the articles with every individual peer, according to his rank, who an-

swered as the subjoined abstract will show.

*Not guilty on all the charges.*

LORDS.

Barham	Harewood	Berwick
Sheffield	Stuart of Castle Stuart	Boringdon
Arden	Bradford	Eliot
Thomond	Mulgrave	Rodney
St. Helens	Douglas of Lochleven	Boston
Eldon	Douglas of Douglas	Grantham
Northwick	Amherst	Hay
Bolton	Braybrooke	Cathcart
Bayning	Kenyon	Ashburnham
Carrington	Hawkesbury	Spencer of Worm-
Rolle	Montagu	leighton

BISHOPS.

Chichester

Bath and Wells.

VISCOUNTS.

Lowther

Hampden

Wentworth

EARLS.

Powis	Mount Edgecombe	Glasgow
Limerick	Strange	Aboyne
Chichester	Camden	Kellie
Onslow	Uxbridge	Strathmore
Caledon	Bathurst	Doncaster
Lucan	Chatham	Essex
Longford	Hardwicke	Westmoreland
Westmeath	Graham	Bridgewater
Digby	Macclesfield	Aylesford
Fortescue	Brittol	

MARQUISSES.

Hertford  
Cornwallis

Abercorn  
Salisbury

DUKES.

Rutland  
Beaufort

Cambridge  
Cumberland

York

*Guilty on the charges specified by the numbers.*

LORDS.

Crewe, 2, 3, 6, 7.	Ellenborough, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.
Lauderdale, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.	Carysfort, 2, 3, 6, 7.

Lilford, 2, 3.  
 Minto, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 De Dunstanville, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9.  
 Dawnay, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10.  
 Yarborough, 2, 3, 6.  
 Dundas, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Upper Offory, 2.  
 Auckland, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Gage, 2, 3, 7.  
 Verulam, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Fife, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.  
 Somers, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.  
 Bulkeley, 6, 7.  
 Rawdon, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Grantley, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Dynevor, 7.  
 Holland, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.  
 Ponsonby, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9.  
 King, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.  
 Clifton, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 St. John, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.  
 De Clifford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10.

Bishop of St. Asaph, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9.

Viscount Hereford, 2, 3, 6, 7.

#### EARLS.

Charleville, 7.  
 Roslyn, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Donoughmore, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Enniskillen, 7.  
 Carnarvon, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.  
 Mansfield, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Grosvenor, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Radnor, 2, 3, 6, 9.  
 Egremont, 2.  
 Buckinghamshire, 2.  
 Stanhope, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.  
 Cowper, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.  
 Oxford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10.  
 Stair, 2, 3.  
 Breadalbane, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Carlisle, 2, 3, 7.  
 Winchelsea, 2, 3.  
 Suffolk, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.  
 Derby, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.  
 Dartmouth, 6.

#### MARQUISESSES.

Headford, 2, 3, 6, 7. Winchester, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

#### DUKES.

St. Alban's, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Somerset, 2, 3.  
 Norfolk, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

Lord Privy Seal, viscount Sidmouth, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

Lord President of the Council, Earl Fitzwilliam, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10.

#### DUKES OF THE BLOOD ROYAL.

Gloucester, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9.  
 Suffex, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10.  
 Kent, 2, 3, 6, 7.  
 Clarence, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10.

Lord Chancellor, Lord Erskine, 2, 3, 6, 7.

Then the lord chancellor, with which were found to be as fol-  
 the clerk, proceeded to cast up low:  
 the numbers at the woolpack,

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth
Not guilty	120	81	83	135	131	88	85	121	121	124
Guilty	15	54	52	50	3	47	50	14	14	11
Majority	105	27	31	135	128	41	35	107	107	111

The numbers being ascertained, the lord chancellor thus addressed the house:

“My lords, a majority of the lords have acquitted Henry viscount Melville of the high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the impeachment of the commons, and of all things contained therein;”—and then addressing himself to lord Melville, said,

“Henry viscount Melville, I am to acquaint your lordship, that

you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment, exhibited by the commons for high crimes and misdemeanors, and of all things contained therein.”

Lord Melville stood while the lord chancellor addressed him, and made a low bow when he had finished.

Their lordships then adjourned to the chamber of parliament, by which procedure the court was dismissed.

## CHAP. IX.

*Buonaparté's proclamations to the French Army and the People of Vienna. Convention relating to the Austrian artillery. The French quit Vienna. Great scarcity in Moravia and the Austrian dominions. Loss on the Estates of the Prince of Lichtenstein. Francis II. returns to Vienna: Excellent measures adopted by the Imperial ministry: Public Debt of Austria: The Archduke Charles constituted Generalissimo of the Forces: His reforms: Sentences of the Courts Martial on Baron Mack and various officers. Buonaparté proceeds to Munich: Marriage of Eugene Beauharnois with the eldest daughter of the Elector Palatine. Buonaparté visits Wirtemberg: Opposition of the Colleges of Government to take the oath of unconditional submission to the Sovereign of that Country. The French Ruler adopts Eugene Beauharnois as his successor to the Throne of Italy: He returns through Strasburg to Paris. The ancient Calendar restored in France. Extortion of the French in Germany. The King of Sweden protests in the Diet of Ratisbon against the late proceedings in the Empire. Remonstrance of the Equestrian Orders of Germany presented to the Diet. Transactions of the French at Venice. Substance of Buonaparté's speech on opening the Session of the Legislative Body of France. Summary of the Annual Exposé: Remarks thereon. Analysis of the French Finances, with comments on the application of them. Prussian Affairs: Arrangements between the Court of Berlin and Buonaparté with respect to Hanover. Prussian Patent on taking qualified possession of the Electorate: Proceedings of the Hanoverian Regency in consequence thereof: The combined Troops retire from the Electoral Dominions: The Treaty between France and Prussia, signed by Count Haugwitz at Vienna, annulled by Buonaparté: A new Treaty concluded at Paris. Buonaparté creates Alexander Berthier Prince of Neufchatel; and Joachim Murat Duke of Berg and Cleves. Prussia takes definitive possession of Hanover; and excludes the*  
British

*British ships from the Electoral and other Ports in the North Sea: The People of Prussia discontented with the conduct of the Court: An order issued to prevent them from uttering opinions on political subjects. Mr. Fox's note to Baron Jacobi Kloeft: An Embargo laid on all the Prussian vessels in the Harbours of Great Britain and Ireland: Orders for blockading the Rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe and Trave: The Embargo extended with certain exceptions. Proclamation of his Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbug: The English Minister withdrawn from Berlin.*

WHEN the disastrous war, which had almost humbled the house of Austria to the dust, was concluded, Buonaparté returned to the palace of Schönbrun. Emancipated from the cares and toils of the campaign, this devoted slave to egotism immediately gave the rein to his favourite propensity of issuing proclamations; in composing or dictating which, as he was for ever the hero of his own narratives, he seemed to take so peculiar a delight. He had already fulminated the consequences of his indignant wrath, the day after that on which the peace of Presburg was signed, at the defection of the king of Naples from his cause, by declaring, in the pedantic phraseology of modern French diplomatists, that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign; and general Saint Cyr was commissioned to execute the stern decrees of his vengeance against that unfortunate sovereign. Buonaparté's first address, after he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Vienna, was to the French army, in which after extolling their exploits, without forgetting to mention the share that he had taken in them, he promised the soldiers the enjoyment of a splendid festival at Paris. It must however be acknowledged, that he gave them no very unintelligible hint of the propriety of

refraining from that predatory conduct, which had marked their career, when he expressed his hope that his allies would *no more* have to complain of their behaviour! The next specimen of his vanity was exhibited in his valediction to the inhabitants of Vienna, from whose city he could not depart without giving a public testimony of his regard for them; and reminding them of the proofs of confidence, which he had shown in their honour, by committing the care of that capital to a body of the national guards, while he was absent in Moravia. He recalled to their recollection that he had left their whole arsenal in their power; an assertion which was literally true, but it will be remembered that he had taken especial care to despoil it of all the ammunition that he had found in it. Amongst the curious circumstances which he detailed in this document, he evinced great anxiety to apologize for not appearing more amongst the people, assuring them that his seclusion had not arisen from *contempt or vain pride*; but that he might not diminish their feelings of esteem for that sovereign, with whom he had been desirous of establishing a speedy peace! It is remarked, by an acute observer of nature, that the mind of man is always highly susceptible of judi-



ludicrous impressions, when it is in a state of the keenest anguish; amidst all the miseries, therefore, which the invasion had drawn on these unhappy sufferers, it could be hardly possible for them to peruse this ostentatious sally of self-love without a smile of derision. It is to be presumed that the good citizens of Vienna were not inconsolable, because this forbearing spirit had shown so little of his august person in public; and they would doubtless have pardoned him any indecorum in omitting the ceremony of taking leave of them, if it delayed his departure for a single instant.

By one of the articles of the treaty of Presburg the Austrian artillery and ammunition, that were in the Venetian provinces, were to be separated from those formerly belonging to the republic, which were to be given up to the kingdom of Italy. To prevent the trouble and expence of removing the former, which were declared to be the property of his Austrian majesty, a convention was signed between Berthier and the prince of Lichtenstein to exchange them piece for piece, and article for article, for the artillery which the French had taken at Vienna, Brünn, and other places. By this arrangement Francis II. obtained a restitution of a considerable part of his warlike resources, and avoided the chagrin of seeing his immense receptacles absolutely rifled; but all the cannon, that the house of Austria had taken in the different wars with the Bavarian family for a century past, and which amounted to a great number, were sent off to Munich as a present from Buonaparté to his tri-

butary and ally. The arsenal of Vienna was completely stripped of muskets and stores, which were also provisionally transmitted to Bavaria; and, as the Danube was not at that time navigable, all these articles were carried away by the cattle, that had been previously put in requisition.

At length on the 12th of January the French evacuated the Austrian capital, having already withdrawn from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. Buonaparte himself quitted Vienna on the 28th of December. As rapine and outrage had preceded his march, disease and famine lingered behind him. In Moravia the scarcity of the first necessaries of life was most afflicting, and the distress in many of the provinces was aggravated by the horrors of a malignant fever. At Vienna, where the meanest of the people had been used to the most copious abundance of every description, poured upon them by the extraordinary fertility of the adjoining districts, the want was extreme; even the price of wine rose to three florins (7s.) a quart, a charge which in that city, the usual seat of plenty, was without precedent. Some idea of the excesses committed by the French may be formed, by the damages suffered on the estates of the prince of Lichtenstein alone, whose losses by requisitions and plunder were estimated at three millions of florins, about 350,000l. sterling; an amazing diminution of property to be sustained by an individual, of whatever rank, in a country where the value of money is nearly three times as high as in any part of Great Britain!

When the last column of the French had left the city, the posts and

and guards were occupied by the armed burgeses. On the 16th his imperial majesty re-entered his capital, where his presence was much wanted to restore the spirits of the people, and calm the turbulence of the populace, who, exasperated by the recent events, had become very disorderly. The archduke Charles endeavoured to reconcile the army to the humiliations which they had endured, by the soothing and animated language contained in his orders for the troops to go into quarters as in the time of peace. Every effort that prudence could dictate was made to ensure regularity by the speedy re-establishment of the constitutional authorities, and impart confidence to the country in general, by the wisdom of the measures adopted by the court at this juncture.

The public debt of the Austrian monarchy was said to amount to eight hundred millions of florins, exclusive of the Vienna bank-bills, which were estimated at four hundred millions. To put this debt in a train of payment, a special committee of the ministers and privy-counsellors were charged to adopt all necessary and practicable means for the improvement of the finances. These persons seem to have exerted themselves with much success; for the community soon expected great advantages from the undertaking, and the creditors of the country had the good fortune to perceive the government paper so eagerly sought after, as to occasion a rise of three per cent. on it. The vigilance and assiduity of the court were also particularly directed to the military establishment, by an important change that was introduced into the sys-

tem of that department of the state. The emperor created his brother, the archduke Charles, generalissimo of the whole imperial army. This appointment, which superseded the functions of the Aulic council, that had ever proved so heavy an encumbrance upon the efforts of the Austrian troops, placed all the forces under his immediate control. The choice of officers, the modes of discipline, and every preparatory regulation, upon which fortunate results in extended warfare greatly depend, were of course left to the direction of this excellent and experienced general. The archduke applied himself to the duties of his highly confidential office with vigour. Justice was speedily executed on those weak and criminal agents, by whose treachery and misconduct Austria had been so cruelly reduced to cower beneath the arms of France. The prince of Auersberg, who disobeyed the peremptory orders that he had received to destroy the great bridge at Vienna, and who thus afforded a free passage to the enemy into Moravia, was sentenced to a confinement of ten years and confiscation of property. General Thaler was condemned to be shot for misbehaviour before Ulm; and several others were either cashiered, or expelled from a service, upon which they had brought ruin and dishonour. After a most deliberate trial, the guilt and infamy of general Mack unanimously drew upon him the judgment of death from a court-martial; but the emperor, in the exercise of his generous and humane disposition, commuted the sentence into imprisonment for life, and forfeiture of his estates. His imperial majesty extended

tended his mercy also to some other delinquents, by softening the just rigour of the punishments allotted to them. Prince Charles even took bolder and more expeditious means of purifying the army, and restoring it to that high rank and lustre, which it had formerly enjoyed, by removing all foreigners, who had commands, from the several regiments; and availed himself of the most effectual and natural method of reviving the glory of his country, by committing its defence to the skill and valour of its own children. The zeal of his royal highness was not bounded by these reforms however salutary. All the officers, who were in any degree unfit to serve by age or infirmity, were dismissed on pensions; and the army itself, as well as every detail connected with it, was rapidly ameliorated, and established on principles which promised to restore its pristine efficacy.

To perfect a system originated under auspices so happy, the archduke directed the people in general to be trained to arms. By the 21st of May, the volunteers in the city of Vienna alone amounted to twenty thousand men in a respectable state of discipline; and, before the ensuing autumn had arrived, there were in the Austrian dominions nearly four hundred thousand persons capable of defending the state, in case of aggression, and forming a powerful auxiliary force to the regular troops.

In the mean time Buonaparté had repaired to Munich, where Josephine, his wife, was living in extraordinary splendour; and spent on her table alone the sum of fifty

thousand livres every week. The French ruler arrived at this metropolis, before the elector was proclaimed king of Bavaria; the ceremony relating to which event took place on the 1st of January with great magnificence. The principal object of Buonaparté's visit to the court of Munich, besides receiving the flattery of the sovereign and his dependents, was to celebrate the marriage of his son in law, Eugene Beauharnois, with the princess Augusta, the eldest daughter of the duke of Bavaria. This distinguished lady had been originally destined for the bride of the hereditary prince of Baden, who was compelled to resign his claims in favour of his more fortunate competitor; but, to console him for this disappointment, he was gratified with the hand of Stephenie de Beauharnois, Madame Buonaparté's niece, who was created a princess to render her a proper match for her illustrious consort. Fêtes and illuminations occupied the time, while Buonaparté remained at Munich. The French chief complimented the princess Augusta, by agreeing to settle on her Parma and Placentia, or some other independent principality, as a dower; he presented the hereditary prince, her brother, with a fine Arabian horse, and with the sword, which he wore at the surrender of Ulm, at the same time using these expressions. "Take this, prince; with this sword I reconquered your country, employ it to defend it!"

From Munich Buonaparté went to Stutgard, the capital of Wirtemberg, which, as it has been already remarked, was on the first

of January degraded from a grand dutchy into a petty kingdom. This change was not effected without some opposition. The attachment to ancient privileges, which had hitherto restrained the authority of the sovereign, and formerly given birth to some dissention, was observable on the 30th of December, when the several colleges of government were required to take the oath of unlimited submission and obedience. This oath was refused by five members of the ecclesiastical assembly. Four of them were at length prevailed upon to take it; but the fifth, persevering in his obstinacy, was dismissed on a pension. The body of the states was wholly dissolved, the members preserving their salaries, with the threat nevertheless that all further meetings would be considered as acts of rebellion. Every bureau in their hotel was sealed up, and the officers were ordered to take the oath and resign their places. Thus doubly disgraced, by becoming not only an insignificant king but a little despot, from being the legitimate head of a free state, the duke of Wirtemberg was compelled to receive his victorious oppressor with the smiles of complacency and the semblance of gratitude; during whose continuance at Sturgard, the expression of popular discontent, and the sighs of insulted patriotism, were drowned by the report of cannon rending the air with all the mockery of joyful festivity, while this scene of national debasement lasted. From this place Buonaparté sent a letter to the French senate signifying that he had adopted Eugene Beauharnois, as his suc-

cessor to the throne of Italy, in default of his own immediate heirs natural or legitimate. This intimation of his will, which was read by Cambacérès, was of course hailed with approval, and the senate passed a vote of thanks on the subject. The principal feature in this epistle was the remarkable clause, by which he declared, that he reserved to himself the opportunity of publishing his ulterior views, respecting the connexions, which were to subsist after him amongst all the federative states of the French empire. "The various independent parties of them, having a common interest," he added, "must have a common tie." By this obscure announcement of his ideas, he first appeared to have disclosed the project of forming an extensive empire in the West, of which he intended to be the head; and that he afterwards in some measure realised by promoting the confederation of the Rhine.

Having sufficiently indulged his vanity at the expense of his vassals, Buonaparté set out for Strasburg, into which city he made his entry under triumphal arches on the 22d. Hence he prosecuted his journey to Paris, where his obsequious slaves were waiting to welcome him with unbounded adulation. It was proposed that he should also have the honours of a solemn entry into the capital of the French territories; but this, with a singular affectation of modesty, he declined. His first appearance in public was on the 28th of January, when he received on his throne the homage of the senate and other corporate bodies. The address of the former surpassed

all its usual efforts in servility; and the inferior authorities were not wanting in that species of prostituted eulogium, dignified in France by the term of devotion.

The beginning of this year may be considered somewhat in the light of a new epocha in the French dominions, by the re-assertion of the old calendar, and the abandonment of that absurd and conceited nomenclature, by which the year had been tortured into new divisions; to the great annoyance of all persons, who were unfortunate enough to have any transactions with the inhabitants of that country, and to the equal embarrassment of its natives. This arrangement, which estranged the dates of France from the familiar knowledge of every European, had perplexed all correspondence for more than ten years. It was established in the early periods of the republic by the enthusiasts, who, through their indiscreet zeal for liberty, laid the foundation for one of the most oppressive and galling systems of tyranny, that the world has ever witnessed. As soon as Buonaparté had been enabled to usurp the sovereign power, he wished to destroy all remembrance of republican institutions, and the boasted pride of French mathematicians was fated to be proscribed, as speedily as convenience would permit. In this instance the people had reason to rejoice in the exercise of power; for both the minister and the merchant were rescued from the perplexities, naturally arising from dissimilar computations of time; while the community in general returned with satisfaction and re-

novated pleasure to their accustomed methods of recording events, which early habit had not only rendered inseparable from their ideas; but which was even united to their affections, by marking in their memory the joys or sorrows of their existence.

The national guards, who were called out, when the French army passed the Rhine in the preceding year, were disembodied, and the flying camps broken up; but very few of the regular regiments returned into France, on the contrary, large bodies were left in the territories of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, to be maintained at the expense of those states; and a force of nearly seventy thousand men was collected on the Mayn, under the command of Augereau. This general was directed to demand a contribution of four millions of livres from the city of Frankfort. Resistance to the system of rapacity was known to be vain, the senate therefore represented to the citizens the necessity of providing the half of that sum immediately; at the same time acquainting them that, if the money was not produced, the city must expect a fresh garrison of ten thousand men. The senate, having ineffectually tried all other means, had recourse to a forced loan, by which all the inhabitants, without distinction, were compelled to pay within eight days two per cent. on their property. With the hope of obtaining a remission of the remainder, deputies were sent to Paris to intercede with Buonaparté for that purpose; but it does not appear that they had the good fortune to pre-

vail upon him to rescind his orders; so far from it, that the other portion of the demand was appropriated to liquidate the arrears of six months' pay, due to the army of Augereau. The feelings of a stoic would surely be roused to indignation by this execrable and undisguised progress of rapine, which in no respect differed from the daring violence of an outlaw and a leader of banditti; except that it was executed on a larger scale by a being, who dishonoured the crown and sullied the imperial purple, which he had extorted by force from the fears of a degraded people.

The late transactions in the German empire having disgusted the king of Sweden, his minister at Ratisbon, M. von Bildt, protested against the proceedings of the diet in a tone of singular asperity. The note, which he presented by his master's command, not only stigmatized the offences, committed by many of the members of the German confederacy against the constitution, as contrary to the principles of honour and virtue; but concluded in the following bitter strain of reproof. "The sentiments of his majesty are so well known, and have been so often expressed to the diet, that there can be no necessity for repeating them, especially at a time when we must not speak the language of honour, and still less observe its laws, if we wish to be heard. His majesty therefore considers it as beneath his dignity, from this day forward, to take any part in the deliberations of the diet, so long as its decisions shall be under the influence of usurpation and tyranny."

The equestrian orders of Germany, who had been stripped of all their possessions and privileges in Suabia, to aggrandise the new kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, also gave vent to their dissatisfaction by preferring an energetic remonstrance to the diet. They declared that they owned no submission to the recent changes, but what was dictated by their weakness. As the expression of their discontent was not aided by the irresistible appeal of power, it met with no attention; and the sufferers were compelled to submit to their misfortunes.

As soon as the French took possession of the territories of Venice, with their usual activity, they endeavoured to revive all the latent resources which the country possessed, and awaken the slumbering spirit of commerce. The lively intelligence and gay disposition of the Venetians yielded with facility to the new impressions, which the viceroy wished to give them, and seconded with ardour the plans that had been projected; while hilarity and pleasure for some time threw a dazzling veil over deeply founded schemes of aggrandizement and the meditations of policy. It is not intended in this place to give a minute history of the progress of the French arms in the kingdom of Naples, which will be reserved for another chapter. It will be sufficient to remark that it was but too successful; and that the royal family abandoned the capital and sought refuge in the city of Messina, after the Russians had quitted the kingdom, and the English army, forced by circumstances, had embarked for Sicily; leaving  
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the country to the sway of Joseph Buonaparté, who was directed to signify to the Neapolitans, that the return of the ancient sovereign, or any of his relations, was for ever interdicted by the imperious will of the ruler of France.

On the 2d of March, Buonaparté opened the session of the legislative body. The speech, which he delivered to them, turned chiefly on his late good fortune. He said that he had confounded his enemies, and increased the power of his allies; and he took the opportunity of declaring that the house of Naples had irrecoverably lost its crown. After mentioning the mercy that dictated his conduct to his imperial majesty of Austria, and his moderation in permitting the Russians to retire from Moravia, in consequence of the arrangement which he had concluded and sanctioned, he adverted to the affairs of France, and promised that the proper ministers should lay before the nation the accounts respecting the flourishing state of the finances, and the measures which had been adopted for the general welfare. He assured his auditors, that he intended to diminish the immediate impositions, that bore upon the land alone; and that it was his intention to replace a part of these charges by indirect duties.

His address concluded in these terms. "Through the elements we have lost some ships, after an engagement imprudently commenced. I cannot too much praise the greatness of soul, which the king of Spain has shown in these circumstances, and his attachment to the common cause. *I am de-*

*sirous of peace with England. On my part I shall never retard the accomplishment of it. I shall always be ready to conclude it, in adopting for its bases the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."*

The annual *exposé* this year will be found highly interesting, notwithstanding its uncommon extent; inasmuch as it contains, making every abatement for French vivacity, the best commentary on the actual state of France, and the incorporated departments. This most elaborate appeal was made to the legislative body on the sixth of the same month by M. Champagny. It recited all the events since Buonaparté's assumption of the imperial dignity; and though occasionally inflated by the pomp of language, it was certainly an ably disposed document, and the narrative possessed considerable powers of eloquence.

It began by describing the consequences of the progress, which it may be remembered Buonaparté made through a great part of France, soon after his elevation to the throne in the year 1804. These were projects of uniting the principal rivers by canals, the completion of which was stated to be rapidly advancing; and the measures taken to give a new spring to the commerce of Lyons. The various improvements in that emporium of French trade, according to this paper, were nearly effected. The southern part of it was to be rendered more salubrious, the Rhône confined within its banks, and brought nearer the city, from which it was retiring; wise regulations ensured industry at the manufactories, and give confidence to the foreign consumer,

without restraining the freedom of the artisan. Rewards decreed by the government redoubled the exertions of the workmen, a school of design gave perfection to art; and Lyons, it was said, communicating on the south with the sea, and by various canals with the Rhine, and the chief rivers of France, as well as the ocean, and connected with Piedmont and Switzerland, would soon become a market, that, by the advantage of its happy situation, would make it the centre of a vast and productive commerce.

The greatest attention, it was remarked, had been paid to the interest of Savoy and Piedmont; and Turin, *widowed of its kings*, was cheered by the promise of a brilliant court, in which one of Buonaparté's brothers was to preside, who was to lead the arts, the sciences, and the *graces* in his train!

The means pursued for the welfare of the Italian departments received a colouring equally high; and after detailing the transactions of the German war, the *exposé* assumed a style, certainly never witnessed since the fall of the Roman Empire, when the prince was boldly complimented with the attributes of divinity by his fervile senate; for it mentioned that while Buonaparté was in Moravia "experiencing every fatigue of a private soldier, exposed to all the intemperance of a rigorous season, and often having no bed but a truss of straw, no covering but the heavens—whence all the fire of his genius seemed to emanate; even then he was equally occupied with the good of his people, as with that of his soldiers; seeing all, knowing all, resembling that invi-

*sible spirit that governs the world, and who is only perceived in his power and benevolence!"* It was fortunate for the French ruler, that he was not actually present at this recital; for it is not to be supposed that any human nerves could, in these days, endure such hyperbolical incense. This composition had indeed, in a former part of it, represented Buonaparté as the restorer of order, by whom all traces of French misfortune were effaced; through whose influence the laws were respected, the magistrates had devoted themselves to their duties, the morals of the people were purified, religious sentiments revived, and urbanity of manners had regained their accustomed delicacy; but in this last consequence of Buonaparté's employment of power, the author of the *exposé* was somewhat unhappy, for he surely forgot the arbitrary and unjust detention of so many subjects of Great Britain as hostages, when the war broke out; a circumstance that did not prove any regard for that delicate urbanity of the French character, which he said had been resumed; but possibly the writer thought this event had occurred before the period, when this boasted urbanity was regained, either by the ruler himself, or the people whom he governed.

The cathedrals and churches seem to have been in a state of great decay, for the expenses of the chapels of ease were described to be very large; but sufficient zeal was manifested in repairing the former. The abuses in the administration of justice were corrected, and these improvements, by lessening the charges of the courts, enabled the state to make a better provision



for the judges, whose pay was inadequate to their labours. A judicial code was said to be preparing; which, however, was admitted not to be a perfect work, but much better than any that had hitherto existed. By instituting corps of reserve, who undertook local duty and the protection of the police, the regular army was left disposable, and the youth of the country formed to military habits. Bridges, roads, and public works of every description, had been undertaken to facilitate the intercourse between the provinces. Amongst these, the passage over the Alps, the removal of all obstructions in the Po, and six grand canals, one of which was to unite the Rhine to the Rhône, and another to connect the gulph of Gascony with the English channel, were the most useful. At Antwerp, Dieppe, Ostend, Dunkirk, Havre de Grace, and several other places, numerous workmen were enlarging the harbours and constructing basons. Eight hundred and fifty thousand franks had been dedicated chiefly in forming a new port to be named after Bonaparté. Two new cities were rising, one in Morbihan (the south of Bretagne), and the other in La Vendée, both to be called by the denomination of the same personage. In Paris, besides the addition of new quays and other embellishments, such as raising a triumphal arch, and finishing the Louvre, a new quarter, with a bridge, were projected in honour of the victory at Austerlitz: Buonaparté was represented as having been indefatigable, since his return to France, in his attentions to the interior economy of the metropolis and of the nation.

The hospitals and prisons were stated to be placed on a better footing, and extreme regard had been paid to all measures for promoting the health of the community. The new arrangement of weights and measures was to be strictly enforced.

With respect to agriculture, it was observed that much encouragement had been given to that important branch of public concerns. The draining of the marshes of Rochefort, of the Cotentin, and of Belgium, had employed redoubled efforts. Plantations were multiplied, and a collection of rules drawn up to promote their prosperity. Three new national flocks of Spanish sheep were stationed in the departments of the south, the east, and the west, for the improvement of the woollen trade; while the great establishment of Mandria, at the foot of the Alps, for the same object, was consolidated by the munificence of the state. The breed of horses had occupied the care of the government, and great pains had been taken, by persons appointed to execute this duty, to chuse and procure the finest stallions from Spain and the north of Europe, in order that France might be distinguished for a valuable race of these noble animals.

The manufacturers, especially those of cotton, silk, and wool, were described as having surmounted the first difficulties of novel institutions; and committees of well informed individuals were directed to provide the means of giving farther assistance to all, who were engaged in these divisions of labour, by opening schools of arts and manufactures, where the best

specimens might be contemplated and copied. The sciences were said to be cultivated with the greatest ardour and success, and the national character advanced by the unwearied assiduity of those, to whom the public education of youth was committed; but it must be observed, that by the nature of the plans of study, every exertion was made to give it, in the first instance, a military tendency.

It appeared that the bank had rendered essential services; but had not fulfilled all the expectations of its institutor. The freedom of discount, which was intended only to operate in favour of commerce, had been so great, that it had been made use of for private purposes of convenience. The deviation from the uses, for which it was designed, was to be corrected; and in this part of the *exposé* it was unequivocally declared, that Buonaparté would never allow a system, that might renew the inconveniences of a paper currency, and that no change in the value of coin could ever be permitted to take place.

The condition of the finances was affirmed to be excellent, and the excessive clearness of the accounts was much vaunted. It was notified that government inclined to the method of direct taxation, which, however, would be moderate; but it was particularly expressed, that the safety of the nation required a numerous army, and that fleets should be built, and seamen raised, to protect commerce; and that these circumstances would demand productive revenues. Eight hundred millions of franks were thought to be necessary in time of war, and upwards of six

hundred during peace. The first wish both with Buonaparté and the nation seemed to be to augment the navy; and therefore that was to be an object of the greatest solicitude; but, though the flotilla was again to be organised, yet it was professed, that all these warlike measures were merely to accelerate peace.

The rescript proceeded with the following declaration. "The union of Piedmont in the year 1804, rendered that of Genoa, which is a part of it, necessary; but this junction was effected by the will of that republic, and does not increase the strength of France on the continent. It took place in June, but in the month of April the cabinet of Saint Petersburg had been seduced by the intrigues of England. The abasement of France, the seizure of her provinces were decreed. The kingdom of Italy was not the only state of which they would have deprived us. Piedmont, Savoy, the dutchy of Nice, even Lyons, Holland, and Belgium, the fortresses on the Meuse, these were the conquests prescribed to the confederates by England." The allies of France were then enumerated; and the paper thus concluded. "The emperor after each victory offered peace to Austria. He also offered it to Naples before the war, and it was no sooner accepted than violated; and by this conduct the downfall of that house was produced. He also offers it to England. He does not mean to force that power to recede from the prodigious changes made in India, as little as he does Austria and Russia from the partition of Poland; but he has a right to refuse to abandon  
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the alliances and unions, which form the new federative connexions of the French empire. Turkey has continued under the yoke of Russia; and it was the emperor's chief aim, by getting Dalmatia into his hands, to be ready to protect the most ancient of our allies; and to enable him to maintain his independence, which is of more importance to France than to any other power."

"The first coalition, terminated by the treaty of Campo Formio, had a favourable issue to France by the acquirement of Belgium, and the departments within the Rhine, by bringing Holland under the federative influence of France, and by the conquest of the states now forming the kingdom of Italy. The second coalition gave it Piedmont; and the third brings Venice and Naples under the federative scheme. Let England be finally convinced of her imbecility: let her not try to make a fourth coalition, if it were in the nature of things, to renew her attempts with such a design."

Although it is extremely probable, that the flourishing condition of France was much exaggerated; yet it cannot admit of a doubt, that rapid strides had been made in the general improvement of her interior concerns. When it is recollected that both the interest and vanity of her ruler were engaged in the promotion of her industry and wealth, and that his impatient and active disposition never suffered any of the various persons, employed in national undertakings, to relax for a moment from their labours, but that they were expected to conduct the business, assigned to their superintendence, with mili-

tary precision and dispatch, it cannot be surprising that the French character, ardent in itself, should receive a fresh stimulus. The state of agriculture, the roads, bridges, canals, and public edifices were immediate and perceptible monuments of Buonaparté's glory; and therefore it is most likely that every effort was made, and every nerve strained, to excite the applause and astonishment of the people, by the vigour of execution.

Much scepticism has prevailed respecting the commerce of France at this period; but a just and impartial view of the subject will tend in no small degree to diminish it. Accustomed to contemplate every species of foreign trade through the medium of shipping, it is difficult for an Englishman to conceive, that where there is no commercial marine, the produce of industry may yet find an extensive consumption; yet it must be remembered, that from Hamburg to the Mediterranean, and from Nantes to the confines of Turkey, the communications were open by the means of canals and rivers; nor must it be forgotten that in the territories of France alone were included large tracts of country, formerly independent states; and that the subjects of Buonaparté had a free intercourse with almost the whole of Europe. The internal trade of France cannot therefore be regarded in the limited and narrow light of a domestic market; for a very large portion of what may be considered foreign commerce was embraced by it. As it was remarked in the preceding volume of this work, the principal difficulty with which French enterprise

terprise had to contend, was the want of capital; yet this deficiency had certainly been much obviated by the attention of government, and the mode of discounting bills established at the bank; which, it appeared in the *exposé*, had been abused and diverted from its regular and intended course, and in fact the bank had consequently stopped payment; but this circumstance tends to prove that the discounts must have been large and procured with ease. A year had elapsed since every practicable exertion had been made to repair the roads, and render water carriage subservient to the hopes of the manufacturer. By the stupendous accomplishment of a causeway over the Alps, the progress in restoring the public ways may be naturally conceived to have kept pace with the wishes of the cabinet; and upon mature reflection, there is every reason to believe that the arts, manufactures, and trade of France, although they might fall

far short of that condition, which was so brilliantly painted by the language of M. Champagny, were not in so despicable a state as many people are apt to imagine.

The finances really appear by the budget to have been in good order, and the taxes productive; some of which, by new regulations, nearly doubled their former amount. It had been deemed expedient, in consequence of resuming the old calendar, to include the latter part of the preceding year with that of 1806, in the accounts of receipts and disbursements. The former during the whole period, viz. from the 22d of September 1805, to the 31st of December 1806, by direct and indirect taxes, and other resources, were estimated as likely to amount to 803,459,359 francs, about 33,500,000l. sterling; and the exterior receipts to 35,533,000 francs, nearly 1,500,000l. sterling. These sums were thus appropriated;

	FRANKS.
For the payment of the public debt - - -	99,998,211
The civil list, comprising two millions for the princes, at the rate of twenty-seven millions per annum, for fifteen months and ten days. - -	34,524,000
The grand judge, minister of justice - - -	25,640,953
Foreign relations - - - - -	10,000,000
Interior ditto - - - - -	34,348,889
Administration of the finances - - - - -	39,679,604
----- of the public treasure - - - - -	10,190,000
----- of war - - - - -	161,499,257
War-office - - - - -	229,064,000
Marine establishment - - - - -	166,400,000
Public worship, including 24 millions expended in salaries, - - - - -	36,600,000
General police - - - - -	894,445
Expense of negotiations - - - - -	15,500,000
Funds of reserve - - - - -	30,000,000

894,240,359  
By

By this statement, if it be a fair one, it will be seen, that almost the whole of the "exterior receipts" was a surplus revenue applicable to general services, if wanted.

To attempt to give an analysis of the immense financial details, which occupy above ninety-eight folio pages of closely printed figures and comment, in the *Moniteur*, is impossible; and would besides prove as tedious to the reader as incompatible with the nature of this publication; yet, by exhibiting these minute tables of receipt and expenditure, the French government seemed to challenge inquiry, and if the accounts were *bona fide* the result of truth, it had no reason to fear research; but almost every body, who is at all acquainted with the arcana of financial arrangements, is perfectly aware, that it is possible so to interweave fallacy with correctness, as almost to defy detection.

It is necessary to direct attention to the enormous charges of the administration of the interior relations, the finances, public treasure, and the war departments. When it is considered what a prodigious source of patronage was thus left in the hands of the ministry, the attachment of a very numerous class of persons to the chief of the government, and that order of things, which he had instituted, independently of other causes, will cease to be a matter of surprise. The amazing sum devoted to diplomatic uses will also, in a great degree, explain the nature and origin of the influence, which Buonaparté had over the councils of foreign princes; and easily suggest by what means the

most copious channels of intelligence were opened. Had the foreign ministers of England but a third part of the money at their command, many millions of the public expenditure might be saved, and the diplomatic character of Great Britain would no longer be the derision of Europe; but there is so much jealousy in the British public of all secret service money, that the funds dedicated to this end are beggarly and despicable. It is not in the power of an English resident in a foreign country to procure the good will of a porter at the gate of a minister's hotel!

The charge for the general police would be strikingly moderate, considering the legions employed in the disgraceful office of *espionage*, were it not remembered that every person who held a public post in France, was expected to give assistance in this contemptible inversion of duty, and was enrolled a member of that degraded and dangerous body, who kept an exact register of the sentiments and transactions of their neighbours.

The allowance for the civil list (about 1,125,000*l.* sterling) is a very large sum, comparing the different values of money in France and England; and exceeds, by at least a third, the proportion of what is held requisite for supporting the splendour of our ancient monarchy; but Buonaparté, conscious of his incurable defects both in personal virtue and real claims to esteem and dignity, as well as in hereditary title to respect and dominion, endeavoured to dazzle the multitude by a gorgeous and imposing magnificence in his own establishments and those of his relatives.

Whatever deductions may be made

made from the advantageous description of France, on account of the acknowledged vanity of the French character, and the interested views of the government in representing the posture of her affairs so favourably, there cannot be a question, that she was recovering from the effects of distress; and that, upon the whole, her power was much increased and consolidated, her internal situation improved, and her attitude formidable and commanding\*.

The policy of the king of Prussia had for a long while excited the attention, awakened the hopes, and engendered the fears and anxiety of Europe. The court of Berlin had, for the last seventy years, regarded with invidious jealousy the superiour grandeur of the house of Austria; but neither from the extent of the Prussian dominions, the numbers of their population, nor in the real elements of wealth and strength, could this recent kingdom be esteemed the effective rival of the ancient head of the empire. The genius of Frederic-William II. had certainly achieved miracles, and supplied the deficiencies of a scattered as well as limited territory, with no superabundance of people; by his efforts the country had been forced into an unnatural state of consequence and authority; but the greatness of the Prussian name was founded in the talent and fecundity of his individual mind. Frederick was the personification of the Prussian monarchy. The state had only a life interest in its acquired importance; and at his demise its temporary weight and glory naturally terminated.

The passions subsist long after their operating causes have ceased to be in force. Hence the embers of the same rivalry continued to inflame the bosom, and influence the designs of the Prussian cabinet, as much as when the admirable spirit of Frederick animated the country; but it was a hollow fire calculated only to mislead the judgment and accelerate destruction. By endeavouring to balance herself between Austria and France, and draw advantages from their contentions and weakness, and above all by delaying to take a decided part, until she could enhance the value of the obligation, and see her competitor sufficiently humbled, Prussia strained the fibres of her policy till they broke; and when, from actual alarm and mere selfishness, she was willing to interpose with vigour in the cause of Europe, the opportunity had eluded her grasp. France had triumphed; Austria was subdued.

When count Haugwitz was sent, to the head quarters of the French army, to offer the mediation of his master between the belligerents, Buonaparte was not averse from the proposal; on condition that, during the negotiation, no English, Russian, or Swedish troops should advance into Holland to commence warlike measures there, after their departure from the north of Germany; and that a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortrefs of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions. These terms were thought inadmissible at that period; but when the event of the battle at Austerlitz was known, the court of Berlin dispatched ma-

\* See the Preface to the Volume.

major-general von Pfuhl to agree to the arrangement; and at the same time count Haugwitz received instructions, by which he was to give France to understand that, if her troops should occupy Hanover, the king would consider such an movement as an act of hostility. While general von Pfuhl was on his journey, he met count Haugwitz, who had already signed a definitive treaty on the 15th of December at Vienna, and was returning to Berlin to give an account of his mission.

As soon as this minister knew that France was victorious, he conceived it to be necessary to change his tone. He even took upon himself to deny that Prussia had acceded to the general confederacy. The assertion was bold; but though it did not, and indeed could not, deceive Buonaparté, still the falsehood soothed his vanity, notwithstanding it did not assuage his resentment. With the subtle ability of a demon, he inveigled Prussia by degrees into the forfeiture of all pretensions to honour, he flattered her into the exposition of her own shame and weakness; and, when he had rendered her thoroughly contemptible, hurled her from the rank and pre-eminence, which she had formerly occupied, into the abyss of misery, disgrace, and despair.

By consenting to the terms of the definitive treaty, count Haugwitz incurred a heavy responsibility; but he either imagined that the advantages it promised would be agreeable to the secret wishes of the Prussian cabinet, or that his master stood in so dangerous a predicament, as to leave no time for pause or delay. The principal stipulations which he sanctioned were

a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish dominions, the results of the peace of Presburg, and that Prussia should take possession of Hanover, in exchange for five of her provinces, viz. Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia; Neufchatel and Valengin in Switzerland; and Cleves in Westphalia. The conjectures of Haugwitz were well founded with respect to the desires of the court of Berlin. Although Anspach and Bayreuth were the cradle of the house of Brandenburg, and the people of these countries sincerely attached to their sovereign, and there was therefore something ungenerous and undignified in consigning them to the sway of another; yet they as well as Neufchatel, Valengin, and Cleves, were detached and remote possessions, difficult to be defended, and might often compromise the peace or neutrality of the kingdom; but Hanover was conveniently situated for an union with the other states, which it joined; it formed an admirable accession to compact the monarchy, and was besides, in extent, population, and value, of infinitely greater consequence than the provinces which were to be transferred. Charmed with the idea of having so dexterously and happily avoided the effects, that might have been expected from their late menacing attitude to France, the Prussian cabinet doubtless applauded count Haugwitz for his readiness and skill; but a considerable difficulty arose in the business, and this was how to reconcile, or at least seem to reconcile, this nefarious transaction to the principles of equity and honour.

The court were perfectly aware, that however versed in his art, however,

however quick and expert in taking advantage of events, their minister might have been, (although count Haugwitz is said to have been usually very deficient in all these points, except in this particular instance) no diplomatist could have been able to extract so much good fortune from the keen intelligence, and iron disposition of Buonaparté, had not Prussia at that precise juncture been reinforced by foreign and adventitious support, in the assurance of a subsidy from Great Britain, and in the almost certain alliance of the Russian emperor, if she should be driven to extremities with France, not to mention the immediate and prompt assistance, which she might derive from the co-operation of the combined Swedish and British forces, at that time actually quartered on her confines. Notwithstanding these circumstances had so materially contributed to the conversion of instant peril into unexpected aggrandisement, they increased the dilemma, from which she sought to extricate herself, without appearing to violate her good faith. The invention and adroitness of statesmen in such awkward positions are proverbial; but in this case the good genius of the ministers of Berlin totally deserted them; for the expedient, to which they resorted, was at once clumsy and unsuccessful.

Not daring at once to reveal their intentions, they could devise no other alternative than to unfold the project step by step; and, by intermediate measures, to prepare the mind of Europe for the climax of their cupidity. With this view, on the 26th of January, they first intimated to Mr. Jackson, the British minister at Berlin, that, in

consequence of a convention with Buonaparté, the states of Hanover were to be committed to the guard of the Prussian troops, until a peace should be concluded between France and England; pointed out the necessity of the re-embarkation of the British forces, since, they said, the retreat of the foreign troops was the condition, on which France had promised not to order any part of her army to re-enter the electorate, and since it was on this supposition alone that the king, their master, had guaranteed their security; and informed Mr. Jackson that baron Jacobi Kloest, the Prussian resident at London, had been instructed to give a satisfactory explanation of the whole business to the English court. On the 29th they published a memorial to the same effect, in which they stated the procedure adopted to be the only possible means of warding from these districts the flames of war, preventing the return of the French, and securing the tranquillity of the north of Germany. As the motives, assigned for their conduct by the Prussian cabinet, did not warrant the Hanoverian regency to assent to a project in direct opposition to the rights of their sovereign, count Munster protested against the entire arrangement; but exhorted the people to submit to it, as every species of resistance would be hurtful to themselves, and prejudicial to the country at large.

Shortly afterwards the allied forces of England, Russia, and Sweden retired from the Hanoverian territories. The former, after a short stay in Bremen, on account of the unfavourable state of the weather, embarked for Great Britain, the Rus-

sians.



ans were left at the disposal of the king of Prussia, while the Swedes retreated into the dominions of Mecklenburg; which the king of Sweden, from his headquarters at Boitzenburg, proclaimed his intention of protecting, till he had concluded a convention with his Britannic majesty relative to them.

Although the plan made use of by the court of Berlin, concerning the qualified occupation of Hanover, was of course signified to the French government, when the king confirmed the treaty of Vienna, Buonaparté did not at first object to the manner in which that treaty was modified, because the whole Prussian army was still under arms, and he had not completed his designs in the south of Germany; but when every thing was concluded to his satisfaction, and he had returned to Paris, the restrictions, added to the instrument, were haughtily rejected. It never was his object to enrich Prussia, after she had so clearly shown what would have been the line of her policy, in case the confederates in Moravia had been able to make a firm stand against him; he therefore would by no means suffer her to derive the benefit, which she intended to draw from the compact, without paying the full penalty of detaching herself from England, on account of the offence which she must naturally give the king of that country by her conduct. Had he acted otherwise, Prussia would have received all the fruit of the bargain without committing herself, and her political posture might have been as strong as ever. Buonaparté now

insisted, in the most insolent manner, that a new treaty should be entered into, by which the patent, for the provisional occupation of Hanover, should be recalled; and the real purposes of the measure acted on and avowed, with the immediate exclusion of British ships from the electoral ports, as well as the instant cession of the five provinces, which were to be resigned. Count Haugwitz who, by the narrative which the Prussian ministers gave of the business, was represented to be at Paris, but who was really sent to that capital to endeavour to conciliate the ruthless volitions of the modern Attila, in vain remonstrated against these proposals. Finding himself effectually caught in the toils, which his blind thirst of new acquisitions had greatly contributed to prepare, the king of Prussia had no option but that of bowing to the genius of superior craft; or, by a noble resolution, which he at that moment found himself incapable to form, of renouncing the detestable bargain which he had made; and making the best atonement for past error, by invoking the assistance of honour and rectitude, and at once braving the vengeance of disappointed fraud and violence. As he wished however “to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe, entire, and at least to secure the tranquillity of the north, he consented to ratify the new treaty,” which was signed on the 15th of February.

Eager to publish the terms of the compact, and exhibit the behaviour of Prussia in its true colours, Buonaparté directed Bernadotte to  
take

take possession of Anspach and Bayreuth on the 24th for the king of Bavaria, with whom those provinces were exchanged by France for Wurtzburg, which was to be consigned to the archduke Ferdinand in lieu of Salzburg; and, by the notice that he promulgated on this occasion, the first part of the plan was unfolded. The remainder was left to the care of Prussia to fulfil; and that she shortly carried into execution.

On the 14th of March a rescript was sent to the council of state in Neufchatel, directing the cession of that principality and Valengin to the ruler of France, by whom they were conferred on Alexander Berthier, with the title of prince. In this paper the king of Prussia acknowledged, that the separation of these from his other territories was an act of necessity, dictated by compulsion. The duchy of Cleves, as well as the town and fortress of Wesel, were given up to the French troops on the 18th, and with the county of Berg, were bestowed on Joachim Murat, Buonaparté's brother-in-law, with the rank of grand-duke.

The die was now cast. On the 28th, count Schulemberg publicly announced, that the ports of the North Sea were shut against the British trade and shipping, in the same manner as when the French troops were in possession of the territories of Hanover. This proclamation was followed by another on the 1st of April, in which it was declared that Buonaparté had obtained the Hanoverian states by "*right of conquest*," and that he had transferred the "*lawful possession*" of them to the house of

Brandenburg, in exchange for the provinces before alluded to. Thus was the electorate definitively annexed to Prussia.

The court of Berlin affected to believe that this atrocious insult to the person of the sovereign, and infringement on the dignity and commerce of the English nation, would be considered merely as an unavoidable proceeding, and if not absolutely overlooked, that it would by no means excite the feelings of resentment. It is difficult to conceive that they were really the dupes of such a persuasion, nevertheless they acted as if they thought they could rely on this opinion; for when they provisionally occupied Hanover, the Prussian merchants, who naturally viewed the circumstance as leading to a rupture with Great Britain, applied to the minister to know on what grounds their concerns were likely to continue; and they received for answer, that there was no reason to apprehend any hostile treatment of the navigation and property of the Prussian subjects on the part of England. When all the transactions of the court however became generally known, the people of Prussia, and particularly the members of the army, expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at the course of policy, which had been for some time pursued; and to so great a height was their discontent carried, that, to prevent all farther comments, it was deemed advisable to issue an order at Berlin, commanding all persons to abstain from uttering their ideas on political subjects.

As soon as the English ministry were acquainted with the first entrance

trance of the Prussian authorities into the electorate on the 29th of January, Mr. Fox transmitted a note to baron Jacobi Kloest, stating the great anxiety felt by his sovereign at the manner in which possession had been taken of Hanover, but that his majesty relied with confidence on the declaration, that the measure was temporary; at the same time he explicitly wished it to be understood "that no convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of an equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce him so far to forget what was due to his own legitimate rights, as well as the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate."

Although this note, which was dated on the 17th of March, rendered his Britannic majesty's sentiments sufficiently certain respecting the future destiny of his foreign dominions, it could not be expected, in the actual crisis of events, to make any difference in the decisions of Prussia. She had paid the price of her compact with France, and was willing to incur the odium of receiving the advantages to be derived from it. By consulting the parliamentary debates, it will be seen that the conduct of the king of England, sensibly wounded as he was in this instance, was extremely moderate and forbearing, in not calling on his British subjects to avenge what he generously conceived to be merely a personal injury; but the exclusion of the ships of Great Britain from the Prussian harbours, was an affront and an attack upon the country, and changed the nature of the aggression. Immediately on obtain-

ing intelligence of this outrage, the most decided and vigorous course of action was pursued by the English cabinet. On the 5th of April an embargo was laid on the Prussian vessels in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and orders were sent to the British cruizers to detain all ships navigating under Prussian colours. On the 8th it was signified to the ministers of neutral powers, that the necessary measures had been taken for the blockade of the entrance of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. On the 16th the embargo was applied to all ships belonging to persons, residing in any ports or places on the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, except vessels under the Danish flag. In this order there was also a reservation in favour of the goods and effects on board such ships and vessels as had been laden in, or were coming consigned to, any of the harbours of the united kingdom, which were to be liberated and delivered up to the said loaders or consignees respectively. On the 20th, his Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, issued a proclamation giving a narrative of the deceitful and violent behaviour of the Prussian cabinet, and protesting in the most solemn manner, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights in the electorate; and lastly, on the 21st, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, informing them, that he was under the necessity of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation; for which document, and the proceedings upon it, the reader is referred to the debates in the former part of this volume.

## CHAP. X.

*Progress of the French arms in Italy. The Court of Naples extremely unpopular. The French pass the Garigliano. Retreat of the British and Russian forces. Note of the Russian Envoy to the Marquis di Circello. The Royal Family withdraw to Sicily. The Duke of Calabria declared regent of his Sicilian Majesty's continental States. He retires with the Royal Army to Lago-Negro. Regnier arrives before Gaeta, and summons the Regent of Hesse Philipsthal to surrender: the Prince refuses to comply with the Demand. Deputies from Naples deliver up that City, with Capua and Pescara, to Joseph Buonaparté; who enters the Capital. Battle at Campo-Tenese. The Neapolitans routed. The Prince Royal embarks with the Remnant of the Army for Sicily. Regnier advances to Reggio. Proceedings of the French in Naples. Joseph Buonaparté assumes the Title of King. Prostration of the People of consequence to the Usurper. Insurrection of the Royalists in Calabria. Gallant Defence of Gaeta. Sir Sidney Smith conveys Supplies to that Fortrefs. Successful Sorties made by the Garrison. Victory of the British, under Sir John Stuart, at Maida. Excesses committed by the French in their retreat. Amantea taken by the Sicilians commanded by Sir Sidney Smith. The Castle of Scylla falls into the Hands of the English troops. Surrender of Cotrone. Sir John Stuart returns to Messina; where General Fox had arrived, who continues the former in the Superintendance of the Calabrian War. The Heroic Prince of Hesse Philipsthal wounded. Capitulation of Gaeta. Massena marches into Calabria: his Cruelty. Savage Conduct of the Calabrese. Sir John Stuart visits the Continent to repress their Enormities. General Fox convinced of the Inutility of opposing the French, resolves not to suffer the British to form an Expedition against them. They recover both the Calabrias. Transactions of Joseph Buonaparté. His forced Loans. Sale of the Lands belonging to the Church. Confiscations. Abolishment of the Feudal System; and of the Law relative to marriage Portions. Decree published in the Papal States. The Russians occupy Cattaro. The Marquis Ghislieri, who gave up the Province to them, is disgraced by an Austrian Tribunal. The French take Possession of Ragusa; which is invested by the Russians; but relieved by General Molitor, who defeats them and the Montenegrins. The Russians retire to Corfu.*

**C**ONNECTED as the court of Naples was with that of Vienna by the ties of blood, it was perfectly natural that it should feel a secret bias in favour of the grand struggle, which the former was making against the predominance

of the French ruler; but weak in itself, and unpopular as it had for a long time been, that it should have so openly sanctioned the wild and pernicious disembarkation of the allies in its territories was the height of folly and extravagance; and

and besides afforded to Buonaparté some grounds of complaint on its want of faith, and contempt of engagements. For what rational purpose the combined forces landed in that extremity of Italy has never been explained; and the attempt to discover the reason of an act of such incomparable absurdity would be idle and useless. The failings of talent and prudence always afford a clew to their designs; but from the misfortunes of rashness and imbecility, it is impossible to extract the traces of a plan. It is very probable that Buonaparté, crooked in his policy, perfidious in his alliances, and insatiate in ambition, had for some time meditated the overthrow of the house of Naples, which he resolved to execute on the first convenient opportunity. The cabinets of England and Russia might obviously have been aware of his intentions; and therefore, by needlessly plunging the Neapolitan family into the vortex of the war, in case their efforts should not be crowned with success, they gratuitously exposed it to ruin, without even the prospect of assisting the common cause. By entering into the schemes of the confederates, this unfortunate government courted extreme danger, and in the event of their defeat, put the seal on its own destruction; but the precipitance which it manifested by no means shelters the conduct of the allies with the least excuse on that account; since it is the part of wisdom to control the presumption of a friendly power, and protect it from the sallies dictated by its own rashness and imprudence. It has been seen, that almost the first fruits, which Buonaparté gathered

from the victory at Austerlitz, were the occasion and means of subverting this kingdom, whose annihilation he had decreed. Unhappily he had proposed to himself no difficult task. The court of Naples, under the influence of a vindictive and sanguinary woman, had rendered itself so odious to the nobility and the people, that they contemplated its expulsion from the peninsula of Italy with pleasure; for it is not to be disguised, that the queen, who was really at the head of affairs, was universally execrated. The king, indeed, was regarded with affection by the populace and some of the principal families of the country; yet as he suffered himself to be governed by the partner of his throne, or rather abandoned all business to her direction, the attachment felt for him was impaired by the disgust and hatred, which her behaviour had so generally and unconquerably inspired. Buonaparté, who was well acquainted with these circumstances, felt assured that merely to declare the banishment of the Neapolitan family, was almost to effect his intentions; but he enforced the completion of his wishes, by detaching a large corps to preclude all idea of resistance, and to terrify the people into obedience. On the 8th of February, Joseph Buonaparté with the French army, the right of which was commanded by Regnier, the centre by Massena, and the left by Lecchi, passed the Garigliano, which divides the Roman from the Neapolitan territories; and, from his head-quarters at Ferentino, published an address to the soldiers and people of the country. He declared that the

troops, which were under his orders, had advanced to punish the infraction of the treaty of neutrality entered into between Naples and France; but that the inhabitants had nothing to fear; for their altars, laws, and property, would be respected. He also intimated that, if they took up arms, the court which excited them would sacrifice them to its fury, and that the numbers of the French were so great, that were all the auxiliaries, which had been promised to their princes, actually on the dominions, they would be inadequate to their defence.

The combined forces, who had caused all this mischief, had already withdrawn from the Neapolitan states. In pursuance of the agreement to that effect with the French chief, the emperor of Russia transmitted an order to his troops to embark for the republic of the Seven Islands. On the 21st of January they prepared to quit Italy, and the English regiments consequently retired to Sicily. Conscious of the ridiculous figure which they had made, the Russians, according to the habits of their country, obeyed the mandate in silence; but the British, who were naturally more alive to the honour of their national arms, showed the highest dissatisfaction by their murmurs at having been rendered absurd in the eyes of Europe. They justly deemed the incomprehensible service, on which they had been employed, a disgrace to their character as soldiers and as Britons; nor could they without regret abandon the field to the French, and suffer them to triumph at their retreat. The Russian minister at Naples deli-

vered to the marquis di Circello a note on this subject, conceived in terms so ludicrous, that it is difficult perhaps to find its parallel in diplomatic intercourse. He stated, among other things, that his master's troops had entered Naples merely with the view of making a diversion in favour of the Austrian arms in the north of Italy! and this being no longer an object, since Austria had agreed to an armistice with France, and as there was a probability of a speedy peace, his imperial majesty *restored the kingdom of Naples to its neutrality!*—that is to say, consigned it to the certain grasp of Buonaparté. After a profusion of unmeaning expressions of his sovereign's regard for the welfare of the royal family of Naples, and the happiness of the people, he hinted that the design of subjugating the kingdom was entertained long before the date of the French proclamation from Schönbrunn; and obligingly insinuated that the Gallic ruler was determined to avail himself of the temporary residence of the confederates in Italy, as a pretext to extend his dominions to the utmost limits of the peninsula.

There surely could not be a more solemn mockery of the distress, to which the family of Naples had been subjected, than the contents of this note. Bitter therefore was the disappointment, and, if report may be credited, violent were the expostulations of the queen and her adherents, at the conduct of the English and Russian commanders; and it must be acknowledged that they had ample cause for their chagrin. Stung to the quick, in the first transports

of

of their anger and despair, they vowed that they would not leave the kingdom till in the extremity of danger. The return of cool and sober reflection however calmed these paroxysms of rage and indignation. Finding all hope of resistance to be vain, from the apathy of the people, whom they had not been able to interest in their cause, on the 23d of January, the king and queen, attended by the few persons of consequence who were attached to them, with an immense quantity of specie, plate, and diamonds, went on board the vessels in readiness to receive them, by which they were landed at Palermo. A great part of the convoy, nevertheless, freighted with the valuable effects of the court, was compelled by adverse weather to return to Naples, where it fell into the hands of the French. Amongst other articles of importance were the papers belonging to the secretary for foreign affairs. Joseph Buonaparté affected great generosity in liberating the prince of Castelvicala, who was in one of the vessels, and restoring to him the whole of his property, as well as in extending his forbearance to several other individuals of eminence amongst the captives.

Before his departure, the king had nominated the duke of Calabria, the heir apparent to the throne, regent of his continental states. This prince prolonged his stay at Naples until the 11th of February, whence he sent the duke of Saint Theodore to request an interview with Joseph Buonaparté, which was refused. Whereupon his royal highness, accompanied

by his brother, withdrew to Calabria, where twenty-eight battalions of infantry and thirty-three squadrons of horse, reinforced by the levy en masse, under the command of count Roger Damas, an officer of merit and experience, were stationed near Lago-negro, a position strong both by nature and art.

In the mean time the French army in three divisions entered the kingdom. The left marched by Itri, the centre by San Germano and Capua, and the right by Terracino and Gaeta. When the latter had arrived at this fortress, which is situated on an isthmus at the northern extremity of the gulph bearing the same name, general Regnier summoned the prince of Hesse Philipsthal to surrender, offering him in case of immediate compliance, an honourable capitulation, and threatening an attack without delay, if he hesitated. Undaunted by this message, the prince of Hesse declared his fixed resolution to defend the place. On the receipt of this answer, Regnier ordered the redoubt of Saint Andrew to be assailed, which was defended by six pieces of artillery, and took it. In this operation the French lost a valuable officer in general Grigny, whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball. On the 12th, the centre division invested Capua, the commandant of which city replied to the summons by a discharge from the batteries; but on the following day several deputies from the city of Naples presented themselves to Joseph Buonaparté, and delivered up that metropolis with Capua and Pescara. The French army entered the capital on the 15th under Mas-

fena, and Joseph Buonaparté received the visits of the different persons in authority. The next morning, being Sunday, he heard mass which was celebrated by cardinal Ruffo, archbishop of Naples. He took this opportunity of dedicating a diamond collar to Saint Januarius, an act that excited great joy amongst the people, who hold that saint in the highest veneration. After thus conciliating the prejudices of the multitude, his partisans discharged some of their usual functions by securing the cannon in the arsenals, which amounted to two hundred, with the ammunition, and gleaning whatever spoils the court had been obliged to abandon; while he himself accepted the offers of a number of Neapolitan officers, who requested to serve under his auspices. He then directed general Regnier to march against the prince royal in Calabria, whose adherents had hoped that the levy en masse would have brought eighty or an hundred thousand men to his support. Under this impression, and to favour his purposes, the prince had expended a considerable sum of money to draw the peasantry to his standards, and taken means to care for the Calabrese, by abolishing the tax on salt, which had rendered them hostile to the court. Disappointed in the number of those, who were prevailed on to join him, he is said to have resorted to extraordinary expedients to augment his force; and to have emptied the gaols of the prisoners, and granted a pardon to the delinquents, who were under sentences of the law, on condition of their taking up arms. Still he was unsuccessful;

for though he undoubtedly must have acquired an accession of men, the numbers of these levies were not so great as he expected they would be. The French report, that the whole army consisted only of eighteen thousand men; but they have probably omitted the irregulars. Although the nature of the country presented the greatest obstacles to invading troops, the French on the 4th of March were suffered to pass a defile which, from the description of it, might have been well defended. On the 6th, Regnier drove a Neapolitan force of about three thousand men from an intrenched post behind a river, the bridge over which had been burned, pursued the fugitives to Lago-negro, and on the 9th arrived at Campo-Tenese, where the royal army awaited his approach in their lines, which were strongly fortified. Notwithstanding a heavy fall of snow and a thick mist totally obscured the position, Regnier instantly attacked the troops under Dumas, and succeeded in totally defeating them; for the Neapolitans are described to have been struck with a sudden panic, and to have fled with precipitation at the first onset; leaving their cannon, redoubts, and baggage in the hands of the enemy. So complete was the rout represented to be, that general Dumas was only able to bring off about a thousand infantry and one hundred horse. Eighteen hundred prisoners, and one hundred officers, amongst whom were brigadiers Tchudi and Ricci, remained with the French. After this unfortunate affair, Regnier advanced to Reggio, opposite Messina, and placed garrisons



sons in Bagnara and Scylla; but he failed in intercepting the flight of the prince royal and his brother, who with two thousand men, the remains of the army, embarked for Sicily two days before the French reached the town of Reggio, though the Gallic general had made every exertion to overtake him in his retreat. About the same time that Regnier took possession of this extremity of the peninsula, Saint Cyr had occupied the other, with the city of Tarentum and the town of Otranto, and thus became master of the southern shores of the Adriatic.

A great part of the Neapolitan army had withdrawn to Sicily, when the king left his continental territories, and the troops, who embarked with the duke of Calabria, must have considerably added to its force; for, though the French assert that two thousand men only made their escape with that prince, they admit that they saw fifty transports under sail from Reggio. The duke would unquestionably have ordered all the vessels to quit that port, to prevent their falling into the power of the enemy; but it is most likely that he was able to collect and carry off a much larger number, than that which the hostile bulletin mentions. Be this as it may, it is certain that the kingdom of Naples was now in the power of Joseph Buonaparté. Gaeta indeed continued to defy the French arms. This place had been called little Gibraltar, which fortifies it in some manner resembled both in point of situation and strength; and the governor was more than worthy of his post by the determined resistance, which he op-

posed to the corps that invested it. To prevent succours being thrown into it, as often as occasion required, was impossible, surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea; and to carry it by storm was equally impracticable. The French consequently had no means of reducing it but by a regular siege, and this they could not immediately undertake for want of a battering train, which had not come up. The commandant of a little fort, called Civitella del Tronto, in the farther Abruzzo, following the heroic example set him by the prince of Hesse-Philippthal, also remained faithful to his prince, and refused to surrender. This officer, who was a native of Ireland, had a garrison consisting of fifty men only; but he took his measures so well, as to baffle all the efforts of the enemy. Civitella del Tronto was built on a rock, but did not possess any of the advantages, which belonged to Gaeta, even in a minor degree; nevertheless it was defended with a gallantry, that merited the most distinguished applause.

Joseph Buonaparté endeavoured to court popularity by a number of ordinances, which he decreed to improve the state or add to the pleasures of the Neapolitans. Many officers, who had rank in the army and navy under the old government, entered into the French service, and were confirmed in their respective gradations, while to others pensions were assigned according to their claims. The persons employed in the departments of the household, royal stables, and parks, belonging to the late court, as well as those who held civil appointments in the

state, were either continued in their places, or gratified with annuities; but the stewards and agents of the natives of Sicily, who had lands in the kingdom of Naples, and of the nobility, who had sought refuge at Palermo with their unfortunate sovereign, were directed to render an account to the commissary general of the effects in their possession, and the rents of the estates under their superintendence; the appropriation of which, by a special decree, Joseph Buonaparté reserved for future control. It is very probable that he was desirous of consulting his brother's wishes on the point; or he possibly hoped, by this artful manœuvre, to influence the conduct of the noblesse in Sicily in his ulterior designs on that island.

As soon as these transactions were reported to the French ruler, he carried into effect the design which he had always proposed, by declaring, in a message to the senate on the 31st of March, his brother king of Naples. By his decree it was signified that this provision was not to preclude Joseph Buonaparté from eventually succeeding to the throne of France; but it was expressed that the two crowns were never to be united on the same head. The object of this aggrandisement was at that time making a progress through Calabria; but when he was acquainted with his recent accession to dignity, he returned to the capital. Here he was received with splendour and apparent joy, the different public bodies took an oath of allegiance to the new monarch; and even the lazzaroni, who had formerly

testified so much attachment to the person of the exiled king, are said to have demonstrated their satisfaction at the event, by erecting a temple ornamented with laurels to his honour. The whole city was illuminated; and festivity reigned throughout the metropolis.

Anxious to show their abhorrence of the fugitive queen, the people of rank and consequence appear to have come forward with eagerness to tender their respects to Joseph Buonaparté, who soon filled all the principal offices of state with nobility of the highest distinction, some of whom had held superior situations in the former government; and a person insignificant in himself, who, under the real circumstances of his birth and connexions, might have been happy to fill the humble post of chief domestic to one of these grandees, retained amongst his chamberlains a very great number of persons, eminent for wealth, consequence, and titles, which had been transmitted to them from a long line of the most illustrious ancestry!

But though the nobles, people of property, and superior classes of the Neapolitans prostrated themselves before the French government, the court of Palermo found means to instigate the lower orders of society to insurrection in several provinces. A chief of the *massé* not only enrolled men in the district of Castelluccio, but even had the boldness to appear publicly in uniform. It was, however, in the Calabrias that the Sicilian cabinet found the most ready materials for their designs. Induced by their agents the hardy

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mountaineers and athletic inhabitants of those countries rose in numbers so great, as to intercept the communication between the third corps of the French with the other two divisions of their forces. The Calabrese were joined by many of the stragglers of the army of the prince royal, which had been dispersed; yet, notwithstanding they exerted themselves to the utmost, and opposed a fierce and galling opposition to the French, they were subdued without much difficulty. No ultimate and real advantage, therefore, seems to have been derived from the measures of the queen's advisers. The French were indeed for a time embarrassed by them; but the unhappy wretches, who were excited to attack their invaders, were the victims of certain destruction. Murders and assassinations, the result of these commotions, were frequent even in the city of Naples, and prevalent in every part of the country. Unfortunately these excesses, which were attributed to the intrigues of the cabinet of Palermo, whose passion for vengeance was known to be implacable, so far from detaching the Neapolitans from their new master, only cemented their connexions with him; for, independently of their aversion to the queen, as they had already taken a decided part, they wished to confirm the throne of the usurper; in order to protect themselves from the fury of Maria Carolina, and her partisans, in whose disposition they were convinced, from experience, it would be in vain to expect mercy, if they should ever revisit the kingdom. From the

countless executions which took place, upon the return of their Sicilian majesties to Naples in 1798, after the former disturbances, when the scaffolds were drenched and engrained with blood, and the prisons were actually choked with the victims of human misery, some notion may be formed of the exterminating severity of the court; but a farther idea of its inexorable rigour is afforded by the contents of a letter from sir Thomas Troubridge to lord Nelson at the same period. That officer informs his lordship, that *forty thousand families* had relations in confinement, in consequence of the principles which they had lately adopted; and he adds that, if some act of oblivion were not passed, there would be no end of persecution. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the conduct of the sufferers, the number of the disaffected clearly proves the universal hatred of the government; and it is to be lamented that their antipathy to it was not without just excuse; for it appears, on the authority of the same gallant admiral, that the tyranny, extortion, and neglect of the public in those, who ought to have been the natural guardians and protectors of the people, even then almost exceeded conception. In spite of the harsh lesson which the court had received, their cruelty, injustice, and oppression were incorrigible. Of the twenty millions of ducats (about 3,300,000l. sterling) torn by vexatious taxes from the subjects, and constituting the ordinary revenue of the country, only thirteen millions found their way into the royal treasury.

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The rest was intercepted by peculators and favourites, who like locusts blighted the fruits of industry. Mentioning the detestable minions in power, sir Thomas Troubridge observed—"their villainies are so deeply rooted, that, if some method is not taken to dig them out, this government cannot hold together."

The gallant prince of Hesse Philipstal yet held the French at bay in Gaeta. Early in April Massena had repaired to the camp before the place, to reconnoitre the works; and every preparation was made for the commencement of the siege. The operations were carried on with vigour on both sides; for the attack and defence of the fortresses were equally unremitting and obstinate. The prince of Hesse had about six thousand men under his orders, half of whom were supposed to be galley-slaves. In the bravery of the garrison, and in the inexhaustible resources of his own mind, he found the means of giving ample employment to the assailants, by frequent and successful sallies; in consequence of which, the fruits of much toil and danger of the French troops were sometimes blighted in a few moments.

While the Sicilian court were uselessly urging the peasants of Calabria to slaughter, they omitted to send proper supplies to Gaeta, of which the garrison began to experience a great want, from an unfortunate persuasion that French skill and prowess were irresistible; but when sir Sidney Smith in the *Pompée* arrived on the 21st of April off Palermo, to take the command of the squadron in those

latitudes, he procured the necessary articles and immediately made sail for Gaeta. When the stores for the relief of the fortress were sent on shore, the enemy redoubled his fire into the range of the mole with red-hot shot; but, in spite of this obstacle, every thing was landed. The supply was of so much use, that the French dread- ing one of those sorties, the effects of which they had so often experienced, abandoned the approaches which they had made to within one hundred forty toises of the outworks, and were reduced to adopt comparatively defensive measures. Before sir Sidney quitted the fort, an arrangement was made for a sally from the place, and the embarkation of a party to land in the rear of the enemy's batteries to the northward. Part of this plan was ably executed on the 14th of May, when captain Richardson conveyed the troops selected for the occasion to the destined point, where they drove the French from their posts, spiked the guns, and destroyed the carriages of them. And on the 16th, a still more successful display of energy took place. A vigorous sortie was made from Gaeta, flanked by twelve Neapolitan gun-boats in three divisions, and the boats of the *Juno*, captain Richardson's ship. In this attempt the Neapolitans forced the enemy from his lines, demolished a battery, of which they rendered the artillery unserviceable, and retired again with little loss. Part of the troops employed on this service spread themselves over the adjacent country, and even put themselves in communication with the royalists

In Abruzzo, where they for a long time gave the utmost uneasiness to the invaders. To assist the prince of Hesse, and draw off, for the protection of the capital, some of the troops who invested the garrison, sir Sidney Smith proceeded to the bay of Naples with four ships of the line. The apprehensions entertained by the French of this manœuvre occasioned them to remove a portion of the battering train from the trenches before Gaeta to the metropolis. When the English admiral entered the bay, the junction of the *Eagle* increased his force to five sail of battle ships; and as the city of Naples was illuminated, on account of Buonaparté's accession to the throne of the two Sicilies, sir Sidney Smith might easily have changed the scene of festivity into a conflagration; but as he thought that the inhabitants were sufficiently oppressed, he humanely forbore to add to their misfortunes, and contented himself with reducing the island of Capri, which surrendered at midnight between the 11th and 12th of May. Having performed this important service, admiral Smith returned to Palermo, where he entered into the most confidential intercourse with the court of Sicily; by which he was employed in distributing patriotic addresses to the Calabrese, and keeping alive the embers of hostility to the French in this country.

In possession of authority on the Neapolitan throne, the queen had not even endeavoured to ingratiate herself with her subjects, much less to merit their esteem; but when driven to seek refuge once more in Sicily, rather by the peculiar

disgust of the people for her, than by any affection that they felt for the French, whom they really despised and detested, she was animated with the most invincible desire to recover the dominions, from which she had been expelled. Convinced therefore, by repeated failure, that the Calabrese in her interest could make no successful struggle, without the aid of a regular army to support them, by repeated importunity, she prevailed on sir John Stuart, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops in Sicily, after sir James Craig's resignation on account of bad health, to make an effort in her cause.

Accordingly, on the first of July, the English general landed in the gulph of Saint Eufemia with about four thousand eight hundred men. His first care was to invite the people to the standards of their sovereign by a proclamation, in which he promised them further succours, and declared that he was come amongst them as their friend and deliverer. When general Regnier was apprised that the British had disembarked, he made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting as he advanced his detached corps, with which he promised himself to gain an easy conquest. On the 3d, he encamped with four thousand infantry, three hundred horse, and four pieces of artillery, near Maida, about ten miles from the spot where the English forces had assumed a position. Sir John Stuart receiving intelligence that Regnier expected to be joined in a day or two by three thousand additional troops, he determined to attack him before the reinforcements came up. Regnier was admirably

admirably stationed on the side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, sloping into the plain of Saint Eufemia; and his flanks were strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. The Amato, a river perfectly fordable, but of which both sides are extremely marshy, ran along his front; and the approach to him from the sea was across a spacious plain, which gave him an opportunity of minutely observing every movement that could be attempted. Early the next morning the English army was set in motion, and proceeded from the shore by the route above described, until it had nearly turned the enemy's left. Presumptuous by nature and confident of victory, Regnier, who on the preceding night had been strengthened by the expected divisions, disdained to be attacked in the excellent and difficult post which he had chosen; and marched down with the view of speedily crushing his assailants. After some loose firing of the flankers to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock the opposing fronts were warmly engaged. The corps which formed the advanced line of the British was the battalion of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with one hundred and fifty chosen battalion men of the 35th under major Robson. Directly opposed to them was the favourite French regiment, *la premiere legere*. The two corps at the distance of an hundred yards fired reciprocally a few rounds; when, as if by mutual

agreement, the firing was suspended, and in close compact and awful silence they advanced towards each other. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. He broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; he was overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.

Brigadier-general Ackland, whose corps was immediately on the left of the light infantry, with great spirit availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward on the ranks in front of him. The brave 78th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Leod, and the 81st, under major Penderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy fled with dismay before them, leaving the plain covered with his dead and wounded.

The French thus being completely discomfited on their left, began to make a new effort with their right, in hopes of recovering the day. They were resisted most gallantly by the forces under brigadier-general Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under lieutenant-colonel O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under lieutenant-colonel Smith. The hostile cavalry, successively repelled from before the front, made an effort to turn the left of the English, when lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had that morning landed from Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up to the army during the action, having observed the movement, threw his men opportunely into a small cover upon the flank of the French, and by a heavy and well directed fire

fire entirely disconcerted this attempt.

This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who astonished and confounded by the intrepidity of the opponents, whom he had been taught to despise, precipitately retired, leaving the field covered with carnage. Above seven hundred of his dead were buried on the ground. The wounded and prisoners, amongst whom were general Compeère, and a long list of officers bearing different ranks, taken by the British, amounted to above a thousand. The vanquishers pursued the fugitives as long as they were able; but, as the latter dispersed in every direction, it was impossible to prevent their escape. This glorious achievement, which cost the French four thousand men, was purchased with the comparatively small loss, on the part of the English, of forty-five killed and two hundred and eighty-two wounded, including both officers and privates; and at once gave a most favourable specimen of their military talent and gallantry, as well as great encouragement to the subjects of his Sicilian majesty in the future contest.

After the battle general Stuart issued several addresses to the Calabrians requiring, as a proof of fidelity to their sovereign, their assistance in pursuing the hostile forces; and informing them that arms and ammunition would be distributed to them, with a caution that they were not to be used for private vengeance, but employed against the common enemy. The Calabrese did not seem to require much excitement in favour of the cause; for so great was their joy,

when the English first landed, that for some time it was difficult to make them accept any recompense for the supplies, with which it was their wish to furnish the army gratis. The levy en masse immediately became a numerous and formidable body; and five thousand of these irregulars under Pane di Grano, and another large division of them, greatly harassed the enemy in his retreat from Maida; during which Ragnier suffered his men to commit every species of enormity. Villages, that were supposed to be hostile, were ransacked and burnt to the ground; while the inhabitants of several districts, who had shown their attachment to their legitimate master, were subjected to military execution, and many of them assassinated. To such an extent was this vindictive spirit carried, that general Stuart found it necessary to proclaim that, if the French persisted in these outrages, he must be forced to make reprisals on the prisoners of war who were in his power.

The forces of his Sicilian majesty, protected by a frigate, had landed before the fortress of Amantea, which they took on the 2d of July. By this exploit, which was performed under the direction of sir Sidney Smith, a plentiful supply of arms was procured for the royalists in Upper Calabria; and Lauria, one of the chiefs of the *massé*, routed a corps of the French, while another of them possessed himself of Lagonegro with its magazines.

The castle of Scylla surrendered on the 23d to the troops of his Britannic majesty, commanded by colonel Oswald, who had been ordered

dered by general Stuart to conduct the siege; and a British garrison was left in the place. In order to assist the movements of the royalists, who were desirous of attacking the French at Catanzaro, the 78th regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Leod was embarked in some transports, accompanied by captain Hoste of the *Amphion* frigate, and the whole squadron sailed for Cotrone, to make a feint in the enemy's rear; but before they had arrived at that town, they found the French had abandoned their position, and were in full march along the shore to Cotrone. Captain Hoste made a prompt disposition of his frigates and small craft, while the transports were directed to make sail towards a point considerably in front of the enemy's column, which, on this demonstration being perceived, immediately changed its course to the mountains; captain Hoste however was enabled to open so brisk a cannonade on its centre and rear, that in an hour's time he compelled those parts of the column to break and follow the rest of it to the heights. After executing this duty, the squadron steered to Cotrone, whence on the next day it drove the French, who early in the morning of the 28th retired in a northerly direction. On the 29th, Cotrone submitted to the British arms, and the enemy was thus deprived of his last depôt, with all its stores and magazines, in Lower Calabria. By the surrender of this town, and the activity of the levy en masse, generals Ragnier and Verdier were compelled to abandon both the Calabrias to their legal sovereign. Of the

nine thousand men, whom the former commanded, not more than three thousand were left to pursue their retreat to Naples.

The same reason which had induced sir James Craig originally to leave Italy, the immense superiority of the French in that country, determined general Stuart to return to Messina. In fact, he never intended to remain longer in Calabria, than until his Sicilian majesty had made the requisite arrangements, with his own troops, to secure the advantages, which had been so fully gained by the expedition. Having therefore entirely performed every service which could be expected from him, by giving an impulse to the royalists, and enabling them to expel the enemy, he ordered the British forces to re-embark, and, at the close of the month, they had again taken up their quarters in Sicily.

In the mean time general Fox, who commanded all the English troops in the Mediterranean, had landed on the 25th of July at Messina; by which circumstance general Stuart's authority was necessarily superseded; but he received orders from that officer to continue in his superintendance of the war in the Calabrias.

Although the glorious triumph of the British arms had led to the expulsion of the French from the extremity of Italy, yet it did not appear to promise any farther consequence, much less the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; and an unfortunate event soon afterwards happened, that damped every rational hope of ulterior success. As the prince of Hesse was in the act of examining the breach, which  
had



had been effected in the works of Gaeta by the fire of the enemy, he received a wound from a cannon-shot. Nothing fatal was apprehended from the accident, but it was nevertheless so serious, as to compel him to resign the command to another. Deprived of the animating example of their heroic commander, the spirits of the garrison drooped; and after a severe cannonade and two breaches had been made, on the 18th of July the fortress was surrendered to the French, having stood a siege of five months, with the greatest bravery and most undaunted perseverance. In consideration of the gallant defence which had been made, the Neapolitans were permitted to embark with their arms and provisions, upon an understanding that they were not to serve against France and her allies for a year and a day. Eight pieces of artillery were given up to them; but all the remaining ordnance, with the magazines of every kind, were resigned to the enemy. The persons of the civil officers of the crown were to be respected, and all individuals so inclined had free leave to depart for Sicily. Many of the troops however, strange to relate, entered into the French service! By this untoward occurrence, the communication between the northern and southern provinces was cut off, as well as all connexion with the insurgent royalists in Abruzzo, who were as well affected and as valiant as those in Calabria; and besides it liberated sixteen thousand Frenchmen who were besieging the place, and rendered them disposable against the Calabrese. General Ackland therefore, who com-

manded an expedition from Sicily, convinced of the impossibility of performing any real service to the cause of king Ferdinand, did not land his troops in Naples, and contented himself with alarming the coast, and embarrassing the movements of the French.

Massena was now invested with full powers to reduce Calabria, and marched against the partisans of Ferdinand IV. in that country, at the head of a formidable corps, with the design of subduing them by the terrors of military execution; and, from the known severity of his character, they had reason to expect nothing but cruelty at his hands. The honourable sentiments of loyalty, united with despair of mercy, induced the Calabrese to make a vigorous resistance to his progress; but though their gallantry was often conspicuous, it was not to be supposed that the rabble, which formed the levy en masse, feebly aided by the Sicilian troops, could ultimately withstand the tactics of regular forces, and the ability of military science. In many cases the Calabrese behaved with firmness; and in others they shamefully fled at the first attack, abandoning their leaders and cannon. Scenes of horror, inseparable from a warfare of this description, added to the guilty catalogue of French crimes. Districts were laid waste, towns reduced to ashes, and the unhappy victims, who fell into Massena's power, were condemned to death by a summary process, and infamously shot as rebels to the authority of an usurper. The passions of the royalists, inflamed to madness by these sanguinary proceedings, vent-

ed themselves in every species of cruel retaliation. The stragglers of the French army were cut off and invariably destroyed; and the contest on both sides assumed features of an exterminating ferocity worthy only of barbarians.

The heads of the *massé* had been selected by the court of Palermo for their daring temperament and brutal contempt of danger. Some of them had been convicted of the most atrocious delinquencies, and liberated from the public gaols, on condition of their exerting themselves in the royal cause. Fra Diavolo, one of the most distinguished of these persons, had committed almost every possible enormity, a price had been set on his head by the ancient government, but he found means to elude justice and make his escape. When the royal family emigrated, he was considered as likely to be an useful agent, an act of oblivion for the past was procured for him, and he received a commission as one of the chiefs of the peasants, with a pension of 3600 ducats, and a farm. The men under his orders were mostly of abandoned habits, and wretches who had been condemned to the galleys for life. With few exceptions, the rest of the leaders of the Calabrese were equally despicable; and amongst their followers were the refuse of mankind, contaminated with every vice and public offence. It is not to be wondered, that these unprincipled and savage outlaws gave a licence to their violent dispositions, and that their conduct much more resembled the fury of banditti, than the orderly demeanour of patriots in arms. Rapine, outrage, and assassination followed

their footsteps, and they became as formidable to the friends of the court as to the enemy. The bodies of the *massés* under their control at last perpetrated excesses so horrible, that sir John Stuart was obliged to pass over into Calabria, during the month of August, to repress their disorders; and to signify to them that they had been called forth and armed for the defence of the state, and not to gratify their thirst for plunder and vengeance. To strike a proper dread into these lawless chieftains, from his head quarters at Monte-Leone in the farther Calabria, general Stuart offered a reward of five hundred silver ducats to bring in Don Giuseppe Maria Papposodero, one of the most culpable of them, either dead or alive, as a public offender. When he had endeavoured to regulate the behaviour of these corps, he returned to Messina; and, on the arrival of sir John Moore, his senior officer, in Sicily, he embarked for England.

Sir Sidney Smith entered, with keenness and vivacity, into all the views of the Sicilian court. He was indefatigable in his attempts to harass the progress of the enemy, and in furnishing the royalists with weapons, ammunition, and money. He also reduced several forts on the coast, and occasionally gave Massena, and the other French generals, considerable alarm; yet, with all his activity, he was only able to impede their march, and delay their success. Consequently no permanent usefulness arose from his incessant exertions, which, however well meant, were perhaps not a little Quixotic. After taking every

pains

pains to collect information through sir John Moore, and other officers, of the real state of the country on the continent, general Fox was so thoroughly satisfied that all attempts to restore the royal family must prove fruitless, that he steadily refused to sanction the wild schemes which the cabinet of Palermo so perpetually projected, and in the prosecution of which they claimed his assistance. Another motive would have induced the commander in chief to decline all immediate co-operation, and that was the prevalence of the *malaria*, at that time raging with the utmost violence in Calabria, a complaint which is very destructive in many parts of Italy. The British troops under sir John Stuart had suffered from this cruel and epidemic disorder, and were then only recovering from its effects.

It may be imagined therefore that, while sir Sidney Smith daily increased in favour with the court of Sicily, general Fox was as certain to incur its disgust. This circumstance, though it might give him pain to deny the repeated entreaties of the cabinet, did not warp what he conceived to be his paramount duty; and he inflexibly persevered in the resolution of confining himself to the defence of the island. He was notwithstanding frequently urged to an expedition against Naples; and as the queen and her party had upon one fatal and disgraceful occasion formerly influenced a British admiral, through the agency of an accomplished female by whose charms he was at that time enthralled, to sully his bright fame by suffering them to gratify their

relentless revenge, at the expense of his own honour and the glory of his nation and sovereign, they had the weakness to hope to find the same lamentable ductility in the commander in chief of the British army; for it is even said that the chevalier Acton, the minister, had the audacious effrontery to observe to general Fox, that the possession of Naples for four and twenty hours only would be a desirable object; since, if no farther advantage arose from the measure, it would enable her majesty to punish some of the persons in that city who were most offensive to her.

— — — *tantæne animis regalibus iræ?*

But human nature blushes at her name, and her sex, with virtuous indignation and abhorrence, disown for a sister a polluted creature, within the dark and criminal recesses of whose mind vengeance silently whetted his stiletto, and unmasked murder contemplated his fell designs.

It is hardly possible to believe that this unfortunate female could be a daughter of Maria Theresa, or a member of that illustrious family, whose paternal government of their hereditary states, and affectionate regard for their people, have become proverbial; who in their domestic policy have ever “borne their faculties so meekly” that the exercise of power has only been felt in the perception of beneficence; while their warlike exertions have in every respect increased the attributes of heroism itself.

The chevalier Acton was the near relation of the celebrated Mr. Gibbon. His father on his

travels had become enamoured of a lady of some consequence, and so insurmountable was his passion, that he sacrificed his religion and country for the sake of his mistress. By this lady he had a son, the chevalier, who entered early into the Sicilian service; by degrees he rose to eminence, and for a long time had been prime minister of the country. It is peculiarly painful to reflect that any man, who had a portion of English blood in his veins, should dare to make a remark so insulting to a British officer, as that which the Sicilian premier had presumed to offer to general Fox. It is almost unnecessary to add that the latter rejected with disdain all idea of participating in a purpose so atrocious.

Foiled in obtaining the aid of their allies, the cabinet of Palermo made some show of relying on their own resources to accomplish this darling enterprise; but after collecting the Sicilian forces, they suddenly abandoned the pursuit, well knowing that they could not place reliance on troops, who had no confidence in their officers, and for whom they felt any thing rather than affection. The queen, surrounded by Germans, had always neglected to make the subjects of the throne feel a common interest with it. Foreigners and adventurers were placed in most of the posts of public trust, and even the army had few native officers; a palpable defect in its economy, for no troops can be expected to behave well, unless their good opinion is conciliated by commanders, who are their own countrymen.

The higher ranks of the Sicilians had the same real antipathy

to the French as the Neapolitans, yet they were nearly as indifferent to the court. The oppression of the government had almost entirely alienated their regard. They resented its neglect, and would make no efforts in its favour. The king, indeed, every where enjoyed that sort of popularity, which secured to him the reputation of a harmless and inoffensive man; but he was solely occupied with his amusements, and these consisted in hunting and fishing. Amidst the collision of armies and the ruin of his dominions, his tranquillity was undisturbed. His throne might totter to its very base; he felt not the shock. The chase and the casting-net easily consoled him under every disgrace. He gloried not in ably appointed armies, provided his hunting retinue was well equipped: he troubled not himself about the condition of a fleet, if there was a satisfactory complement in his fishing boat!

After shedding torrents of blood, and after many severe engagements, the French slowly recovered the ground, which they had lost in both the Calabrias. By the end of October Massena's head-quarters were at Palmi, Franceschi had obtained possession of Catanzaro, and Verdier was equally in advance. At the close of the year the French arms had reduced all these provinces, with the exception of Amantea, Cotrone, Scalea, and some other forts on the coast; and the loyalists in Abruzzo were totally subdued. The success of the enemy was by no means surprising, from the mere superiority of his numbers; but independently of that disparity, the Sicilian regulars employed on the continent had

had to contend with other disadvantages; for besides the imperfection which has been described in the army of Ferdinand IV., the commissariat department was so badly constituted as hardly to leave the soldier a remote chance of obtaining the full rations allowed to him, owing to the speculation of the clerks and heads of that branch of the service. It is asserted that the officers of the different regiments were in league with these vile depredators, and participated in their nefarious plunder.

The state of Joseph Buonaparté's finances did not keep pace with his military successes; for he was obliged to have recourse to a forced loan of 1,200,000 ducats (200,000l. sterling) mortgaged on the estates of the Jesuits to the amount of a million and a half. A species of excuse was offered for this proceeding; for he stated "that extraordinary necessities sometimes call for the employment of measures that are extraordinary." It must be admitted that there was some justice in applying the epithet used to this manœuvre; since he began by expelling the order of Jesuits, and then carried the property of which it was possessed to market, as a security to his faithful subjects, who were to subscribe to the contribution; but if the transaction was surprising in Italy, it was perfectly natural in a monarch, who was a fungus thrown up by the rankness of the French revolution, which had rendered such pecuniary address quite familiar in the north of Europe. This supply of cash was soon found insufficient, and the new government ordered ten millions of ducats (nearly 1,700,000l.) to be

raised by the sale of the allodial lands of the church. In order to place more funds at his disposal, and to have the means of rewarding his adherents, Joseph Buonaparté decreed, that all grants, whether of possession or to uses, made by the ancient authorities in favour of strangers since the 13th of June 1799, were void. He also annulled those made to Neapolitans who were absent from the kingdom. The property of persons, who had followed king Ferdinand's court, or who held military, civil, or diplomatic appointments in his service, whose families had withdrawn, was confiscated and declared alienable, as much as that which had been already disposed of under his direction. The benefices conferred, in the name of that sovereign, within the same period, were announced to be vacant, if they were filled by incumbents, known to be hostile to the French; and every thing belonging to the chiefs of the levy en masse, and others whom he had the presumption to designate as *rebels*, was represented to be forfeited, with the exceptions which the *justice* of the king, meaning himself, might make in particular cases.

In one instance, and one only, the employment of power by the partisans of the French was attended with any general benefit; and this was in abolishing the feudal system, that disgusting remnant of barbarism, throughout the Neapolitan states; for as to their suppressing some of the too numerous religious communities, interest was more mixed with their motives than any good quality in reducing the abundance of such receptacles of sloth and ignorance; since that act, by

throwing the wealth of them into the hands of the executive power, augmented its strength.

By the edict for blotting the feudal establishments from the list of human degradations, it was ordained that all feignoral jurisdictions, with the revenues depending on them, should be restored to the sovereignty, and all cities, lands, castles, whether belonging to subjects or the crown, should be governed by the common law. The titles of the hereditary noblesse were preserved, and were to be transmitted to successors in the usual manner; but no claim of a collateral descendant was to be allowed after the fourth degree. The escheat to the royal exchequer, and every kind of fine were annulled; and they who had claims on estates thus emancipated became creditors of the public. All immunities from the general taxes were abrogated. The right of personal service, claimed by the lords of estates, was no longer acknowledged. The exemptions from taxes were continued to the universities, till their revenues could be otherwise augmented. In short every sort of oppressive tenure was rescinded from the laws; and proper indemnities were assigned to old proprietors. These were certainly wise and useful regulations, and improved the happiness of the people, as well as their moral character in the political chain of society.

Joseph Buonaparté was desirous of obtaining the kindness of the Neapolitan ladies. In the year 1801, an absurd law was passed, by which the marriage portion of all females was limited to 15,000

ducats (2,500*l.*). It had always been evaded by various artifices; and the new king repealed it, very much to the satisfaction of the fair sex.

During the time that the French were prosecuting their successes in Italy, the holy college endeavoured to preserve the most rigid neutrality. Finding that the states of the church, and particularly the city of Rome, had become the rendezvous of persons disaffected to the new order of affairs, and of agents employed by the court of Sicily, they took every precaution to repress their proceedings, by ordering them to quit the dominions; and cardinal Cassoni, the secretary of state, in the name of the sovereign pontiff, strictly forbade the subjects of the holy see to give any countenance to the Neapolitan royalists, by affording them retreats in their own houses, or by any other means, under pain of being considered state criminals. The detail of the decree, which was published as the act of the pope, was uncommonly strict and rigorous; but all the people in public situations were at that time so entirely under French control, that its language can excite no surprise. Besides other austere injunctions, the edict concluded in this strain of arbitrary harshness.—“It is forbidden to every person to occupy himself with disputes, or even political discussions, on public affairs; to speak against any power, or more especially to hold discourses capable of giving uneasiness and fomenting a spirit of party, whether in the streets and in public places, or even in private conversations. Imprisonment and  
the

the severest penalties shall be the punishment both of the speakers and the hearers.”

It had always been the policy of Buonaparté to encourage a marine both warlike and commercial, and obtain as many depôts and ports as he could with that view. By one of the articles of the peace of Presburg, Austria ceded to France the town and province of Cataro, with the mouths and harbours of the river bearing the same name in Dalmatia, which were to be given up within two months after the signature of that instrument. General Molitor, who had been named by the French ruler governor of Albania and Dalmatia, was proceeding to the place of which he was to take possession, in company with general Dumas, and the marquis Ghislieri, commissary-general of the emperor of Austria for the delivery of it; but when they arrived at Zara on the 24th of February, the marquis learned that an insurrection had occurred at Cataro, the object of which was to put the country under the protection of Russia, in consequence of the time having expired for the due performance of the compact. He immediately repaired to the town, and upon his reaching it, found that the natives of the black mountains in its vicinage, thence called Montenegrins, instigated by their bishop, had for some time in great numbers menaced the whole district of Cataro, and maintained a correspondence with the natives of it, particularly with the members of the Greek church, who formed two-third of its inhabitants; and that these disorders had latterly been fomented and encouraged by the

detachment of a Russian fleet cruising before the place. The time between the 28th of February and the third of March had been employed to inundate the country with Montenegrins, and other people on the borders of the territory, who were already prepared to attack all the posts occupied by the Austrian troops, when the commander of the Russian squadron summoned the governor to surrender, or to declare himself an enemy of the emperor Alexander; assigning as a motive for his conduct, that he considered the province of Cataro as a French station, from the moment when the two months had elapsed for its cession to Buonaparté. Although the garrison in the district, consisting of the regiment of Thurn, amounted to fifteen hundred men, the marquis Ghislieri, instead of opposing the demand, consented to the proposal without the least delay, under pretence of the impracticability of resistance, and of preserving the country from pillage, adding besides that his orders were peremptory not to employ any other measures against the emperor of Russia than representations.

Whatever were the real reasons of the marquis's procedure, it was much resented by the officers in the regiment of Thurn, who, esteeming it derogatory to themselves and disgraceful to their sovereign, protested against it. The first notice which general Molitor had of this extraordinary arrangement was on the 7th, when he was on the confines of Ragusa, and actually within two days march of Castelnovo, the first town in the province of Cataro on the road from Zara. General Lauriston,

the French commissioner appointed to receive the district from the Austrians, transmitted a note to the marquis Ghislieri desiring to be informed, whether he had acted on his own authority, or by superior orders, in this transfer; but it does not appear that any reply was given to the question, M. de Ghislieri contenting himself with the explanation of his motives above related, and which was addressed to general Molitor on the 9th of March.

If the marquis de Ghislieri conceived that his conduct would be agreeable to the Austrian court, he was much mistaken in his opinion; for a process was instituted against him, upon his return to Vienna; for his incomprehensible dereliction of duty. As he could not justify himself before this tribunal, he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, in the castle of Siebenburg in Transylvania.

Not being able to accomplish his point, and appropriate the excellent harbour of Cataro to himself, Buonaparté determined to give another proof of his indifference to the principles of justice and the esteem of mankind, by seizing the best port in the neighbourhood. Accordingly he directed general Lauriston to take possession of the little state of Ragusa. The French officers obeyed his orders on the 27th of May, and immediately published an address to the magistrates of this republic, acquainting them, that it was the Gallic ruler's intention to acknowledge the independence and neutrality of the country, as soon the Russians should have evacuated Albania, with Corfu and the other Venetian islands, and the Russian

squadron have quitted the coast of Dalmatia.

This unjustifiable invasion of a neutral state was not altogether unpunished. As soon as the Russian admiral, Siniavin, received intelligence of it, he sailed from Trieste with two ships of the line, and some other vessels, to the mouths of the Cataro, where he was reinforced by the division under admiral Sorokin, and thence he steered to Old Ragusa. When he arrived at that place on the 29th of May, he learned from the metropolitan of the Montenegrins, that, as the French seemed disposed to proceed from Ragusa to the Cataro, and had attacked the advanced guard of his countrymen, some actions had taken place, in which the enemy had been defeated by them, and a corps of Russians commanded by major Swagin.

The Russian admiral agreed with the metropolitan for the attack of New Ragusa, or otherwise to occupy every channel by which the French might receive supplies; and with this view to enclose the place on all sides, the Montenegrins and inhabitants of the coast marched on the 3d of June, under the order of the metropolitan, supported by a detachment of regulars.

As general Lauriston had at this post three thousand men, to whom several hundreds of well armed Ragusans, who are expert marksmen, were added; and as besides he was every hour in expectation of a reinforcement, he seemed to be under no apprehensions of an attack. Although the Montenegrins amounted to no more than two thousand, and the Russian auxiliaries to twelve hundred only, they immediately



diately resolved to make themselves masters of the heights near Ragusa, in spite of the strength of the enemy's position.

After a series of conflicts, in which the French are admitted to have displayed much courage, though they lost thirteen pieces of cannon, the Montenegrins and Russians succeeded in completely investing Ragusa both by sea and land. Two batteries were erected on the heights and furnished with artillery from the ships.

In this extremity, general Lauriston ordered the post of Saint Mark to be fortified, and threw up a battery of forty pieces of cannon towards the sea. He had procured provisions for six months, and was abundantly supplied with warlike stores. The Montenegrins spread themselves over the Ragusan territory, and are said to have committed the most horrible excesses. Nothing could equal the rage which the Christians of the Greek community displayed towards the Roman Catholics, and the inhabitants of the province of Ragusa. After a blockade of twenty days, the Montenegrins and Russians commenced the siege. Twenty pieces of cannon were landed as well as mortars; and the cannonade and bombardment lasted seventeen days. Notwithstanding their houses were burned, and their property destroyed, the Ragusans gave every assistance to

the French with the most zealous and unexampled activity; not so much from affection to them and aversion to the Russians, as from fear of the barbarians, who composed a part of the assailants.

In the mean while general Molitor had advanced to Stagno, with all the force that was not necessary for the defence of Dalmatia; and in the beginning of July had collected a considerable number of troops on that point. On the 4th he marched, and arrived on the 5th close to the road of Malfi, where he worsted the advanced guard of the Montenegrins, after an engagement of the most ferocious description; and on the 6th moved against the intrenched position of the allies, who went out to meet him; but were routed by him with much loss both of men, artillery, and ammunition. After this action, by which Ragusa was entirely relieved, the Montenegrins were driven to the mountains, and the Russians retired to their ships, which sailed by the directions of the admiral for Corfu.

During the whole of these latter movements, the Austrian division, under general Bellegarde, which was to deliver up the mouths of the Cataro to the French, remained in the transports that were at anchor off Curzola, without taking any share in the engagements.

## CHAP. XI.

*In consequence of the Occupation of Cataro by the Russians, the French troops remain in Germany: they retain the fortress of Brannau. Buonaparté proposes several new Decrees to the French Senate: the Object of them. Account of the Order of the Iron Crown. Buonaparté's designs on Holland. M. Schimmelpenninck resigns the office of grand pensionary*

*of the Dutch republic: Deputies from the Batavians offer the crown of Holland to Louis Buonaparté, which he accepts: arrangements and proceedings connected with that event. Analysis of the new Dutch constitution. Louis Buonaparté repairs to the Hague, and is proclaimed king: dissatisfaction of the people: Severe decree respecting the public press: Distressed condition of the finances. Buonaparté appoints Cardinal Fesch coadjutor to the arch chancellor of the German Empire: Protest of the Austrian emperor against the transaction. Diplomatic intercourse between France, Russia, and England: M. d'Oubril signs a separate treaty for the emperor Alexander with Buonaparté. Confederation of the Rhine effected: View of the same: M. Bacher's note to the German diet on the subject: Declaration of the different princes. Francis II. renounces the high office of emperor of Germany: Extinction of the Diet at Ratisbon: Comment on the states of the minor potentates. Buonaparté convokes a meeting of the Jews. Questions proposed to the deputies: their answer to the three first interrogatories: Meeting of the Sanhedrim: its opinion and economy declared on all the topics referred to them: Object of the French ruler in promoting this measure: Project of the concordat for Germany: Observations thereon. Buonaparté refuses to permit monuments to be erected in his honour during his lifetime. Affairs of Prussia: Disagreement between the court of Berlin and the king of Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus IV. lays an embargo on all Prussian vessels in the ports of his dominions, and directs his ships to blockade the harbours belonging to the house of Brandenburg: His inconsistent conduct: He suppresses the Pomeranian diet, and reduces the province to his authority: He is reconciled to the king of Prussia, on account of the new line of policy, adopted by the latter, with regard to France: The embargo on the ships, and the blockade of the ports, belonging to Prussia removed.*

**T**HE occupation of Cataro by the Russians gave rise to much controversy between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and the court of Vienna, and besides afforded Buonaparté a pretext for keeping his troops in Germany. Instead of evacuating that country, the French retained possession of the fortress of Brannau, which by the treaty of Presburg was to be given up to Austria on the 1st of April, and even daily added to its strength. The continuance of the French armies in Bavaria so dreadfully exhausted the neighbouring territories, that Buonaparté was obliged to relieve the inhabitants of the districts

about Ulm with supplies of grain and biscuit. In addition to the diplomatic intercourse with Austria, the French ruler was employed in perfecting several arrangements more immediately relative to his own government. On the 31st of March the senate was convened, and several new decrees were proposed for its sanction. The first had for its object to regulate the education of the members of Buonaparté's family, and stated it to be particularly the interest of nations, that princes should be brought up in a manner superior to other men; for the honours, which they received from their infancy, were calculated to give more authority

thority to the examples of *submission* and virtue, which were the principal debts they owed their country. This was certainly no indirect hint to the unhappy people, whom Buonaparté called his subjects; but it may be easily imagined that the connexions of *his* house required extraordinary culture to qualify them for their high rank; and therefore it is to be presumed the senate was convinced that this statute was both rational and proper. The next united the Venetian provinces to the kingdom of Italy. The third, as it has been already mentioned, conferred the throne of Naples on Joseph Buonaparté. The fourth and fifth, besides containing other matters before noticed, gave the principality of Guastalla to the French ruler's sister, Paulina. The sixth united the countries of Massa, Carrara and Garfagnana to the principality of Lucca, which it may be remembered had already been bestowed on prince Borghese, Paulina's husband. The seventh announced what M. Cambacérès was pleased to call a grand conception, which was in fact only a renewal of the clumsy principle and intricate machinery of feuds. By this astonishing effort of ingenuity, a number of dignities, were instituted, the revenues for supporting which were to be furnished by several states in Italy, particularly Naples, Parma and Lucca, as well as Lombardy and Venice. These titles, which were to be held as fiefs of the empire of France, were to be hereditary, but, in default of heirs male, revertible to the

throne, in order that they might be otherwise assigned; and were intended to reward such persons, chiefly generals, as had rendered services to Buonaparté.

M. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, was indeed the first person, who obtained one of these fiefs, with the dignity of prince of Benevento; and this appointment was shortly followed by the creation of the duchy of Ponte Corvo in favour of Bernadotte; but neither of the splendid testimonials of the French ruler's munificence were conferred until the following June. By the tardy disposal of these high honours Buonaparté was determined to make his adherents wait for their recompense, possibly to excite a spirit of greater devotion to his interest; as it is well known that the expectation of benefits procures more dependents than the speedy distribution of them. Few persons can be actually obliged, but, when largesses and honours may be procured and are held open, many hope to receive them; and, in their eagerness for the prizes, redouble their flattery and attentions.

A new order, that of the Iron Crown, had been instituted the preceding year to commemorate the Gallic autocrat's accession to the throne of Italy. The establishment consisted of dignitaries, commanders, and knights, with a revenue of four hundred thousand Milanese livres\*. The yearly pension to each dignitary was 3000 livres, to each commander 700, and to each knight 300 livres. The number of the persons en-

\* A Milanese livre is nearly equal to 9d. sterling money.

rolled in the order is differently stated; but as there were solid advantages attached to the knight-hood, it is not to be doubted that it was an object of desire.

Having elevated one brother to the royal rank, Buonaparté was inclined to raise another to the same eminence. Arrangements for this design had for some time been in train. An extraordinary assembly of the individuals in power was convoked in Holland to deliberate on this affair, which finished the duties imposed on it by the 14th of April; and on the next day the usual spring session of the States commenced. The very same persons continued to entertain the question on this occasion, and the result was that deputies were sent to Paris to communicate with the cabinet of Saint Cloud. On the 18th of the same month the intentions of France with regard to Holland were promulgated in one of those reviews of general politics, which, without being strictly official, generally disclosed to breathless and anxious Europe the projects that were to be enforced. In this notable paper the defects of the Dutch constitution were enumerated, and the remedy for them clearly pointed out, by recommending the people of the united provinces to have recourse to a monarchy, as the grand panacea for their grievances and evils. Buonaparté, according to his own avowal, originally intended the preceding year to erect Holland into a monarchy; but he was probably prevailed upon by the cautious policy of Talleyrand to sacrifice his wishes for a time to the prejudices of the Dutch peo-

ple; and he therefore consented to indulge them with the empty forms of a republic, while he subjected them to his influence as effectually as if he had then united their territory to France. The minister most likely suggested to his master the expediency of proceeding by degrees in the accomplishment of his point, convinced that it might be obtained with more ease, and with the greatest chance of permanence to his designs, if public sentiment were not too violently outraged in the first instance. *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* There is perhaps no state of abasement which may not be submitted to by the helpless at the command of power, if the descent be gradual from bad to worse. The recent constitution for Holland was notoriously settled at Paris with the sanction of the dictator of France; and was in fact the precise system, which he at that time chose for the acceptance of the Batavians. An author is certainly entitled to criticize his own work; and apparently with justice if he expose its faults. The Dutch government was the scheme of Buonaparté, and if he described his performance as repugnant to liberty, and unsuited to the nation for which it was framed, nobody would be inclined to defend it. The only doubt that could arise was, if what he proposed to substitute for it would not be infinitely more detestable, more galling to the feelings, and degrading to character. It is imagined that the deputation from Holland was sent to remonstrate with Buonaparté against the establishment of an authority, so contrary to the habits and sentiments of Batavians, as that of a monarch.

If this were the case, the missionaries were of course unsuccessful. The fiat of the French chief overruled their disgust.

As a prologue to the new drama, on the 6th of June, M. Schimmelpenninck resigned the office of grand pensionary *on account of bad health*; and the president of the assembly, M. de Vos Van Steenwyck, was nominated to fill that post *ad interim*. It had been intimated to their high mightinesses by the cabinet of the Thuilleries, that the proposed change in the form of the Batavian government was not to be submitted to the people for their approval; and as resistance to French directions was known to be useless, ambassadors repaired to Paris to offer the crown of Holland to Louis Buonaparté, and conclude a treaty relative to the business, by which that personage was to be proclaimed the constitutional and hereditary monarch of the Dutch, preserving to himself and his heirs the dignity of constable of France; but it was provided that the crowns of France and Holland should never be united on the same head. Buonaparté stipulated to guarantee the independence of Holland, the whole of its possessions abroad, and at home, its political, civil, and religious liberty, and the abolition of all privileges with respect to taxes. The royal domains were to consist of a palace at the Hague,—the house in the wood,—the domain of Sloesdick,—a landed income of five hundred thousand florins,—and a farther revenue of fifteen hundred thousand florins, payable by monthly instalments, was to be secured by law to the king. This instrument also de-

clared that a treaty of commerce was to be entered into, by virtue of which the subjects of Holland were at all times to be treated as those of the most favoured nations. The document was signed on the 24th of May by Talleyrand, Verheul, Gogel, Styrum, and Brantzen.

The 5th of June was the day when these unfortunate persons were forced to prostrate themselves and their country before the French throne. By a curious coincidence, whether accidental or designed, they were introduced to the chief of the government immediately after the envoy extraordinary from that seat of Liberty, the Turkish empire, had been pouring forth abundant adulation to him, in all the exuberant metaphors of oriental phraseology. Upon a comparison of the language contained in the addresses from both the states, no material difference will be found as to extravagance in compliment. After a florid preface, the Dutch representatives requested the French chief to grant to the Batavian people, as the supreme head of their country, Louis Napoleon, his brother; to whom they delivered, in full and respectful confidence, the guarantee of their laws, the defence of their political rights, and all the interests of their dear country; hoping that under the auspices and glorious protection of his *majesty* (Buonaparté), *the greatest of monarchs, and allied to his immortal empire*, Holland would see the renewal of its ancient glory and prosperity! Eastern language could scarcely be more turgid, although it might be more encumbered with words.

Buonaparté graciously assured these

these polite and eloquent citizens, that none of the inconveniencies of an elective magistracy would contaminate the form of government which they had adopted, and with the greatest condescension granted their request. His brother Louis made an appropriate speech, not to the deputies, for that would have been superfluous, but to the patron of his grandeur; and thus the ceremony concluded.

On the same day Cambacérès informed the French senate of these proceedings; but in the message from the throne to that body so little care was taken to represent the act of the Dutch nation as voluntary, that it concluded in these terms, "As Holland, in a military point of view, included all the strong places on our northern frontiers, it was necessary for the security of our states, that the custody of it should be intrusted to persons, respecting whose attachment we could entertain no doubts. In a commercial point of view, Holland situated at the mouths of many great rivers, which flow through a considerable part of our territory, it was necessary that we should have security that the treaty of commerce, which we shall conclude with her, should be faithfully executed, in order that we may adjust our manufacturing and commercial interests with the trade of that people."

Verhuel reaped at least one reward for his sycophancy by being appointed minister of the marine, and M. Gogel was named to the superintendance of the finances. The latter returned to the Hague, and made the necessary communi-

cations to the assembly of their high mightinesses and the council of state. He then assumed the executive power in the name of his sovereign, M. de Steenwyck who acted *ad interim* as pensionary having resigned that office, and resumed his former post as president of the assembly. On the same day, the 10th of June, Louis Buonaparté was proclaimed king of Holland; and a discharge of artillery most appropriately followed the ceremony, as the new monarch had been forced upon the people by the mouths of the French cannon.

It is scarcely worth the labour to give an account of the ephemeral plans of government, which were obtruded on different countries by the cabinet of Saint Cloud; but, as they may hereafter be matter of some curiosity, the scheme of the Dutch constitution will be slightly sketched. There appears to be no very great difference between this arrangement and that for the year 1805\*, except the exchange of the grand pensionary for an hereditary king. The preponderating influence and power assigned to the former being nearly as great, as that which was given to the sovereign. All the laws actually prescribed by the prior establishment, which were applicable to existing circumstances, remained in force. The public debt was guaranteed. The Dutch language was to continue to be employed exclusively in the ordinances, judgments, and all public acts, without distinction. No alterations were to be made in the names of the current coin, unless they were authorised by a

\* See Annual Register for the year 1805, page 136.

particular law. The council of state was to be composed of thirteen members; and the ministers were to hold their rank and to have votes in it. Equal protection was granted to all religions professed by the state; but, by the authority of the king and the law, the regulation and exercise of every sort of worship was to be determined; and the practice of each kind of faith was to be confined to the interior of the churches belonging to the different communities; the monarch however was to enjoy the public use of his own religion in his palace, as well as every other place in which he might reside. The same unlimited ascendancy with all the privileges and pre-eminences, which the grand pensionary had formerly possessed, was expressly declared to be conferred on the king. He was exclusively and without restriction to conduct the government, to cause the laws to be executed and respected. He was to nominate persons to all charges and offices civil and military. The coin of the state was to bear his image; and justice was to be administered in his name. He had the right of granting pardon to criminals, and to mitigate the pains and penalties pronounced by judiciary awards; nevertheless he was not to avail himself of this right, till he had heard the report of the members of the national court in his privy council. Three articles related to acts of regency, which in case of a minority was to be vested in the queen, Madame Buonaparté's daughter, for whom as well as her brother, Eugene Beauharnois, the French ruler seemed to have a peculiar regard; but if she should die, the regent

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was to be named by Buonaparté. The regent was to be personally responsible for the acts of government. The control of the colonies, and every thing relating to their internal economy, were placed in the sovereign. The general service of the kingdom was confined to four ministers of state nominated by the crown, viz. the ministers of foreign affairs, of war and the marine, of the finances, and of the interior.

As to the laws, they were to be established by the king, with the concurrence of the legislative body, formed of the assembly of their high mightinesses. An addition was made to the number of this corps, formerly only nineteen; but it was now to consist of thirty eight deputies. They were to be elected for five years by the departments in the following proportion: for Holland 17; Guelderland 4; Brabant 4; Friesland 4; Overijssel 3; Zealand 2; Groningen 2; Utrecht 2; Drenthe 1.—but they might be farther augmented, if there should be an aggrandizement of territory. To perfect the complement of the legislative body, the assembly was to present to the monarch a list of two candidates for each of the vacant places, and he was to make his election from the persons proposed. The grand pensionary was to take the title of president of their high mightinesses, and hold his functions during life. The legislative corps was to chuse a recorder out of its own body by a plurality of votes. It was ordinarily to meet and transact business twice every year, viz. from the 5th of April to the 1st of June, and from the 15th of November to the 15th of January. On the 15th of November,

member, a fifth part of the oldest members were to go out of office. The deputies who were first to withdraw themselves, in pursuance of this rule, were to retire on the 15th of November 1807; yet they were capable of being re-elected.

The judicial institutions were preserved according to the mode settled in the preceding year; but whatever appertained to military or criminal justice was to be regulated by an ulterior law.

It is necessary to remark that, by the former constitution, the legislative body had not the power of originating political measures of any description either by suggestion or address; for their deliberations were rigidly confined to the propositions which should be submitted to them; and which they were to confirm or reject *in toto*, without presuming to alter or modify them. They were not responsible to the governments of departments, or to communicate with them on the subject of their conferences, and no public ministers, of whatever rank, were eligible to the assembly. They were to ratify declarations of war and treaties of peace; but the secret articles contained in such treaties were not to be disclosed to them, nor subject to their control; but such articles were not to be repugnant to those, which were published, nor tend to the cession of any of the dominions of the state. These restrictions and rules were of course preserved.

Thus was Holland decorated with the garlands of royalty to be offered as a victim on the altars of ambition, tyranny, and rapaciousness. Thus was the country, which had given birth to so many illustrious characters, eminent for

talent and independence, at length virtually reduced to a French province, under the government of a lieutenant of Buonaparté; for as Louis remained constable of France, and as he as well as his heirs was, by the provisional stipulations, to be subject to all the laws respecting the imperial house, his freedom in the quality of a sovereign was even ostensibly shackled by the act, in virtue of which he was appointed. It was not enough that it was known he must be a slave to the will of another, but it was thought necessary to insult the nation over which he was to preside, during dutiful behaviour to his brother, or the caprices of his patron, by declaring to all Europe, that the chief magistrate of the Batavian people was subject to the influence of a despot.

As nothing remained to be accomplished but that Louis Buonaparté should take possession of his kingdom, he quitted Paris, and, when he had arrived in his new dominions; took up his abode at the house in the wood. On the 24th of June he made a solemn entry into the Hague with his wife, and proceeded to the palace. Here he was received by the assembly of their high mightinesses with the president at their head, who took the oath of allegiance to him on the evangelists. One of the first embarrassments of his high dignity, which this phantom of grandeur was constrained to prove, and which he must have considered as extremely irksome, was to pronounce the immeasurably long speech, manufactured at the Thuilleries according to the taste of his brother, to his subjects. It is unnecessary to trespass on the patience



of the reader, by giving an abstract of this address. Suffice it to observe that Louis Buonaparté told his auditors, that he had torn himself from his repose, from France and all that was dear to him, for the benefit of his people. He remarked that even monarchy was not sufficient for the security of a country, which though strong and dignified, was not adequately so for its position, and that it required forces of the first rank both by sea and land. It would therefore be necessary for it to cultivate a strict connexion with one of the great powers of Europe, the amity of which might be thus eternally ensured, without a forfeiture of independence. He professed that virtue and honour should be the supporters of his throne; and that he wished for no other guides.

A very peculiar style reigns in all the public compositions of the French school at this period. There is a perpetual aim at sublimity and loftiness of expression in them; but the sentences are so overloaded by a multiplied profusion of words, that it is often difficult to analyse the contents of them. The embroidery of the language is so glittering, that it dazzles comprehension. The tree is so furcharged with foliage, that the fruit is scarcely perceptible.

The greatest depression was shown in Holland in consequence of the change effected in the government; and so disgusting was the recent establishment to the people, that orders were issued to the ministers of every religion, tolerated in the states, to abstain from all allusions to it in the discourses to their congregations. In order to make the Dutch sensible that the constable of

France was their ruler, the editor of a newspaper, called the Amsterdam Evening Journal, having ventured to publish some strictures on public affairs, the print was suppressed, and the conductor of it rendered incapable of being again employed in any periodical work; because, as the decree stated, it was improper to permit any subject to censure the acts of different cabinets otherwise than in speech, and entirely within his own domestic circle. It was also declared that the writer of any printed work, who should contravene this law, would be punished as an open disturber of public tranquillity, and a transgressor of his duties to the sovereign. It does not appear that the edict was communicated to the legislative body for its sanction; and that corps was therefore spared the mortification of ratifying a measure so violent and arbitrary.

Exhausted as the finances had been by French requisitions, they were in a most ruinous plight. The revenues were estimated at fifty millions of florins (somewhat more than 4,500,000l. sterling) of which sum 35 millions were appropriated to pay the interest of the national debt; and though the first care of the new ministry was to render the resources of the state as productive as possible, it was not thought practicable, even with the present exorbitant taxes, to add more than five millions to the annual income by every exertion. Twenty millions therefore only remained for general service, the relative proportion of which, in spite of all the reductions contemplated in the war and marine departments, and the strictest economy in every branch of expenditure,

penditure, was inadequate to the demand for the last six months of the current year. Finding this to be the case, until farther retrenchments could be effected to

bring the charges within the supplies, Louis Buonaparte published a decree on the 16th of July, by which the actual expenses were regulated in the following manner.

	<i>florins.</i>
The civil list - - - - -	750,000
The government. - - - - -	600,000
The ministry of the marine - - - - -	1,888,000
The ministry of the finances - - - - -	1,500,000
The ministry of the interior - - - - -	175,000
The director general of justice and the police	3,000,000
The director general of war - - - - -	6,000,000
The director general of commerce and the colonies	175,000
	<hr/>
Total	14,088,000
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By this statement it will appear that there would be an excess of outgoing, beyond the revenues, to the amount of 4,088,000 florins on the passing half year; and consequently that the annual surcharge must for a long period be great, notwithstanding the most salutary reforms might be adopted.

The Dutch had therefore a dreary prospect before them; since nothing could extricate their financial concerns from bankruptcy, but an enormous and oppressive increase of the imposts, or the system of perpetuating their misfortunes, by throwing a part of their existing burthens on their unhappy posterity, in having recourse to farther loans, with a present addition to their taxes to afford the interest on them; and thus leaving a bitter legacy to their children; for it was improbable in the highest degree that the most virtuous government, or the most expert minister, could make such reductions as would furnish a fund to pay the interest on the money borrowed to defray

the excess of each year, and liquidate the principal by instalments.

Perhaps it may not be superfluous in this instance to point out the very large sum, comparatively with the rest of the articles of service, dedicated to the police with its base legion of informers, that powerful engine of slavery and terror, so peculiarly employed by the subordinate governments of France. Although the charges of the police are confounded with those for the dispensation of justice, the latter must have absorbed but a small part of the aggregate allowance for both departments, and which in the whole year was acknowledged to be six millions of florins, that is to say, little less than one third of the entire expenditure of the nation!

The day on which the Dutch deputies offered the crown of Holland to Louis Buonaparté at Paris, besides being memorable for the acknowledgment of the French ruler as emperor by the sublime Porte, and the solemn audience granted

granted to the Turkish minister specially appointed with that view; was also marked by the prelude to the intended changes in Germany. Cardinal Fesch was nominated co-adjutor to the arch-chancellor of the empire at the request, as it was said, of that prince. Buonaparté acted upon this occasion, as he did upon all others relating to Germany after his ascendancy, in perfect contempt of the constitutional powers vested in the emperor Francis. It does not appear, that he even thought it worth his while to communicate this important innovation to the court of Vienna. Depressed as the sovereign of Austria was, he did not suffer this insult to his dignity to pass unnoticed. He therefore directed baron de Tönnenberg to deliver a rescript to the diet of Ratisbon on the subject. His imperial majesty might have selected stronger grounds of remonstrance than those that he chose to be assumed, and which were rather adopted with the intention of saving his rights, than making any impression on the diet; but the protest was sufficient to denote the sentiments of indignant resentment, with which the whole of the proceeding had inspired him. The document declared that the event was quite unexpected on his part, and that notwithstanding the arch-chancellor had asserted that his imperial majesty had sanctioned the act; yet, according to the statutes of the empire, he was bound to support the lawful privileges of the chapter of Mentz, which were further secured by the last conclusum of the diet. On this account the imperial envoy was instructed to explain himself no further, but to reserve to himself

the right of acting according to circumstances, and in conformity with the duties of his office, in obedience to the head of the empire.

Objections respecting points of form could not be expected to meet with much attention; when the whole system of the German alliance was ready to fall to pieces. The time for disclosing the projects of France was near at hand; and it was not to be supposed that his imperial majesty's protest would retard the execution of Buonaparté's designs for a single instant. The plan of creating a new confederacy of the German princes, under his protection, had been conceived for some time; and the presence of the French armies in Germany, owing to the occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, favoured its success; but two circumstances had hitherto delayed its announcement. A negotiation with Russia had been entered into; and by an event, which, if it did not arise through French artifice, could not have been foreseen, a correspondence with a pacificatory object had taken place with the British cabinet. The latter insisted upon the principle of treating conjointly with Russia for the settlement of the differences between France and those two powers. As it was obvious that, by negotiating separately, the conferences would be more open to the influence of intrigue and diplomatic manoeuvres, it became a point with the French ministry to detach the consideration of their common interests from each other; and this for a moment it accomplished. According to a note to Mr. Fox from the earl of Yarmouth, who was at that time wholly employed

as the British envoy, had peace been concluded with England, although the changes in Germany had been determined upon, they would never have been published. M. d'Oubril, the Russian plenipotentiary had repaired to Paris in the month of July, and on the 10th general Clarke having received full powers from the cabinet of the Thuilleries to open the discussion with him, they had an interview, to which succeeded several others. It was soon discovered by the French ministry that M. d'Oubril was destitute of all firmness of character, and that he willingly lent himself to their suggestions. The Russian ambassador seemed determined to conclude a treaty at all hazards, and the cabinet of faint Cloud took so much advantage of his apprehensions for the critical situation of Austria, on account of the French troops holding a menacing posture in the empire, that they induced him to sign a separate treaty on the 17th of the same month.

Having achieved their end, which they afterwards boasted to be equal to an important victory, it was immediately resolved that the arrangements for Germany should be completed, under the name of the confederation of the Rhine; and so urgent was Buonaparté to have the business irrevocably settled, that the princes and ministers, who signed their adherence to the compact, were scarcely allowed time to read the instrument.

This treaty consisted of forty articles. The contracting parties were Buonaparté on the one part, and the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the elector arch-

chancellor, and the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg (Murat), the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau, Weilberg, Ufingen, Hohenzollern, Hochingen, Siegmaringen, Salm Salm, Salm Kyrburg, Isenburg, Berstein and Lichtenstein, the duke of Ahremberg and the count of Leyen, on the other. They renounced all titles and authorities resulting from the old constitution of the empire, and for ever separated themselves from the political body of Germany. They were to be independent of any foreign powers, and were not to enter into any kind of service, except that of the states belonging to the union. No member was to alienate his sovereignty either in whole or in part, except in favour of a confederate. The common interests of the league, and all disputes which might arise between the members of it, were to be discussed in the assembly of the confederacy at Frankfort. The elector arch-chancellor, under the title of prince primate, was to be the president in the college of kings, and the prince of Nassau in that of princes. Within a month after this treaty was officially notified at Ratisbon, the prince primate was to draw up a constitutional statute, which should determine when the assembly was to be convoked, and the objects and form of its deliberation. Buonaparté was declared protector of the alliance; and in that quality, on the death of the prince primate, he was to appoint his successor. Many cessions were made in the articles from 12 to 23. Nassau yielded the town of Deuss and its territory to Berg. Bavaria acquired the imperial city of Nuremberg with its dependencies; and

and the prince primate the imperial city of Frankfort. The members of the league subjected to their sovereignty all the princes, counts, and lords within the circle of the allied territory, but the latter were to hold their domains and feignerial rights. The dominions of Hohenlohe were divided between Bavaria and Wirtemberg, those of Taxis amongst three, and those of Furstenberg amongst four different sovereigns. There was to be an alliance between the French chief and the states, in virtue whereof every continental war, in which either should be engaged, was to be common to both; and if any foreign power armed, the contracting parties were also to arm, the notification for that end being given by Buonaparté. The military contingent of the confederates was to be divided into four parts; and the assembly of the league to determine how many of those parts were to be put in motion. The quota of the several powers were as follow: France 200,000 men; Bavaria 30,000; Wurtemberg 12,000; Baden 8000; Berg 5000; Darmstadt 4000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others 4000. The contracting parties were willing to admit other princes, when it should be found suitable to the common interest.

On the 1st of August M. Bacher delivered a note to the diet at Ratisbon, by order of Buonaparté, containing the announcement of this act. It mentioned that the situation in which the treaty of Presburg placed the courts directly allied to France, and indirectly the princes whom they surrounded and

who were their neighbours, being incompatible with the condition of states of the empire, it became necessary for those courts and the princes to arrange on a new plan the system of their connexions, in order to obviate an inconsistency which would be a permanent source of trouble and danger. It proceeded to narrate that on her side France, so essentially interested in the peace of the south of Germany, and who could not doubt, the moment when she should have caused her troops to repass the Rhine, that discord, an inevitable consequence of relations contradictory or uncertain, ill defined and ill understood, would expose to new peril the repose of countries, and again perhaps light up a war on the continent, bound as she was besides to promote the welfare of her allies, and to enable them to enjoy all the advantages, that the treaty of Presburg secured to them, and which she had guaranteed, could only see in the compact, that they had formed, a natural consequence completing that treaty. The note then attributed the necessity of this change to the gradual acquisitions of grandeur and strength by the members of the former league; so that their late ties only became a cause of disagreement. One electorate, it continued, had been suppressed by the union of Hanover with Prussia. A \* northern power had incorporated with its other states one of the provinces of the empire. The treaty of Presburg assigned to the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the elector of Baden the plenitude of sovereignty; a prerogative which the other

\* Sweden

electors would be entitled to claim, but which would accord neither with the letter nor the spirit of the ordinances of the empire. The sovereign of France was therefore obliged to declare, that he no longer acknowledged the existence of the Germanic constitution; at the same time he recognized the entire and absolute sovereignty of every one of the princes, of whose states Germany then consisted, and preserved with them the same relations as with the other powers of Europe. He had accepted the title of protector of the confederation of the Rhine, from pacific views, and that his mediation, constantly interposed between the weak and the strong, might prevent every kind of dissention and disorder. He had declared that he would never extend the boundaries of France beyond the Rhine. He had been faithful to his promise. At present his only desire was to be able to employ the means, which providence had intrusted to him, for the purpose of asserting the liberty of the seas, of restoring the freedom of commerce, and securing the repose and happiness of the world.

It was curious to perceive Buonaparté assigning as reasons for putting an end to the ancient code, the very events and calamities, which he had been so instrumental in producing. The peace of Luneville and the peace of Pressburg had contributed more to the destruction of the venerable edifice of the German league, than all the attacks which it had ever suffered from foreign force, or domestic treachery and commotion. The first shook the foundation; the latter threw the superstructure into one extended ruin.

On the same day the arch-chancellor transmitted the declaration of the confederacy from the ambassadors and envoys of the different princes to the diet. After retracing the motives of their conduct, the paper maintained that the constitution of the Germanic body had by the inconstancy, incidental to all human affairs, become inefficacious; and that the terms "war of the empire and peace of the empire" were then words without meaning; but that the events of the last ten months had entirely precluded all hope of restoring the union to its pristine vigour; therefore the princes of the southern and western departments had been induced to conclude a new alliance, more conveniently adapted to the actual crisis of affairs, and though they might to the last have maintained the appearance of the old constitution, they judged it more agreeable to their dignity, and the purity of their views, to publish a free and candid exposition of the course which they had determined to pursue. The manifesto stated that the sovereigns could not have flattered themselves with the hope of obtaining the desired end, if they had not secured the powerful protection of that monarch (Buonaparté), whose views had shown themselves to be continually connected with the true interests of Germany, assured that he would for his own honour preserve the new order of things, and that he had taken on himself to secure tranquillity within and without the confines of Germany.

This treaty put a most potent machine into the hands of Buonaparté; as a force of nearly seventy thousand men was to be maintained

and

and put in motion at his nod. It had the advantage of being an instrument to be used as a bulwark, or as the means of aggression and offence. The least insult, though intentionally provoked, to the most insignificant party of the league furnished Buonaparté with a pretext for falling with his whole force on Austria or Prussia; whenever he found it convenient to seek a quarrel with either of them. Much had already been done to overthrow the jurisdiction of Francis II; but he still retained the empty title of emperor. This shadow of supereminence was disagreeable to the French ruler; and besides, till it was disclaimed, the rights formerly appertaining to it might be only in abeyance, and resumed with a change of circumstances. The dictator of France, therefore peremptorily required the successor of the Cæsars formally to resign his high office. As the emperor Francis could not stem the torrent, he deemed it most prudent, as well as absolutely due to his character, to renounce a nominal authority at once without real weight and respectability. That his procedure was wise under the existing circumstances cannot be questioned. Had he acted otherwise, an instant war must have been the consequence, for which he was by no means prepared. The French armies on the contrary were on the spot and in the heart of his dominions, with their bayonets fixed and their matches lighted, ready to silence all opposition to Buonaparté's projects. Accordingly his imperial majesty published a state paper, dated at Vienna the 7th of August, solemnly abdicating his august functions. The reasons adduced for this act were

the impossibility of continuing to hold the title of emperor of Germany with propriety, after the convention before related and other circumstances, which materially infringed the old constitution; Francis II. also by this document absolved the electors, princes, and states, and all who belonged to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme tribunal, as well as the other magistrates of it, from those duties by which they were united to him as their legal chief. He farther declared his own German provinces and states to be free from their reciprocal duties towards the late union, and he incorporated them with his Austrian dominions.

This paper was followed by an address, in which his Austrian majesty expressed his hope, that the persons hitherto employed in the general service would be continued in their posts; and added that he would still allow the stipends to those, who had usually drawn their salaries from the imperial chamber. The jurisdiction of the diet at Ratisbon, which had subsisted since the year 1655, and in which the affairs of the empire had been discussed and arranged almost from the conclusion of the memorable peace of Westphalia, thus totally ceased; and the extinction of its powers, in the actual state of Europe, promised to be irrevocable and final. In this manner was the venerable structure of the Germanic corps apparently dissolved for ever; and Francis, who was the eighteenth of his family that had worn the imperial crown, compelled to resign the sceptre to the eager grasp of a fortunate adventurer, whose success had been as boundless as

his ambition, and whose measures, though disgraceful and detestable, had hitherto been as prudently planned as they had been daringly executed; whose mind, insensible to generosity and honour, displayed only the worst parts of policy in the exercise of insidious caution; and whose heart never recoiled from any means, however inhuman and atrocious, in accomplishing the objects to be attained.

Had the old confederacy of the empire been superseded by any salutary and liberal system for the improvement of the different provinces of that country, the extinction of it might have been advantageous. The power acquired by the king of Prussia, and the elector of Bavaria, rendered their subordinate duties incongruous with those which they owed to themselves; and the policy of many of the other sovereigns clashed with their interest and obligations, while it left their counsels open to every species of intrigue. The petty jurisdictions of the minor potentates, incapable of protecting their nominal independence but by leaguings with the strongest power, often asserting and maintaining the worst cause, present no one possible benefit, either to themselves or their respective subjects; the latter being in many cases much harrassed by imposts to maintain the splendour of the diminutive courts belonging to princes, who, though dwarfs in real importance, with the gigantic and imposing air of supremacy, ridiculously affect the magnificence, incident to and only proper in the establishments of superior rulers. The little lords in question have

their courtiers, and their chamberlains, and their privy counsellors, and their orders of knighthood, and their guards, and their mints, and their tribunals, and every imitation of royalty in epitome. The absurdity of these feignories would only create a smile, were they not productive of real unhappiness to the people of the states, who, in addition to other inconveniencies, to use the emphatic expressions of the eloquent earl of Chatham, have been frequently sold in the military shambles of their several despots to the ministers of larger countries, and assigned over to carry on a warfare, of no natural interest to themselves, in distant climes; while their dukes and margraves bargained to receive a certain recompense, as head money, for every man who might fall in the conflict. The village politics too of such specks of sovereignty are productive of the most vexatious and incessant litigation. The confederacy of the Rhine, however, though it destroyed the influence of the regular chief of the Germanic corps, left all the vices and faults connected with these insignificant territories in full force, only transferred the power over the whole into less virtuous hands, and furnished another instrument for the use of guilty ambition and oppressive violence.

The French ruler, who turned every body within his reach, and every thing he could possibly grasp, to account, and whose restless activity never permitted any elements or materials of power to lie idle, this year directed his attention to the members of the Jewish religion. His apparent  
object



object in calling a convocation of the elders of these people was to ascertain, if their particular laws and economy contained rules, or encouraged customs, interfering with their duty as subjects in the countries, which they inhabited; and if they considered themselves as a separate and distinct community, bound only to conform to the directions prescribed for them in every state, without any national interest in its concerns, or preference or affection for the soil, on which they happened to be born or to dwell. With this view, he caused deputies, from the different parts of the extended dominions of France, to be collected at Paris. After the first sitting of the assembly *pro formâ*, they met again on the 4th of August, a day somewhat extraordinary for persons of their persuasion, it being Saturday and their sabbath; but as the business, on which they were consulted, related to their religious institutions, it might possibly not militate against the severe spirit of their peculiar ordinances. The commissioners appointed by the government informed them generally why they had been convened; adding that it was Buonaparté's wish they should be naturalized in his states, and that it was their duty to accept the title of Frenchmen. The harangue closed with submitting these questions to the body. Is the Jew permitted to have more than one wife? Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion? Can a Jewess intermarry with a Christian, or a Christian female with a Jew; or does the law prescribe that Jews alone can intermarry? Are the French in the eyes of the Jews brothers or aliens? What in all cases are the

connexions which their law permits them to maintain with the French, who are not of their religion? Do the Jews who were born in France, and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, consider France as their native country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they under an obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code? Who are they called rabbins? What civil jurisdiction do the rabbins exercise amongst the Jews? What power of punishment do they possess? Are the mode of choosing the rabbins, and the system of punishment regulated by the Jewish laws, or are they only rendered sacred by custom? Are the Jews permitted by their laws to take usury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this from strangers? Are those things proclaimed, which are forbidden to the Jews by their laws?

The assembly was acquainted it was the sovereign's wish, that they should enjoy perfect freedom in deliberating on these points; and that their president should communicate the answer to the inquiries, as soon as they were prepared. A reply was given to the three first questions on the 8th of August. It stated principally that the Jewish law, in the strictest sense, allowed polygamy, divorce, and mixed marriages; but that these were limited by practice and usage. As to the Jew's observance of the duties of a French citizen, the synod, voluntarily and without premeditation, gave the most satisfactory assurances on that head. These responses being perfectly conformable with the views of Buonaparté, the assembly, in order

to give a greater solemnity to all farther proceedings, with his permission, announced to the synagogues in France, Italy and Europe, that a grand sanhedrim would be opened at Paris on the 20th of October to deliberate, in concert with the commissioners of the French government, on the matters which should be submitted to them. The synod was to elect twenty five members of its own body, and the jewish community in France and Italy to chuse twenty nine rabbins, to form part of this general council; while a committee of nine members were to be selected from the present convocation to prepare with the French agents the subjects to be discussed. The sanhedrim accordingly met; but their disquisitions were not closed until the following year, when they produced the fruits of their labours to the subsequent effect. A consistory and synagogue were to be established in each of the departments containing two thousand jews. The persons of their persuasion, who intended to take up a fixed abode in France, were to declare their intentions to the consistory, within three months from their arrival on the French territory. A central consistory was to be established at Paris, composed of five persons, of whom three were to be rabbins; none could be appointed rabbins but such as had been naturalized in France, or the kingdom of Italy. The functions of rabbins were to communicate instruction in religious matters; to inculcate the precepts contained in the decisions of the grand sanhedrim; to preach complete obedience to the laws, and particularly those which re-

spected the defence of the country; above all, these doctors were to exert themselves every year during the time of the conscription, from the first summons to the complete execution of the ordinance, in exhorting their followers to conform to that measure; to impress the military service upon the jews, as a sacred duty, and explain to them that, as long as they devoted themselves to the same, the law would give them a dispensation from such usages and customs as were incompatible with it; they were to preach in the synagogues and to recite the prayers, which should be there put up for the French chief and his family; to solemnize marriages and pronounce divorces. Shortly after these rules had been decreed, the deputies from the Dutch jews, and those of Frankfort on the Mayne, declared in the name of their constituents, that they would adhere to the doctrinal decisions of the grand sanhedrim of France and Italy. The president of the assembly then informed it, that the purposes for which it had been called together, were accomplished; and terminated the sittings with an eulogium on Buonaparté.

Besides the ostensible motive for obtaining an accurate exposition of the economy of the Jews, Buonaparté was not insensible to the immense wealth of these people as a body; and, by thus assuming to be their protector and friend, he wished to make France, if not the actual depôt of their riches, at least the central point in which their opulence could be collected, at a moment's warning, upon extraordinary occasions. A single jewish merchant of character has more facilities of raising money than

than the most extensively trading company of christians. Upon the faith of his integrity, and the pledges, for which he is willing to vouch, he can put his hand into the pocket, and freely command the stores, of every man professing his own religion in Europe, and perhaps in every part of the world. To make France a permanent seat of the councils of this numerous and scattered people was therefore to place a powerful engine of finance in his own hands, an instrument as productive in solid utility as elastic in its nature. Vanity had also possibly some share in the transaction, he very likely desired the fame of connecting more closely the dissipated tribes by a common sentiment of obedience to his authority, and thus in some degree of domiciliating at least their affections to one place, after a dispersion of so many ages; and entitling himself to their applause and gratitude, by raising them to esteem and dignity in their own eyes, as he offered them the possibility of filling all the usual offices of citizens in a particular state, which they had never before the opportunity of achieving.

There was still a farther political advantage in the measure. From their general correspondence with every known country, by securing their regard, the jews offered an abundant channel of secret intelligence, as well as a propensity to active and zealous exertions in his cause throughout the world. Accordingly it appears that several persons of the jewish religion were arrested in Saxony, and one at Berlin, suspected of conveying information to the French govern-

ment, just before the rupture between Prussia and France; and the individual, who was taken into custody at Berlin, was represented to be a man of considerable respectability. Buonaparté afterwards experienced the benefit of his project in another shape; for it is said, upon good testimony, that he owed his escape from Smorgonie chiefly to the good offices of this fraternity, who supplied him with the means of concealment, and relays of horses to accelerate his flight. It is remarkable that it was nearly two thousand years, since the jews had been convoked in an assembly by public authority.

In addition to this instance of a desire to be deemed the friend of religious liberty, and thereby to attain a farther influence on mankind, Buonaparté held forth the promise of another establishment in the concordat for Germany; or an ecclesiastical constitution consistent with the spirit of the times, with a freedom of thinking, and a liberty of conscience, without any restriction. By this proposed reform, all churchmen, archbishops and bishops, were to be subject to the oath of allegiance to their lawful sovereigns, and to sign an acknowledgement of the invalidity of mandates not sanctioned by the prince. The abolition of cloisters and religious orders still subsisting, the brothers and sisters of charity excepted, the appointment of schools and seminaries, the reduction of the number of religious ceremonies, public processions, and Saints' days, the prohibition of controversial sermons, and a general allowance to eat flesh were to be decreed.

Celibacy

Celibacy and pilgrimages were to be suppressed; and various obstacles to the union of protestants with Roman catholics were to be removed, and their marriages legalized. There was nothing of which Buonaparté always appeared more jealous than of any ecclesiastical interference with sovereignty; and in this precaution he was wise. Liberty of conscience and perfect freedom of worship, in any way that individuals may think proper, are the natural rights of mankind; but all foreign control or claim to jurisdiction, independently of the constituted heads of states, are incompatible with the essence of political communities. Many of the regulations in the intended concordat were obviously proper, had been much wanted, and were likely to increase the happiness of society. The suppression of monastic bodies, and the facilities given to the acquirement of knowledge by instituting public schools, must have ensured the approval of every being capable of thinking. The observance of celibacy in the priesthood unnecessarily commits morality in a perpetual warfare with nature, and adds to the lassitude of existence, without improving the understanding, while it must tend to harden the heart, and render the disposition morose. This change was therefore advantageous, as well as the removal of all restrictions to the marriages between protestants and Roman catholics. The general permission to eat flesh would add to the strength and comfort of the poor; and as to controversial sermons, they are at all times much to be deprecated. The proper scenes for the arguments of polemic divines are the closets of the learned,

where opinions may be calmly investigated, and refuted it unfounded in truth. The abolition of holydays raises a question, upon which there may be some contrariety of sentiment. Much may be advanced for and against it; but while it destroys the hilarity of a people, perhaps it does not add much to the resources of the labouring classes. It undoubtedly may augment industry and application, and thus add to the benefits of productive labour, as far as regards the state. The practical politician will of course applaud a principle, that affords him more ample materials to work upon, and the capitalist advocate a system which hourly brings him new opulence; but that it is really useful, equally pleasant it cannot be, to the humble artisan perhaps will admit of a doubt to reflecting benevolence.

The French ruler about this time had an opportunity of endeavouring to obtain applause by the appearance of modesty. A society, of which marshal Kellerman was at the head, were desirous of erecting a monument in honour of the chief of their country. Their wishes having been represented to Buonaparté, he directed M. Champagny, the minister of the interior, to signify to them, that though he felt sensibly touched by this proof of the attachment of a number of estimable citizens, he was desirous of meriting the homage of his subjects by the exertions of his whole life; and that he would therefore never permit monuments to be raised to him, during his existence, by any individuals. M. Champagny added that it was from posterity his  
 master

master awaited so honourable a recompense for his numerous labours; and that after his death the French might acknowledge by a tribute, the design of which could not be disputed, the good which he should have done to the nation, whose prosperity and glory, the constant subject of his anxious meditations, were also the only objects of the ambition of all his days.

A similar decision was adopted relative to the project of a pillar, formed by M. Poyer, an architect; for which a considerable conscription had been raised.

The concerns of Prussia had been for some time much entangled, by the conduct of the cabinet, in almost every possible exterior relation. The king of Sweden, having declared that he would protect the northern states of his Britannic majesty, had occupied the county of Lauenburg. The Prussian court determined to take possession of it, and directed colonel Von Rufen to cross the Elbe, with two battalions of infantry and four squadrons of cuirassiers; and though count Lowenjem, the Swedish general, protested against the advance of the Prussians, they pursued their course. A trifling skirmish succeeded between the opposed troops, which ended in the retreat of the Swedes to Mecklenburg. Upon this event the king of Sweden published a rescript, complaining of the subserviency of the Prussian cabinet to that of the Thuilleries, as well as of the outrage committed against his forces; and declaring that he considered it as an act of hostility, in consequence of which he had laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in the Swedish ports; and ordered his ships to

blockade the harbours belonging to the house of Brandenburg. It is worthy of notice, while this spirited prince was opposing the encroachments of Buonaparté on the liberties of Europe, and reprobating his arbitrary principles, that he should himself have annulled the Pomeranian constitution, in consequence of the difficulties which he had encountered in raising a militia in that country. On the 26th of June he placed the government of his German states upon the same footing as that of the kingdom of Sweden. Thus the provincial assembly was dissolved, and his majesty reduced all his dominions to the same unqualified despotism; for although his father, after he had compelled the nation to submit to his power in August 1772, by the most shameless and tyrannical use of open force, subsequently established the phantom of a public council, that body possessed no real control over his actions, and was in fact nothing more than the tool of his designs. The people of Sweden were thenceforward totally dependent on the will of the sovereign, who nevertheless exercised the exorbitant authority which he had assumed with great moderation. The tragical fate of this prince is generally known. He was murdered on the 19th of March 1792 at a masked ball by Ankerstroom, a wretch whom he had saved from the scaffold. The black assassin had formerly, in a war between Sweden and Russia, suffered himself to be gained over by the cabinet of Saint Petersburg against the interests of his country, and, his treachery being discovered, he was sentenced to death; but he had experienced the

the king's natural clemency and received his pardon. It seems however to be ordained by providence, as a punishment to those, who violate the liberties of the public, that they should be incapable, even by conferring the highest benefits, of inspiring the sentiments of gratitude. Cæsar sank beneath the daggers of many, whose fortunes he had promoted; and James II. of England was deserted in his extremity by persons, whom he had raised from the dust. A despot is placed by the will of heaven without the pale of the common sympathies and affections of mankind; however eminent his qualities, exalted his virtues, and amiable his disposition may be, he appears to become the outlaw of nature.

That a creature, like Gustavus III., blessed with talent so distinguished, a spirit so noble, and a heart so good, should have debased himself by trampling on the freedom of his country, while it raises a blush for mortal infirmity, is peculiarly to be lamented. The weak conduct of a being so highly en-

dowed gave an irreparable blow to the grandeur of the human character.

Nothing further of the least importance ensued from the misunderstanding between Sweden and Prussia. The mediatory interference of the cabinet of Saint Petersburg prevented all ulterior movements of a hostile kind on both sides; and the change which occurred in the political dispositions of the court of Berlin soon afterwards altered the aspect of European affairs. The decision though tardy, which it at last adopted to oppose the outrageous aggressions of Napoleon Buonaparté, with the war which it undertook against France, at once reconciled the king of Sweden to Frederick William II., restored his former sentiments of amity, and procured his hearty good wishes. The embargo of his Swedish majesty on the Prussian vessels was removed, the blockade of the ports, subject to his late enemy, raised; and every disposition was apparently evinced by both countries to return to their accustomed intercourse.

## CHAP. XII.

*The singular Event which produced a Negotiation between France and England. Account of the Agent of the Plot against the Life of Buonaparté: his Fate. Mr. Fox informs M. Talleyrand of the incident that had occurred. The French Minister's Reply with a Proposal to open a Correspondence. Mr. Fox intimates that no Intercourse can take place, unless Russia were admitted as a Party. M. Talleyrand's Objection to treating conjointly with England and Russia. Interchange of Letters between the two Ministers on the Subject. The Communications are suspended. Probable Views of France in commencing the Discussion. Lord Yarmouth delivers a confidential Message from the French to the English Government: He is directed to return to Paris with a Reply. Change proposed by M. Talleyrand in the Basis of treating, on account of M. d'Oubril*

*d'Oubril being ready to negotiate separately for Russia, and for other Reasons. Various indemnities offered by France for the king of Sicily, which are refused. M. d'Oubril actually signs a Treaty between the Emperor Alexander and Buonaparté: Terms of the same: They are not sanctioned by his Master: M. d'Oubril banished from Court: Sentiments of the Russian Council on his Conduct. Lord Yarmouth prevailed upon to produce his full Powers: His imprudence in that Respect: His Conduct disapproved by the British Cabinet: His first Interview with General Clarke, the French Plenipotentiary. Lord Lauderdale appointed as the Earl of Yarmouth's Colleague: His Lordship's Note to the French Minister. M. Champagny named Coadjutor to General Clarke. Progress of the Negotiation. The French Plenipotentiaries deny that France ever entertained the Idea of adopting the Basis of *uti possidetis*; Lord Yarmouth is consequently withdrawn from the joint Commission, and the Earl of Lauderdale left to Conduct the Business alone. The Emperor of Russia signifies to the Cabinet of Saint Cloud his refusal to ratify the Treaty concluded by M. d'Oubril. Mr. Fox's Illness and Death: Lord Howick succeeds him in the Foreign Department. General Clarke retires from the Appointment of united Plenipotentiary on the Part of France. Buonaparté, followed by M. Talleyrand, sets out for Mentz to take the Command of his Armies against Prussia. Rupture of the Negotiation. Correspondence thereon. Comments on the whole Proceeding.*

**T**HE circumstances which led to a negotiation between England and France are of a nature so extraordinary, that they appear to have been the effect of design. On the 14th of February a person, who had just arrived at Gravesend, addressed to Mr. Fox a letter, in which he requested to have a passport transmitted to him; as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate, which would give the right honourable secretary satisfaction. Mr. Fox sent for him the next day to his house in Arlington street. After some unimportant conversation, the man had the audacity to observe that it was necessary, for the tranquillity of all crowned heads, to put the ruler of France to death; and that for this purpose a house had been taken at Passy, from which the project could be carried into effect with certainty and without risk.

Incensed at this infamous proposal to implicate him in a plot for assassination, Mr. Fox ordered the man to quit his presence, and at first gave directions to the police officer, who accompanied him, to send him out of the kingdom as soon as possible; but upon reflection, in order to give himself time to acquaint M. Talleyrand with this strange event, he desired that the object of his suspicion should remain in custody till farther orders.

It is most probable that this pretended conspirator was an agent of the French government, and directly employed by Buonaparté. According to the account which he gave of himself, he came from Embden to Gravesend in a vessel, named the *Toby*, under Prussian colours; but it was supposed that the ship had sailed immediately from Holland. The man was detained until the 7th of March; when he was

conveyed, under the superintendance of a messenger, to Harwich, and sent on board a vessel bound for Hufum in Sleswick. Considering that the well disciplined corps of M. Fouche's system of espionage was at that time in full activity throughout all Germany, and even some of the continental provinces of Denmark, as well as in every department of France, it was hardly possible that the agent of any plot against the life of Buonaparté, after the notice of the circumstance given by Mr. Fox to the French government, could escape its vigilance. Accordingly he was arrested at Hamburg, and upon being carried to Paris, confessed his intentions. Buonaparté however, on being informed of the occurrence, affected to see nothing in so wild a project but a proof of insanity. The prisoner was committed to the bicêtre, where he remained in confinement. It is therefore to be presumed that the whole transaction was a scheme to impose on Mr. Fox, either for the purpose, which was accomplished, of opening a correspondence with the British ministry; or for the furtherance of some other manœuvre, which has not been discovered. Mr. Fox, in the first instance, seems not to have entertained the least idea of the person's connexion with the French cabinet; and whatever opinion he subsequently formed on the business he very properly never divulged.

The course however, which he took upon the occasion, was that which must have influenced every honourable character. He instantly wrote to M. Talleyrand, describing

the affair simply as it had happened. His letter drew from that minister, on the 5th of March, a reply conceived in the most complimentary language; and M. Talleyrand also remarked, that as it might be agreeable to Mr. Fox to receive intelligence from France, he had inclosed Buonaparté's speech to the legislative body; by which it might be perceived, if the advantages of peace were duly appreciated, and the British cabinet were inclined to negotiate, upon what grounds a treaty might be discussed\*.

The part of the speech alluded to by M. Talleyrand was drawn up in the following terms. "I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

Attached as Mr. Fox had ever been to a pacificatory system, and willing to adopt any means, consistent with the national honour, of promoting the object of his wishes, he conceived himself warranted in laying these papers before his majesty; and, on the 26th of March, informed M. Talleyrand of his conduct, at the same time explaining to him that his majesty's views were uniformly inclined "to a safe and lasting peace, not to an uncertain truce, which, from its very uncertainty, would be a source of disquietude, as well to the contracting parties, as to the other powers of Europe." He mentioned that the proposed basis, that of the treaty of Amiens, had been variously interpreted; and,

\* Although the conjecture is not supported by the correspondence published in the gazette, it is imagined that this intimation was conveyed in a subsequent letter.



in order to avoid unnecessary delay, offered for recognition the principle "that the object of both parties should be a peace honourable to both, and for their respective allies; and to secure, as far as was in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." He also unequivocally declared that England was united to Russia by connexions so close, that she would not treat, still less conclude upon any thing, except in concert with the emperor Alexander; but, until the actual intervention of a Russian plenipotentiary, some of the principal points might be discussed, and even provisionally arranged. Mr. Fox then signified to M. Talleyrand that England, with the resources which she possessed, had no reason to fear the continuance of the war; but though she suffered by it less than other nations, she did not therefore less commiserate their misfortunes.

On the 1st of April M. Talleyrand replied that peace with France was very possible, and might be perpetual, provided there was no interference in her internal affairs. He stated that Buonaparté did not imagine any particular article of the treaty of Amiens had produced the war; but that he was convinced the true cause of it was a refusal to make a treaty of commerce, which would have necessarily been injurious to the inhabitants of France. He then pointed out that it would be for the interest of his country that the peace should be permanent; but the great object which he endeavoured to achieve was, to show the intervention of Russia to be inexpedient in the discussions between two "enlightened and neighbouring

nations," which were disposed to settle their differences; and besides that it was unreasonable for England to add to her indisputable predominance by sea the desire of dictating to France in continental affairs, through the medium of a combined force. The letter expressed the strongest wishes for a practicable peace; and was accompanied by passports for an English plenipotentiary to repair to Lisle, whither M. Talleyrand said Buonaparté would also send a minister, invested with full powers, directly the former had arrived at that city. It concluded with a full recognition of the basis prescribed, "that the peace proposed should be honourable for the two courts and for their respective allies."

Mr. Fox answered this communication on the 8th. After congratulating the author of it, that "the conciliatory spirit manifested on both sides was already a great advance towards peace," and protesting against the idea of interfering in the internal concerns of France, he observed that as to a treaty of commerce, it was a question upon which each government must decide according to its own sentiments, and that the court rejecting it gave no cause of offence, and was in no way responsible to the cabinet proposing it. In respect to the joint negotiation with the emperor of Russia, he maintained that, as he was in actual alliance with the king of Great Britain, and at war with France, he must be considered a party to any treaty, on the basis acknowledged by M. Talleyrand in the last paragraph of his dispatch; and therefore it was impossible that England could commence any other than  
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a provisional intercourse, "without the concurrence, or, at the very least, the previous consent of her ally."

Mr. Fox admitted that perhaps the power of France on land, compared with that of the rest of Europe, was not equal to the superiority which England possessed at sea; but he contended that, it was carrying the apprehension of what might happen hereafter too far, to consider the alliance between England and Russia, as tending to combine the whole of Europe against France. He repeated the offer to begin the conferences immediately, if the French government consented to treat provisionally, till Russia could take a part in them, and from that moment conjointly with her and Great Britain.

M. Talleyrand's reply, dated the 16th of the same month, contained a most ingenious train of argument. He began by remarking that in a discussion between two equal powers, if either side called in the interference of a third party, the equilibrium was destroyed; and he attempted to prove that the alliance concluded between Great Britain and Russia had nothing in common with the war, which previously subsisted between the former and France; since that alliance was made for a war with a different object, which had failed, leaving the original hostility of England and France precisely as it stood before the third coalition; and therefore if Buonaparté then admitted the principle of treating with England and her allies, he would acknowledge the actual existence of that coalition, the continuance of the German war, and the identity of that war with the

hostilities sustained by France against England, and voluntarily place himself in the situation of the conquered.—M. Talleyrand argued that as Austria, the principal ally of Great Britain, had made a separate peace, and direct proposals to negotiate subsisted between France and Russia, to entertain a joint intercourse for a treaty would be more prejudicial to France than war, or even than a congress.

After expatiating on the confusion likely to arise from a congress, M. Talleyrand stated that there were only three possible forms of discussion:

Negotiation with England and the allies which she acquired, at the time the third coalition was formed:

Negotiation with all the powers of Europe with the addition of America.

Negotiation with England alone. The first he described as inadmissible, because it would subject Buonaparté to the influence of the third coalition, which no longer existed; the second render the war eternal; and the third therefore in his opinion only remained to be adopted.

Mr. Fox in return observed, on the 20th of April, that he could not perceive how the discussion of the terms of a treaty by three plenipotentiaries could in any manner resemble a congress, where a question was carried by a plurality of voices, since there would be only two parties in it, on one side France, and on the other the two allied powers; but if it were thought so advantageous in an affair of this nature "to have two against one," no objection would be made that

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France should introduce into the conferences whichever of her allies she might deem most expedient: and that he could not see any reason why an alliance should be considered as null with regard to the powers who adhered to it; because one of them, who formerly belonged to it, had been detached from it by the misfortunes of war.

In order, however, to bring the matter "to one single point," he stated a perfect readiness to negotiate in union with Russia; but absolutely declined a separate discussion.

An interval of six weeks elapsed, before M. Talleyrand reverted to the subject. On the 2d of June he again addressed Mr. Fox, and acquainted him that the repugnance of the French government to the proposed basis was undiminished; but the pacific sentiments of it were as strong as ever. An important declaration was made in this dispatch, that the attempt to exclude England from an interest in continental concerns would be unjust and absurd. M. Talleyrand added to this statement, that he did not conceive any reason had ever been given for drawing an inference contrary to it; and, as he expressed himself, to leave thenceforward no room for misunderstanding, he thought it his duty to submit: 1st. To negotiate in the same preliminary forms, which were adopted during the ministry of the marquis of Rockingham in 1782: 2dly, to establish two fundamental principles, the first of which was contained in Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of March, and the second an acknowledgment on the part of the two powers of their mutual right of intervention and

guarantee in continental and maritime affairs. The French minister closed his dispatch, by observing that he should sincerely lament, if a discussion begun under auspices so favourable should terminate without the attainment of its object.

Mr. Fox's answer was dated the 2d of June. He mentioned that in 1782 England did not think she was degraded; when informed by M. de Vergennes that it was necessary to the honour of his court for England to treat conjointly with France, Holland, and Spain, by adopting the principle; and that as Great Britain then treated with France and her allies, if France would now treat with the former and her allies, the basis of the second proposal was in exact conformity to the views of the English cabinet; provided it were well understood that, while there was a mutual acknowledgment of the right of intervention and guarantee with regard to the affairs of Europe, both powers should mutually abstain from all encroachment on the greater or lesser states of which it was composed.

The difficulties respecting the combined negotiation seemed to present an insurmountable barrier to farther conference; but whether the French government thought this a favourable period to conclude a peace with Great Britain, or that more advantageous terms would be likely to arise from a discussion with Mr. Fox, whose pacific disposition was known and avowed, than from that with any other minister, or whether they conceived it to be important to maintain the appearance of a confidential intercourse with Great Britain,

In order the better to ensnare Russia into a separate treaty, they determined not to permit the correspondence to cease. It has been absurdly conjectured that they hoped to entrap Mr. Fox into improvident measures; but, though Buonaparté, when first consul, contrived to deceive that celebrated man as to his own personal intentions and moderation, he or his minister, M. Talleyrand, could hardly entertain so wild an idea as to think of rendering him a dupe of finesse in public affairs. The chief motive therefore of the expedient that was adopted, besides the possible desire for peace, appears to have been, to play off one negotiation against the other; and extract every practicable advantage, while they excited mutual jealousy between England and Russia, from the preliminary correspondence with both those powers. Whatever were the designs of the French government, they sought and made use of another channel of communication with England.

It appeared according to the statement made by lord Yarmouth in the house of commons, when the subject of the negotiation was discussed, that the dispatches from Mr. Fox to M. Talleyrand were sometimes accompanied by private letters to that minister. In some of these he had requested that several individuals, who had been detained prisoners in France since the commencement of hostilities, might be liberated as a personal favour to himself; and, amongst the number of them, the earl of Yarmouth. Mr. Fox was himself not much acquainted with the noble lord; but he had been induced to apply most particularly on his behalf at the desire of the heir ap-

parent. From the urgency with which the return of lord Yarmouth had been solicited, M. Talleyrand concluded his lordship to be well known to Mr. Fox, and a few days after his arrival at Paris from the depôt at Verdun, he was sent for by the secretary for the foreign department, who informed him that the French government had been looking out for some means, by which a secret and confidential communication might be made to the English ministers, explanatory of its sentiments and views, as well as of the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries; and he expressed an extreme desire to avoid all publicity, in case the message should not lead to a fortunate issue. Lord Yarmouth then stated that, however flattering such a commission might be, he must decline executing it, unless some clear assurance was afforded of restoring Hanover to his majesty. Upon this suggestion the first interview was terminated, but in a second his lordship received every satisfaction on that head which he could desire, and also with regard to Sicily and the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. In respect to treating conjointly with Russia, he was informed that Buonaparté was disposed to give every facility to the arrangement of the respective interests of the two states, or that a British minister, being authorized by the emperor Alexander, might stipulate for both. Upon the whole of the conference, lord Yarmouth was persuaded that the principle of negotiating on the basis of *uti possidetis*, or actual possession, subject to variations and exchanges for proper equivalents, according to the mutual interest of both parties, was admitted

admitted; except in reference to Hanover, which was to be unconditionally given back to his Britannic Majesty. This opinion is conjectured to have arisen from the language used by M. Talleyrand, on a question put by his lordship relative to Sicily—*“Vous l’avez, nous ne vous la demandons pas; si nous la possédions, elle pourrait augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés.”* (You are in possession of it, we do not ask it of you; if we held it, our difficulties might be much augmented.) His lordship consequently proceeded to London, and narrated all these circumstances to his majesty’s servants, by whom he was instructed to return to Paris in order to enter further into this important business; but before he departed, he was requested by Mr. Fox to commit the substance of his conversation with M. Talleyrand to paper, which he did, and the memorandum was deposited in the foreign office, as a public record of the transaction.

Besides the inducement to employ lord Yarmouth in this affair, from his having been the bearer of M. Talleyrand’s message, there were other motives for his appointment. It was understood, on account of his influence in France, owing to a long residence in the country and other reasons, that he would be an acceptable negotiator with the cabinet of the Thuilleries; and that no other person would be permitted to discuss any preliminary matters unofficially. In fact, his lordship affirmed, during the debate on the subject in the following year, that nobody else would have been permitted to remain at Paris twelve hours without being

furnished with, and producing, full powers to conclude a treaty.

Lord Yarmouth was intrusted by Mr. Fox with a written document for M. Talleyrand; but when his lordship arrived at Paris, the French minister refused to receive it, unless it were copied, and presented to him as an extract from a newspaper. Lord Yarmouth having complied with this point of etiquette, M. Talleyrand informed him, that his government was then as equally desirous of peace, as when his lordship quitted Paris; but disposed to make some change in the ground of treating; for he distinctly declared that Russia was ready to negotiate separately, and he further mentioned that Buonaparté had been made acquainted that Naples could not be maintained without Sicily, and was also recently persuaded of the probability of his gaining possession of that island. He stated the French ruler’s absolute refusal to cede Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, or to alienate any part of his Italian states, to form a provision for the king of Sardinia. M. Talleyrand said Buonaparté was very solicitous to know if lord Yarmouth was invested with full powers, and the French secretary observed that he considered to yield up Hanover for the honour of the British crown, Malta for the glory of the navy, and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been subdued early in the year by the English arms, for the credit of the British commerce, to be sufficient inducements to influence his Britannic majesty’s servants to make peace. Lord Yarmouth communicated the result of this meeting to Mr. Fox, who, to avoid any cavil about the want of full powers,

transmitted the requisite instruments to his lordship; but, after mentioning his surprise that M. Talleyrand should recede from the proposition relative to Sicily, particularly declared that they were only to be opened, in case the French minister returned to his original ground on that material topic, with the proviso that nothing was to be definitively concluded, till it had the sanction of Russia. When his lordship saw M. Talleyrand again, the questions about his full powers were repeated, to which he declined answering, unless there should be no further discussion concerning Sicily; and the French minister afterwards offered to wave the acknowledgment of the states created by France, and then to set Hanover against Sicily as a fair equivalent; but lord Yarmouth, according to his instructions, absolutely refusing to listen to any proposal different from the original basis, another idea was submitted to him of indemnifying the king of Naples with the Hanse Towns. This project being deemed inadmissible, Albania, Dalmatia, and Ragusa were tendered with the same view. It is worth while to pause for a moment to remark the extreme facility, with which Buonaparté suffered himself to despise every aggression on independent states. The Hanse Towns did not belong to France, Albania formed a province of Turkey, and Ragusa was a free republic; he could therefore have no authority to make either of these arrangements but what resulted from the unprincipled exercise of power. The British ministry of course refused to be concerned in a transfer so unjust, which, besides being dishonourable, would not afford the

necessary security to the king of Naples. Lord Yarmouth therefore wished to return to London, but was induced to remain in France by M. Talleyrand's solicitations.

M. d'Oubril, the Russian plenipotentiary, had now been some time at Paris, and had sufficiently demonstrated to the French cabinet, that he was not disposed to insist on very rigorous terms either for his master or his allies. Before he began to negotiate formally with general Clarke on the 10th of July, he wrote to count Strogonoff, the ambassador from the emperor Alexander at London, requesting him to prevail on the English ministers rather to temporize, than break off the conferences with the French government abruptly; because he thought that Austria and Russia would be greatly benefited by the recovery of Dalmatia. He also communicated, through count Strogonoff, to his majesty's servants the proposals that had been made to him for the conclusion of a separate peace, and the inducements which he had to accede to them. In consequence of M. d'Oubril's wish so earnestly expressed, and to preserve an union of interests with the court of Saint Petersburg, Mr. Fox, though at this period he despaired of any advantage arising from farther negotiation, directed lord Yarmouth to endeavour to ascertain if any better and more adequate recompense could be procured for Sicily, so as to make an exchange for that island practicable with the *bonâ fide* consent of its sovereign. Thus it appears that the cabinet of London was first actuated, by the pressing instances of the Russian minister, not absolutely to reject the plan of an exchange for Sicily, provided

provided a reasonable indemnity were given for it.

In the mean time M. d'Oubril, before he obtained an answer from count Strogonoff, and notwithstanding lord Yarmouth's urgent desire to the contrary, actually signed a treaty of peace on the 20th of July. By this instrument Russia was to give up Dalmatia to France with the Bocca di Cattaro. Ragusa was to be independent, as formerly, under the protection of the Porte; the republic of the Seven Islands recognized, and the integrity of the Turkish dominions protected. In three months after the articles of the compact had been executed, the French troops were to retire from Germany, the emperor of Russia was to order his forces, then in the Mediterranean, to withdraw to the Ionian islands; and, as a further proof of his sincere disposition to peace, not to leave more than four thousand of them there, whom he was to remove, as soon as Buonaparté judged it to be necessary. Both the contracting parties were to interpose their good offices to terminate as speedily as possible the war between Prussia and Sweden. France was to accept the mediation of the emperor Alexander to hasten a maritime peace, and the commercial intercourse of the two countries was to be restored to the footing, on which it stood before the commencement of hostilities. These were all the public arrangements, but in the secret articles it is supposed the French ruler stipulated that the Balearic isles, (Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica) should be given up by Spain to the duke of Calabria, the heir apparent of Sicily, with the title of king; provided

the ports of the islands were closed against England, as long as the war lasted; and that Buonaparté assured the emperor of Russia he would not prevent their Sicilian majesties from retiring whithersoever they thought proper. Thus, although there was no express reference to Sicily in the treaty, it tacitly implied a permission to the Gallic chief to obtain it, if he could. It has been seen that the immediate consequence of concluding this treaty, was the promulgation of the Rhenish confederacy by France.

M. d'Oubril, who appears to have been a very weak man, was prevailed upon to take this unwise step by his fears for Austria, which the French cabinet artfully fomented, by ordering all the officers to join their regiments in Germany, and by other devices. As soon as he had adopted this singular measure, he hastened to lay the treaty before his master; but though his imperial majesty of Russia was advised by his council not to ratify the contract, he abstained from all severity towards his envoy, and even generously forbore to visit feebleness of intellect with any very strong mark of his displeasure. Notwithstanding M. d'Oubril was banished from court, he was not suspended from his appointments. The mildness shown to him gave rise to various conjectures. The French government attributed his Russian majesty's refusal to sanction the treaty to the alteration of his sentiments, owing to a recent change in the ministry at Saint Petersburg, Baron de Budburg having succeeded to prince Czartorinsky as secretary of state for foreign affairs, amongst the other new distributions

of office; but the council specially named by Alexander to consider the merits of the treaty, unanimously declared, that, on comparing the act of M. d'Oubril with the instructions given to him at home, and with the orders sent to him at Vienna, before he had left that city, he had not only departed from both, but agreed to an instrument, directly contrary to the sense and spirit of the commission given to him. No unsteadiness was therefore attributable to the Russian policy, it being most probable that M. d'Oubril was influenced in his decisions, either by a mistaken idea of the real views of his court, or by a false estimate of what was likely to be beneficial to his country and to Europe; and by the lightness of his punishment, a presumption was conveyed that his procedure was considered to result rather from error in judgment than from want of integrity. It is possible perhaps that M. d'Oubril might have been guided in this transaction by secret mandates formerly issued to him, which it was not thought prudent afterwards to avow, yet this notion rests on no authority whatever.

The French ministry having effected their object with M. d'Oubril, next tried their skill on lord Yarmouth. They represented to him that Switzerland was on the eve of a great change, that a French army was at Bayonne prepared to invade Portugal; and that both the schemes respecting these countries could only be abandoned, on the prospect of a peace with Great Britain. They signified to him that Prussia demanded an explicit avowal of their designs with regard to Hanover, and that

they could not consent wantonly to abandon the only ally, which France had had since the revolution, when they could not even say the British cabinet would negotiate with them. In effect, they unhappily persuaded lord Yarmouth to produce his full powers, before the original basis respecting Sicily was acknowledged, or a just equivalent for the island presented for the acceptance of its sovereign; on which grounds, with the free restoration of Hanover, the whole structure of the intercourse, that was committed to his care, rested. It is most surprising that his lordship, aware as he was, by his own dispatch to Mr. Fox, of the arts that had been practised on the Russian plenipotentiary, should have fallen into a similar snare. He endeavoured to extenuate his conduct to the British ministry, who decidedly disapproved of it, by referring to the difficult circumstances in which he was placed by the option, either to avow the negotiation, or totally shut every avenue to it; besides the other inconveniences above enumerated, which he was taught to believe would spring from his reserve. He declared subsequently that he thought the English cabinet, by admitting the principle of an exchange for Sicily, had waved the point in its absolute strictness. This was however the concern of his government, and did not in any degree affect him. According to the spirit of his instructions, he had no *option*. He was either to enforce his demands with success, receive the offer of what he might suppose to be a fair indemnity to his Sicilian majesty, or obtain his passports and  
return



return to England. The utmost deviation, which he ought to have allowed himself, from the sense of rule prescribed to him was to send an account of the dilemma, into which he was thrown, to his majesty's servants, if permitted to do so by M. Talleyrand; and, if not, his duty could not be mistaken for a moment. The result of this proceeding was that, while general Clarke was appointed to treat with him at Paris, the English ministers very properly resolved to associate with his lordship another plenipotentiary in the person of the earl of Lauderdale, to whom they imparted the fullest knowledge of the sentiments and views of their government.

As the earl of Yarmouth had already taken a decided part, the first meeting between him and general Clarke was on the 23d of July. Little more was done in it than to settle that the parties should have a conference on the following day; and be prepared with a memorandum of the intentions of their cabinets, founded on what had previously passed; but general Clarke declared that the separate peace with Russia was to be esteemed equal, or superior, to a great success in war; and entitling France to more advantageous terms. At the next appointment lord Yarmouth read a paper expressive of a decision to treat generally on the ground of *uti possidetis*, with the single exception of Hanover; and the French minister, without noticing the first point, observed that any thing his Britannic majesty chose to stipulate about Hanover might be inserted in secret articles; yet that the public part of the treaty must

contain a promise not to object to some acquisitions of territory by Prussia, such as Fulda, Hoya, and some other trifling principalities. He then proposed that the king of Great Britain should retain Malta, Gozo, Conino, and the Cape of Good Hope, but with the establishment of a free port. He next mentioned the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish dominions, and threw out an idea of permitting his majesty to occupy some of the foreign territories of the king of Portugal. Having dismissed these points, he stated that his master demanded

Pondicherry,  
 Saint Lucie,  
 Tobago,  
 Surinam,  
 Goree,  
 Demarara, Berbice, Esse-  
 quiho;

the recognition in the usual words of the different branches of the reigning family in France; of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings; and of the new dukes of Cleves, Baden, and Darmstadt.

Lord Lauderdale arrived at Paris, on the 5th of August, and had an interview with general Clarke on the 7th; but before he interfered in the business at issue, he presented a note, recapitulating the progress of the negotiation, and precisely stating that, as no real and satisfactory equivalent had been offered for Sicily, he could not consent to treat on any other terms than those of the *uti possidetis*; but that the adoption of this principle would not prevent him either from

listening to the proposal of any proper indemnification to the king of Naples, for the cession of Sicily, or from accepting any proposition for an exchange of territory between England and France upon just and equal bases. General Clarke, after signifying his disapproval of carrying on the intercourse by notes, remarked that, as the British government had named two plenipotentiaries, it was the purpose of his master to do the same. Accordingly M. Champagny was nominated as his coadjutor. On the 8th an answer was sent to lord Lauderdale's note, totally denying that it could ever have entered into the mind of Buonaparté to proceed on the principle of *uti possidetis*; to do which he should even consider a disgrace. The ministers assembled on the 9th, and the French plenipotentiaries attempted to make lord Lauderdale abandon his object, to prevail upon him to consult his government, or to take ten or fifteen days for consideration, but in vain. The English envoys demanded that very evening passports for themselves, and for a courier whom they intended to dispatch to England; but their instances were disregarded for two whole days by M. Talleyrand, and the cabinet of the Thuilleries made an effort to obtain a farther explanation with respect to the views of Great Britain, at the same time expressing a readiness to adopt the contested basis as "the means of exchange and compensation." As soon as the passport for their messenger was delivered, lords Lauderdale and Yarmouth replied to the French project; and represented that they must insist on the recognition of the ground, on which they under-

stood they were to proceed, before they could enter into any further discussions. No notice being taken of their letter for two days, they wrote to M. Talleyrand, and acquainted him that, though they would wait a reasonable time for whatever it might be intended to communicate to them, they wished to be provided with passports to be used according to circumstances; but it is probable, from the earl of Yarmouth's speech in the house of commons in 1807, that a difference of opinion arose between himself and his coadjutor on taking the proposition which was last made to them *ad referendum*. However, that may be, as the persons at the head of the French government had refused to adhere to their original offer, and besides protested that it had never entered into their thoughts to negotiate on the principle of actual possession, although they clearly admitted lord Yarmouth's statements of his first conversation with M. Talleyrand to be correct, in order to disentangle the question from this impediment, his lordship received his majesty's permission to return to England, and the earl of Lauderdale was instructed to manage the progress of the conferences alone with both the ministers authorized by Buonaparté, affording at once the best proof that no unfair advantage was intended, as had been insinuated by general Clarke, in the appointment of a second plenipotentiary by Great Britain.

A long interval having elapsed without any renewal of the intercourse from messieurs Champagny and Clarke, lord Lauderdale represented in firm but conciliatory language to M. Talleyrand, that he

he should be compelled to quit Paris, if the delay were continued. An interview was consequently demanded with him on the 26th, at which he was required to deliver in the outline of a treaty; but his lordship very properly refused to do so. When he was on the point of departure for England, a new occurrence arose, which considerably lowered the tone of France. Intelligence had arrived in Paris on the 3d of September, that the emperor of Russia had refused to ratify the treaty signed by M. d'Oubril, although he was still willing to negotiate with Buonaparté on compatible terms, and M. Talleyrand, making a virtue of necessity, mentioned these circumstances with the greatest appearance of frankness to lord Lauderdale; at the same time observing that Buonaparté would now make peace with England on more favourable terms than he otherwise would have done; and further that, as it would be necessary to give to his plenipotentiaries fresh instructions, so it was thought proper that lord Lauderdale should write to his court for new directions also. Notwithstanding the seeming candour of this procedure, it was evident that the cabinet of Saint Cloud had only sought to gain time, and to detain his lordship at Paris, until it was fully informed of his Russian majesty's decisions, in order that it might avail itself more dexterously of any materials suitable to its purpose, which the course of events might afford.

About this time Mr. Fox's illness became so serious, that he was incapable of attending to business; and the remainder of

the correspondence with lord Lauderdale was at first carried on by earl Spencer and Mr. Windham, the secretaries of state for the home and war departments, and afterwards, on Mr. Fox's death, by lord Howick, who was appointed to the foreign office.

Before lord Lauderdale's dispatch, containing an account of his last interview with M. Talleyrand, reached London, the English ministers had been made acquainted with the emperor Alexander's resolution, in regard to M. d'Oubril's treaty; and they had of course penetrated into the motives of the French cabinet in keeping his lordship at Paris. By his Russian majesty's conduct the two nations were restored to the same footing as to diplomatic intercourse with France, which bound them previously to the signature of that document, with an additional tie not to negotiate distinctly from each other, arising from the experienced good faith of the court of Saint Petersburg; but though this was the case, Mr. Windham informed lord Lauderdale that there was still no objection to treat separately in form but conjointly in substance, the mode originally suggested by Mr. Fox. Every endeavour in the outset of the business had been made to obtain the restitution of Naples to his Sicilian majesty; but on this head Buonaparté was found inexorable. The favourable change occasioned by the decision of Russia, however, again rendered Sicily completely within the spirit of conferring on the principle of actual possession, and precluded every plan of exchange, which had only been yielded to at the instance  
of

of M. d'Oubril. These circumstances were pointed out to lord Lauderdale, who, receiving a visit from the French minister for foreign affairs, availed himself of that facility of representing them to him, and that he expected also to be heard on the part of Russia, because his orders were positive not to conclude a treaty except provisionally, and such as would insure to Great Britain, and the court of saint Petersburg, an honourable peace at the same moment. M. Talleyrand said he had no doubt that he and his lordship would be able to settle the business, and assured lord Lauderdale that all objections as to form would be waved; but, in order to preclude every misunderstanding on the arrangement, and exhibit them in the strongest light, the noble earl committed the whole of his ideas to paper, which he sent to M. Talleyrand, requiring a written answer, as his court had remarked that several of his communications had not received that formality. The reply was conceived in a tone of irritation and asperity, and besides contained irrelevant matter; but it professed a desire of continuing the conferences, or rather of suffering them to proceed. The English plenipotentiary was to be at liberty to introduce into the treaty, either as a public or a secret article, or in any other form which would answer the purpose, whatever he might conceive would tend to reconcile the existing differences between France and Russia, and would procure for the latter the benefits of peace, provided nothing was inserted injurious to the honour of both countries. It was declared that Buonaparté would make sacri-

fices to put an end to hostilities; that France did not pretend to dictate either to Russia or England, but that she would not be dictated to by these powers. The paper then closed with these sentiments. "Let the conditions be equal, just, and moderate, and peace is concluded; but if an imperious and exaggerating disposition is evinced, the emperor and the French people will not even notice the proposals. Confiding in themselves, they will say, as a nation of antiquity, answered its enemies;—"*you demand our arms, come and take them.*"

At this period of the affair general Clarke was withdrawn from the commission of the French plenipotentiaries to attend Buonaparté to Mentz, whither M. Talleyrand followed him shortly afterwards, the differences between France and Prussia having come to a crisis. The French ruler left Paris on the night of the 24th of September, and he seems by this time to have made up his mind not to concede much to Russia, nor to agree to any satisfactory terms about Sicily. On the 25th of September lord Lauderdale saw M. Champagny, who after the usual interchange of civilities, repeated that Buonaparté to secure peace was determined to make great sacrifices, and proceeded to give the following statement,

" 1st. That Hanover with its dependencies should be restored to his majesty.

" 2d. That the possession of Malta should be confirmed to Great Britain.

" 3d. That France should interfere with Holland to confirm to his majesty the absolute sovereignty of the Cape.

" 4th.

“ 4th. That Buonaparté would confirm to his majesty the tenure of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahee, and other dependent comptoirs.

“ 5th. That as Tobago was originally settled by the English, it was meant also to give that island to the crown of Great Britain.”

He then added that what he had said arose from the supposition that Sicily was to be ceded, and the French government proposed that the king of Sicily should have, as an indemnity, the Balearic Islands, with an annuity from the court of Spain to support his dignity.

The question of Sicily presented an insuperable obstacle to any hope of future success in the negotiation; but independently of this, the conditions to be granted to Russia formed another topic of disagreement, on which France was not disposed to yield. There was at first in the instructions of M. Champagny an omission to empower him to hear lord Lauderdale on behalf of Russia; but this the former observed was accidental, and indeed it created no difficulty; for he made not the least scruple to attend to what his lordship offered on the subject. The neglect in this instance was afterwards remedied; and, in a second interview, the French minister engaged to give up the island of Corfu in full sovereignty to Russia. This concession not being adequate to the views of that power, which was desirous that Dalmatia and Albania should be evacuated by the French arms, was refused; and lord Lauderdale, in his own opinion, felt himself bound to declare that, in consequence of not retaining any expectation of bringing

the matters in dispute to a fortunate issue, he must instantly apply to M. Talleyrand for passports to return home. In this procedure, as far as it was founded on his commission to preserve the interests of Russia, his lordship was perhaps hasty, since that power, if consulted, *might* have waved the demand respecting Albania and Dalmatia, provided other securities were offered; but on a view of the whole case, there certainly was no encouragement held forth by the French government to proceed in the business; for it is not likely that a sufficient establishment would have been proposed for the king of Sicily, even if all the affairs of his Sardinian majesty had been abandoned. M. Champagny requested to have another meeting, and lord Lauderdale, after stating that while he staid in France he never should refuse to see him, executed his intentions by writing to the French minister for foreign affairs. M. Champagny strongly pressed to be received by the English envoy once more, to which his lordship consented, and an appointment was fixed; but before that time arrived, M. Talleyrand's answer was delivered to the earl of Lauderdale, which put a period to the negotiation. This letter which, from the strong contrast it displays to the violence of his last note, and from its being free from any of the impetuous sallies congenial with the style of Buonaparté, seems to have been composed by the French minister without any thing interpolated by his master. It sets out with an affected regret at the rupture of the intercourse, and with magnifying the sacrifices which the Gallic

Gallic ruler was willing to make to obtain peace; and proceeds to observe "that if it is the destiny of the emperor, and the French nation, still to live in the midst of the wars and tumults, which the policy and influence of England have raised, his majesty having done every thing to put a stop to the calamities of war, finding himself deceived in his dearest hopes, relies on the justice of his cause, on the courage, the affection, the power of his people." It then lamented that England, "which might have strengthened and confirmed her vast power by the blessings of peace," should have suffered a favourable opportunity of concluding it to escape; and argued that the power of France had only been increased by the efforts made to depress her. "Nevertheless," it proceeded, "whatever inferences for the future may be drawn from the examples of the past, his majesty will be ready, should the negotiations with England be broken off, to renew them in the midst of any events. He will be ready to replace them on the basis laid in concert with the illustrious minister, whom England has lost, who having nothing to add to his glory, except reconciling the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world before his work was performed."

Lord Lauderdale replied to this artful effusion with great ability; and vindicated his government in the most irrefragable manner from the insinuated charge of permitting

a proper occasion of putting an end to hostilities to be lost. "Notwithstanding," observed his lordship,, "the success of the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well in Italy as on the continent of South America\*, and the refusal of his majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, to ratify that treaty, which in the eyes of the French government was equivalent to the most splendid victory, not one new proposition has been advanced on the part of his majesty, incompatible with the basis originally proposed." He proved both the justice and moderation of the British cabinet, and refuted the dexterous innuendo that it had departed from the principles laid down by Mr. Fox, since his death; and manifested his conviction that the orders, which he had received from his court, were the same in spirit as would have been transmitted to him by his departed friend, in case he had lived.

There can be no doubt that lord Yarmouth imagined the basis, on which M. Talleyrand proposed to treat with England, was that of actual possession; but such a conception could hardly arise *altogether* from the expressions of the French minister relative to Sicily—"vous l'avez; nous ne vous la demandons pas; si nous la possédions, elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés," (you are in possession of it, we do not ask it of you; if we held it, it might very much increase our difficulties)—for the expressions by no means justified the inference except as to that island. It is extraordinary that in the

\* Accounts of the capture of Buenos Ayres arrived in England on the 13th of September.

memorandum of what passed between M. Talleyrand and lord Yarmouth, deposited at Mr. Fox's desire in the foreign office by his lordship, the latter, after quoting the words above noticed, should immediately have added, by way of deduction from them, that the terms *nous ne vous demandons rien*,\* (we ask nothing from you) amounted to an admission of the *uti possidetis* as applicable to his Britannic majesty's conquests. If M. Talleyrand actually used these last words on any occasion, the inference drawn from them was indisputably just; but lord Yarmouth has not explained how these terms occurred, if they did occur, in his conversation with the French minister. It has been supposed that his lordship, from inadvertence, substituted in this comment the word "*rien*" (nothing) for "*la*" (it, viz. Sicily) thereby giving a totally different meaning to M. Talleyrand's remark; but it was scarcely possible for a person conversant with the French language to commit such a mistake; because the peculiar structure and arrangement of French sentences almost preclude a liability to an oversight of that kind. The change of expressions is therefore unaccountable\*. Mr. Fox, in the correspondence which ensued, frequently alluded to both the quotations; yet it is manifest that the terms "*nous ne vous demandons rien*" had fixed themselves on his apprehension. If the English ministers were in error on this point, it is positively certain that the members of the French government most

unjustifiably receded from their own precise offer in reference to Sicily; and moreover if the principle of "exchange and compensation" had been admitted on the part of England, Buonaparté never tendered a fair equivalent and indemnity to his Sicilian majesty. Had the disputed idea of actual possession never arisen, a peace could not have even been concluded on the grounds originally proposed, that "it should be honourable for the two states and their respective allies," with regard to the king of Sicily; and still less in respect to Russia, whose wish that the French should evacuate Dalmatia was laudable, and, as far as there are any means of forming a judgment, disinterested; because she by that desire merely intended to strengthen Austria against the possible attacks of France, Dalmatia affording a ready passage to the latter to penetrate into the emperor's dominions. The indifference too of France to fulfil its engagements was plainly exemplified in the final arrangement of the confederation of the Rhine, which M. Talleyrand assured lord Yarmouth on the 9th of July "was determined upon, but *should not* be published, if peace with England took place." His lordship's dispatch was received on the 12th by Mr. Fox; and on 17th, in direct contempt of the promise, the contract of the league was both signed by the different princes and promulgated. Mr. Fox therefore truly remarks to lord Yarmouth "that what M. Talleyrand called a reasonable time

\* Lord Yarmouth did not elucidate this point in any of the debates on the negotiation.

allowed to your lordship to consult your government, was, at the most, twenty-four hours, even supposing the utmost possible expedition to be made by the messengers to and from England, and no accident or delay to occur by land or sea." Notwithstanding the insinuation in M. Talleyrand's last note, that peace might have been concluded; if Mr. Fox had lived, whoever will take the trouble to peruse the original papers will discover evident proofs, that the right honourable secretary had lost all hope of bringing the intercourse to a favourable end, before the appointment of lord Lauderdale as joint-plenipotentiary; and one of the causes of his dissatisfaction, when lord Yarmouth opened his full powers, according to his own letter, was that it in some degree pledged his majesty to continue the negotiation. Mr. Fox also clearly intimated that, had it not been for that event, the business might have been discussed *unofficially*, even if a reasonable equivalent for Sicily had been brought forward; a certain proof of his reserve at least, if not of something more than a doubt that he could be able to effect the purpose, which he had desired to achieve.

During the whole negotiation it had been the wish of France to dissolve the union between the cabinets of London and Saint Petersburg; but after France perceived that a Prussian war was inevitable, to detach England from Russia was a matter of greater importance than before. Buonaparté, judging by the ability, which he had hitherto himself displayed, imagined of course, that

the court of Berlin would not commit itself, until joined by the auxiliary troops of the great potentate of the north; and could he have effected a separate peace with England, he would have prevented all pecuniary assistance either to Prussia, or the emperor Alexander. M. Talleyrand really seemed to wish for peace with England, if it were possible, although he naturally would have endeavoured to obtain the best terms he could for his country. He on several occasions evidently over-ruled the impatience of his master; whose vehement temperament might otherwise have more speedily brought the business to a close.

The rupture of the negotiation gave much pleasure to the commercial members of the community in every part of Great Britain; for as intelligence of the capture of Buenos Ayres had been received, they were deluded by the representations of sir Home Popham, and expected to derive immense profit from the trade to that settlement; which they foresaw must be given up, if a peace were concluded. When the news arrived that lord Lauderdale was on his return to England, the underwriters at Lloyd's coffee-house, and the merchants on the exchange, are reported to have testified their joy in the most enthusiastic manner. The more disinterested part of the nation, when all the circumstances of the affair came to their knowledge; seemed to be perfectly satisfied that it had been impossible to bring the French government to accede to such terms, as the honour and welfare of Great Britain demanded.



## CHAP. XIII.

*State of Prussia; embarrassments relative to the Ministry. Address to the Deputies of Hanover. The King of Prussia discovers that one of the principles of the Negotiation between France and England is to restore Hanover to the King of Great Britain. Various other causes, which excited the resentment of the Prussian Monarch against Buonaparté. Murder of M. Palm; indignation of the people in every part of Germany at that atrocious proceeding. The queen and prince Louis of Prussia at the head of the war party in Berlin. The nation in general well disposed to support their sovereign, but diffident of the ability, and suspicious of the integrity of the ministers. Preparations for war. Lucchesini recalled from Paris, and replaced by general Knobelsdorf. Transactions of the latter envoy. Prussian demands and manifesto. Improvidence of the ministers in not soliciting co-operation; their bad management concerning Saxony. Generosity of England: Lord Morpeth sent to the head quarters of the king of Prussia, and the embargo on his ports raised. Buonaparté's measures to meet the impending hostilities. He quits Paris; his letter to the French senate; M. Talleyrand's reports on Prussian affairs. Opening of the campaign. Position of the Prussian army. Movements of the French. Actions at Hoff, Schleitz and Saalfeld; in which the Prussians are defeated. The French cross the Saale, turn the left wing of the Prussians, and take their magazines. Disposition of the French army. Buonaparté's appeal to the Saxon people. The Prussians concentrate their forces. Battle of Auerstadt. The Prussians totally routed. Precautionary measures of Austria to maintain the integrity of her dominions.*

**T**HE measures adopted by Great Britain against the ships and commerce of the Prussian subjects created an extraordinary consternation throughout the principal cities of the dominions belonging to the house of Brandenburg. The conduct of the court was universally condemned; Haugwitz and the French faction were execrated as the advisers of the policy, which had drawn down on the devoted state the chastisement of England; while to so great a height did the popular resentment rise, that the windows of count Haugwitz were demolished, and it became

necessary that he should have a constant guard to protect his house. The contagious progress of dissatisfaction is even said to have reached the army. The disgust of the people was increased by the pressure, resulting from the admirable vigour displayed by the British ministers, who actually caused the coast between the Elbe and Brest to be strictly blockaded. The Baltic was the only sea secure from the visits of English energy, it having been held expedient to permit the waters belonging to it to be freely navigated. The Prussian envoy, baron Jacobi, had not  
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in fact quitted London; but every appearance of that species of hostility between two powers, which could not come in contact except in commercial points, was shewn by the cabinets of St. James's and Berlin; although it was evident that the latter felt the deepest regret at being compelled to demonstrate any enmity to a nation, with which it had been so long and so beneficially connected.

About this time baron d'Hardenberg, who is conjectured to have highly disapproved the transactions of his government, obtained leave to resign his appointment as foreign minister. In addition to the general dislike felt by that nobleman to proceedings, which he conceived to be unwise and detrimental to the honour of his sovereign, he had been insulted by an offensive article printed in the *Moniteur*, containing notes upon a memorial, which he addressed at the beginning of the year to lord Harrowby, relative to the arrangement of the English, Russian and Prussian troops in the affair of Hanover\*. After this paper was published in the *London Gazette*, the writer in the French journal affected to consider it fictitious, or at least insinuated that it was not sanctioned by the king of Prussia. Baron d'Hardenberg had publicly contradicted the inference drawn by the editor of the *Moniteur*. He therefore viewed with the greater pain the subservience of his court to France; since his objection to French influence, arising from the consciousness of duty, was reinforced by private pique. The port-folio of the foreign office was given to count Haugwitz. The selection of this minister was unfortunate;

since for a long period, so great was the general abhorrence of his principles, nobody could be procured who was willing to become his colleague; and his Prussian majesty was compelled to rely upon him alone; count Keller having refused to associate himself with the former, except on certain conditions. The consequent embarrassment of affairs may be easily conceived. Few conditions could be more humiliating than for a sovereign to find himself utterly destitute of the advice of worthy and honourable characters at a time, when he most needed faithful, able, and firm counsellors to assist him.

On the 24th of June a very long address was promulgated by the king of Prussia in council to the assembled deputies of the Hanoverian provinces. They were informed that care would be taken for the general advantage of those states, in every possible circumstance connected with them; but the great object of the rescript appeared to be contained in the terms with which it concluded, that "Neither ambition nor lust of territory, but solely a conviction, founded on experience, that the incorporation of Hanover with the Prussian monarchy is obviously necessary for the welfare of both, have determined me to this union and the sacrifices attached to it. The past has taught you that England cannot protect you; and that you can be protected by Prussia alone. Prussia has now taken upon herself this protection, from which you have to expect greater security of person and property, as well as the abolition of all oppressive abuses, which

\* See State Papers, page \* 421.

the distance of your rulers produced: but you must also closely unite with a government, which has wrought you all these blessings, and support with counsel and action a constitution, which has been decided upon for your benefit."

There cannot remain a doubt, if the previous acts of Prussia, and the sentiments which she had formerly expressed concerning Hanover, were thrown out of the question, of her fixed designs upon that country after the perusal of this paper, which unfolded her absolute decisions on the business. Whatever inconvenience therefore might arise from her flagitiousness, she was determined to abide the event of it. Great then was her chagrin, and sudden and bitter was the animosity, which she felt against France, on discovering, through the marquis Lucchesini, the ambassador at Paris, that Buonaparté was negotiating with England on the principle of restoring Hanover to his Britannic majesty. This occurrence first lighted into a flame the slumbering sparks of her rage, which overcame her habitual caution. From that moment every transaction of the French ruler became suspicious in her eyes. From that instant she dreaded the double disgrace of having notoriously bartered her honour for a vile recompense, and of seeing that recompense torn from her grasp by the very hand, which had pointed out the baleful course which she had pursued.

Perhaps there is not, in the whole catalogue of vindictive emotions, one rising to keenness so agonizing as that of a being, who has been seduced from the paths of justice and

integrity by the hope of receiving a long coveted accession, and who is betrayed and cut off from the expected acquirement by the partner of his guilt. This feeling is aggravated in proportion as that confederate exceeds the deluded victim of superior artifice in power and importance. Buonaparté at that time looked down with contempt at what he conceived to be the petty indignation of the court of Prussia. In his eyes it was the puny rage of the hawk daring the fierceness and strength of the eagle.

The acquiescence of Prussia to the confederacy of the Rhine had been purchased by the fallacious prospect, exhibited to her view by France, of forming a similar league in the north, of which she was to be protectress; but here again she had the mortification of finding herself deceived by her subtler associate in iniquity, and of perceiving that her spirit was rebuked. \* "Care had been taken to introduce into the fundamental statute of the compact of the Rhine an article, which should contain the germ of all future innovations. It provided that other princes might be received into this body, should they desire it. In this manner all connexions in Germany were left indeterminate; and as the means were still reserved to detach and annex to this union the weaker states, either by promises or threats, it was but too probable that, in time, this alliance would be extended into the heart of the Prussian monarchy." The respectability, wealth, and numerous population of the states under the sway of the prince of Hesse naturally directed the atten-

\* Prussian Manifesto.

tion of the court of Berlin to that sovereign, as the bulwark of the league which was to be under its influence; but the French minister at Cassel had already invited the elector to throw himself into the arms of his master, under the pretence that Prussia did nothing for her friends. The prince rejected the proposal, as well as the lure offered by way of inducing him to comply with it, which was the territory of Fulda, a remnant of the possessions appertaining to the house of Orange. Foiled in this attempt, in order to punish the elector for his contumacy, Buonaparté directed the confederacy of the Rhine to pass a sweeping resolution forbidding a passage to any foreign troops, armed or not armed, through the provinces of the contracting parties, by which the military intercourse between the detached Hessian districts was totally destroyed. This was not the only case in which France had interfered to counteract the wishes of Prussia; for there were several others. Saxony naturally fell within the precincts of the proposed northern establishments, yet the chief of that country was encouraged to decline entering into any engagements; and, by the French rulers declaration, founded,\* as he remarked, on the commercial interests of France and the wishes of Great Britain, the Hanseatic towns were not to enter into any particular union of states. Another act of perfidy in the cabinet of the Thuilleries was shown in the secret articles of the treaty, which the emperor of Russia refused to sanction. For many months Buonaparté had urged his Prussian majesty to seize the German territories of the

king of Sweden,—first to revenge himself on that monarch, and secondly to embroil the court of Berlin with other powers. Frederick William had not fallen into the snare, but it came to his knowledge that, if he had, his faithless adviser was ready, in conjunction with the emperor Alexander, to prevent him from obtaining Pomerania and its dependencies; and it is even asserted, but without any apparent authority, that it had been intimated to M. d'Oubril, if his master were inclined to appropriate any part of Polish Prussia to himself, no obstacle would be made to the accomplishment of his desires by the autocrat at Saint Cloud. There was also a farther ground of hostility with Prussia against France and one of her satellites. When Murat took possession of the dutchy of Cleves, he caused his troops to occupy the abbies of Essen, Worden and Elten, under the pretext that they belonged to the territories with which he had been invested; though there was not a shadow of connexion between them and the ceded provinces. It had likewise been stipulated that the fortress of Wesel should belong to the newly created prince; but, without one word of explanation, it was annexed to a French department. By this daring and contemptuous infraction of the basis of exchange, contained in the treaty between Buonaparté and the king of Prussia, the latter saw the French empire unwarrantably brought into contact with his dominions, and those dominions not only stripped of a strong post for their defence, but absolutely laid open to the incursions of a nation, which it was

\* Buonaparté's letter to the king of Bavaria, dated 27th of September.

his peculiar wish to keep out of the north of Germany. Wesel is situated on the right bank of the Rhine, near its confluence with the Lippe. The surrender of it to a petty sovereign, notwithstanding he might enjoy the protection of the French ruler, or be a machine in his hands, was a matter of comparatively trifling significance to the abandonment of it unconditionally to the master-spirit of the vassal. The one yielded only the medium of aggression; the other resigned the direct means of attack. Besides it is not to be doubted that the immense number of forces, which Buonaparté kept in Germany, gave great umbrage to his Prussian majesty; and as it is now known that the former was well acquainted that the court of Berlin had acceded to the general confederacy in 1805, although count Haugwitz, with a singular boldness, had denied the fact, the king was certain that the governor of France regarded him with a malign aspect, and felt that he could hope nothing from the forgiveness of a man, who was proverbially vindictive; he consequently was thoroughly persuaded that the cantonment of the French troops in the south arose from a determination to dictate to him as well as to the emperor of Austria. This conviction degraded him in his own esteem, as much as it incensed and exasperated his anger. He was mortified but not humbled; and impatiently waited for an opportunity to wipe off his disgrace.

This systematic and accumulated series of injuries was sufficient to provoke Frederick William to decided action; yet many other causes contributed to excite his re-

sentment, flatter his hopes of success in war, and confirm his resolution. The ascendancy, which Buonaparté had acquired in Germany, was manifested not only in matters of the highest importance, but in what might appear to be the most insignificant affairs also; and he was perfectly aware of the opposition, which he might encounter from the exertions of the press. Hence both his watchfulness and vengeance were particularly directed against the political writers of that country, conscious as he was that public opinion frequently received a spring from their labours. Two booksellers were arrested in Bavaria by a company of the French gens d'armes for selling openly, in the way of their trade, publications not prohibited by any existing law. The obnoxious works were "Arnot's Spirit of the Times," the essay of the celebrated Gentz, "on the Balance of Power," and a pamphlet entitled "Germany in its lowest state of debasement." The king of Bavaria interceded, but in vain, for his two subjects; the French ruler being inexorably determined to punish them. This act of unjustifiable severity, and encroachment on the dominion of his neighbours, was shortly followed by another, marked by characteristics still more violent and detestable. John Philip Palm, a bookseller at Nuremberg, and Joseph Schöderer, a shopkeeper at Donauwerth, were forcibly conveyed before the extraordinary military commissioners at Brannau, the first being accused of publishing a libel against the Gallic tyrant and his army, and the latter of distributing and circulating the same.

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These unfortunate men were tried by their prejudiced judges, and condemned to be shot. The barbarous sentence was immediately carried into effect, as far as it regarded M. Palm, who was indeed offered a pardon on condition of his giving up the author of the book; but to do this he resolutely refused. At the place of execution the same tender was repeated; his firmness nevertheless, though he had a wife and family dependent on him for support, was not to be shaken; and he suffered the consequence of his integrity. His blood however did not fall unnoticed into the barren sand. A liberal subscription was entered into for the wife and three children of the victim to ferociousness; nor was this proof of sympathy with his unhappy fate the only result of a transaction so abominable. A profound and spreading abhorrence for French cruelty and oppression pervaded every part of the German states. Every heart was animated with fury and revenge; and every hand was eager to oppose the designs of that stern and impetuous being, who had so daringly violated the common rights of mankind.

The inhabitants of Prussia participated largely in the sentiments of their countrymen. They justly considered the murder, which had been committed, as an insult to the whole German people; as an unpardonable species of guilt that demanded the promptest chastisement; as a stain on themselves and their posterity. The cries of afflicted and writhing patriotism, which called on the court of Berlin to assert the dignity of the Teutonic race, penetrated deeply into its recesses. They soothed its pride,

and seemingly encouraged it to rely on its strength; at the same time that they held forth the promise of vigorous co-operation. At the head of the party against France was the queen. This illustrious personage, independently of her exalted rank, possessed some talents, and the influence arising from ingratiating manners, with the most captivating personal beauty. The range of her power may therefore easily be conceived to have been great; but she had an active and zealous coadjutor in prince Louis of Prussia, who in the wildness of his youth had been called the Prussian duke of Orleans, from some excesses with which he had been charged; and perhaps also from an intriguing disposition in public affairs. The example of these distinguished characters confirmed the animated sentiments of the people, already inflamed to enthusiasm against French fraud and despotism. The hostile preparations were beheld with a delight amounting to rapture. The cause of the court appeared to be that of the whole country, and there was scarcely an individual, who did not take the most lively interest in it. One gentleman, whose name is unfortunately omitted in the records of the times, for it ought to live for ever, offered half his income to the military fund for supporting the war, and immediately paid the first monthly instalment into the treasury. Several of the communes in Magdeburg directed two tables to be hung up in the churches, in which the good or bad behaviour of the recruits was to be inscribed; in order that their exertions or demerits might be known to future generations. The citizens of Halle

proffered to contribute voluntarily to the exigences of the state; and every town and every province vied with each other in their endeavours to sustain the honour of the monarchy, and to vindicate the German fame from the indignity that it had suffered, in which each man felt that he shared to its fullest extent.

Nevertheless, although the apparent views of the king were thus highly popular, the nation was far from holding either the talents or intentions of the cabinet in esteem. Count Haugwitz, who still continued at the head of affairs, and the privy counsellors Lombard and Beyme, were equally objects of contempt and distrust. With abler and honest ministers, who could have enjoyed the public confidence, his Prussian majesty might, in all probability, have arrayed every subject against his enemy, and drawn forth the last rix-dollar from the hoards of economy, to the confusion of the aggressor; but the blighted reputation of his chief political servants impaired the general reliance on a prosperous issue of the struggle, although it neither damped the common ardour of devotion, nor diminished the common wish for success. The Prussians, with the noblest disposition to serve their country, were content to hope for the best; but they were not blind to the incapacity and doubtful motives of their monarch's advisers.

Bad as were the counsellors of the crown, they omitted no effort to call forth the whole power of the state to meet the impending storm. The army, which it may be recol-

lected had been put on a war establishment the year before, was in the highest condition, both as to numbers and equipment. The generals\* who had been brought up in the school of the immortal Frederick, and who had fought, and bled, and conquered, under his auspices, again blazed with military fire. The officers and privates, jealous of the honour of the Prussian arms, and eager to try their prowess with the men, whom the conqueror at Austerlitz had arrogantly styled "the first infantry in Europe," could hardly contain the vehemence of their feelings. The arsenals groaned with stores of every description; and the roads of the frontiers were crowded with vehicles, containing the elements of destruction and death.

It may be imagined that these inimical movements were closely watched by France. Had they even been of a concealed nature, they could not have escaped the vigilance of La Forest, the French minister at Berlin, the sagacity of the minions at St. Cloud, nor have been overlooked by the restless and penetrating eye of the individual at the head of that government, which was the terror of Europe; but in fact they were of the most open description. A correspondent activity was evinced by Buonaparté in arraying his troops, and putting every thing in order for the contest, which he foresaw must occur. In the mean time complaints on the subject of the Prussian armaments were perpetually addressed by M. Talleyrand to the marquis Lucchefini, who contrived to evade the questions put to him, and to

\* Buonaparté in the pride of talent, and in the haughtiness of youthful blood, was in the habit of marking his contempt for the generals of the old school of tactics by calling them "Perruques."

sooth the irritability of the person, whose wakeful mind knew no repose, as long as it was practicable. He also had the dexterity to give umbrage to the French cabinet, by affecting to remonstrate with peculiar bitterness concerning the measures adopted by the country, in which he represented his sovereign. This manœuvre, which made him personally disagreeable at the Thuilleries and rendered his recall necessary, gained some time for his master to complete his arrangements; while general Knobleisdorf, who was appointed to replace him, could make a journey to Paris.

Before M. de Knobleisdorf had arrived at the French capital, Buonaparté wrote to the king of Prussia a letter full of assurances of esteem and empty professions of good will; but a few days afterwards his Prussian majesty was wantonly outraged by an invective in the *Moniteur*, worthy of the most disgraceful times of the revolution, against himself and his people. When general Knobleisdorf opened his powers, he had a conversation with the French ruler on the matters in dispute between the two states; and in his first note to M. Talleyrand he begged that all public acts might be suspended, until the result of that audience could be transmitted to Berlin, and an answer received from thence. This request was granted; but M. Talleyrand informed the Prussian envoy that, as news was daily received which bore the character of an impending war, every measure of precaution, consistent with the engagement entered into, must certainly be taken. Amongst other things, the French minister stated

that war between the two countries appeared to be a political *mausfesty*. After expressing the ardent desire of his master to preserve peace with Prussia, he proceeded to allege that Buonaparté's intentions were so far from being hostile to that kingdom, that he had, in his own opinion, already committed a very grave military fault, in retarding his preparations for a month, and in consenting to let fifteen days more pass over, without calling out his reserves and national guards. General Knobleisdorf seems to have been inspired with a sincere persuasion that all differences might be accommodated; and to have done every thing in his power to compose them. Whether he was deceived by his own government, with regard to its pacific intentions, is a circumstance open to conjecture; but it can with difficulty be supposed that he could have held the language which he used, had the case been otherwise. The cabinet of Berlin however were far from being so sanguine in their expectations; for on the 1st of October they instructed general Knobleisdorf to deliver a note to M. Talleyrand, containing the conditions on which they were willing to come to a compromise.

1. That the French troops should immediately evacuate Germany.
2. That France should oppose no obstacles to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that this confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states, not included in the fundamental act of league of the Rhine.
3. That a negotiation should be immediately commenced for the adjustment of all the affairs still in dispute; a preliminary article of which should be



be that the three abbeys seized by Murat should be restored; and that the town of Wesel should be separated from the French empire. The transcript also mentioned, that the reply to it must reach the Prussian head quarters by the 8th; but that the march of the French troops would be considered tantamount to a declaration of war. No notice being taken of these demands, and the French armies being in motion, nothing remained but to begin the campaign. The king of Prussia appealed to the judgment of Europe on the justice of his cause, in a manifesto recapitulating the injuries and insults which he had received. The matter and language of this state paper were far from being dignified. According to his own account, his majesty had for a series of years submitted to the most oppressive and galling control, lent himself to carry forward the base purposes of France, and been a pander to her ambition; and it was only when he perceived the reward of his degrading policy likely to be snatched from his hands, accompanied with the most debasing and insolent affronts, that he roused from his torpor. The rescript in one sentence detailed, in the most puerile tone of complaint, the various acts of French aggression, and in another described the shameful views, which had induced the Prussian king to submit to them. In a word, the document presented a singular confession of weakness, cupidity, and irresolution; and offered a voluntary acknowledgment of what any sovereign, who had a regard for his own fame, would have wished to be for ever buried in oblivion.

Notwithstanding the Prussian ca-

binet must have been convinced that, in spite of their backwardness, it almost amounted to certainty they would be forced into a fearful predicament with France, such had been their want of firmness and providence, that they had taken no step to insure the powerful assistance of Russia to give weight to their remonstrances in negotiation, or to co-operate with the troops of their prince, in case they could not avoid a war, which it is to be presumed, as far as incapacity and feebleness of mind afford the means of forming a conclusion, they earnestly attempted to shun, or at least to procrastinate to the last. They appear to have been hurried on by the currency of events, and the explosion of public sentiments, to undertake a struggle too arduous for them either to manage, or even in the least degree to temper; and their ultimate decisions resemble the wild rashness of fear gathering courage from despair. Conscious of the manner in which the house of Brandenburg had always behaved to that of Austria, and especially of the apathy with which it had seen the imperial government nearly overthrown not many months before, and perhaps disdainful to be indebted to the kindness of an old competitor for power, not the slightest approximation was made to the cabinet of Vienna, in order to ascertain if aid could be procured from that quarter. His Austrian majesty would have been clearly justified in rejecting any overture with contempt; but the Prussian ministers were inexcusable for not affording that monarch an opportunity of proving his disinterested regard for the welfare of Europe. It is deplorable

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that, from their jealousy and contentions, France for a considerable series of years had been enabled to draw advantage from the mutual antipathy of these countries; and assume an influence, which did not belong to her, in Germany. No man ever availed himself with more dexterity of the old political tactics of France than Buonaparté; and by his adroitness in this respect, much more than by his legions, he succeeded in rendering the German states, provinces of his immense empire.

The king of Prussia had indeed communicated to the great emperor of the north the position of his affairs in the month of August; but count Krusemark was not commissioned to solicit succours from him till the middle of September; and consequently could not reach Peterburg till the latter end of the month. Nearly a week then elapsed before his imperial majesty's forces on the borders of Prussian Poland, could receive the directions for them to advance; although the orders were conveyed to them with all practicable speed.

In opening the campaign, the Prussians therefore committed precisely the same error, that the Austrians had fallen into the year before, by rushing forward to meet the first impetuosity of the French, unaided and even uncovered by their confederates in arms; and before it was possible they could derive any support from the vigour and utmost celerity of their ally. The precipitancy of the Prussian and Austrian cabinets in these instances outstripped the ardour and promptitude of friendship. The utmost efforts of rapidity in vain toiled after their hurried indiscre-

tion. Nor was this the only point in which Prussia resembled her great rival in the south: she permitted Buonaparté to tamper with Saxony, though not in fact to the same extent, as he had formerly done with Bavaria. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate the court of Dresden, or gain the minds of the people in the electorate, Prussia imprudently forced Saxony into her ranks; hence the latter became a cold and unwilling ally, secretly devoted to France.

Although war had been declared between Prussia and England in April, baron Jacobi did not leave London until the 15th of August. Of course ample means were open to communicate with the British government, but that minister was not empowered to make any advances to it; nor was there any hint thrown out to lord Lauderdale at Paris, by the Prussian resident in that capital, of the altered dispositions of his court. Indeed it was hardly to be expected, determined as the cabinet of Berlin was to retain Hanover at all events, that any application could be made from Frederick William to his late ally; since he was thoroughly convinced that no terms would be listened to, which had not for their basis the cession of the electorate to its lawful master. The policy of Buonaparté in this business, however the man may be abhorred, and his machinations execrated, was certainly profound, though ignoble and infamous. He had, to all appearance, for ever broken the bonds of amity between the king of Great Britain and the house of Brandenburg, by instigating the latter to commit an act of aggression and robbery; and by negotiat-

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ing with the former to procure the restoration of the plunder, he had good reason to flatter himself that he had rendered the enmity of the two parties irreconcilable. The generosity of England, as it surpassed his conception, so it counteracted his designs. As soon as it was certain that Prussia was resolved to break with France, and act in conjunction with others, an order of council was issued for raising the blockade of the Prussian ports and rivers, and lord Morpeth was sent to the head quarters of his Prussian majesty, to offer assistance from that power, which had been so grossly offended. His lordship quitted England on the 1st of October, and arrived at Weimar with the utmost expedition; but up to the very day of the fatal battle of Auerstadt, he could not obtain even an answer from the confidential advisers of the Prussian king. As to baron Jacobi, he did not reach London on his return to his diplomatic duties, till the 10th; nor open his propositions to the English government before the 11th of the same month. The reason of this reserve in both places is sufficiently obvious. Had the Prussian arms been victorious, the question of Hanover would probably have been irrevocably settled; for if the cabinet disdained to enter into any conferences on that topic with a formidable enemy in their front, and while they conceived the balance of success to be doubtful, it is evident that they would have spurned the proffered renewal of friendship from England at the price demanded, when they would, for a time at least, have felt themselves to be the dictators of Europe. Lord Morpeth, when he saw the

hopes of nearly the last opponent of Buonaparté overthrown, and finding he could be of no service in the irretrievable posture of affairs, rejoined his colleagues in London, and had only the melaucholy task to perform, of giving more ample intelligence, than had before come to hand, of the ruinous scene which he had witnessed.

Notwithstanding Buonaparté assumed the language and attributes of the greatest surprise at the hostile views of Prussia, he had been very far from suffering himself to be anticipated by her preparatory steps. Why he should in almost every instance, when he was roused to unsheath the sword, think it expedient to pretend to have been deceived by the disingenuousness and art of his enemy, as it formed one of the most singular features in his most singular character, so it is the most unfathomable of his propensities. In the first place, it could not answer any useful purpose; since nobody, whose mental faculties were above the range of idiotism, could believe his assertions; and in the second, it is not creditable to a ruler, or minister, of the purest sentiments and most guileless integrity, to confess that he has been duped by the ability of any single individual, or by the combined direction of talent; besides it is in the nature of things impossible that a real statesman can be in the posture, so frequently wished to be taken by the French chief. A conceited, an obstinate, or a supine man, who, unfortunately for the people under his care, is at the head of affairs, may unquestionably be imposed upon by the hollow professions of friendship, and the well-masked actions of foreign potentates;

rates; but then he is no politician. Philip of Macedon, who was the most sagacious, as well as the most unprincipled invader of his neighbours' rights, never condescended to clothe himself in a mantle of simplicity, which he knew must be transparent to the eye of the meanest of his contemporaries; Cæsar would have blushed to make an acknowledgment so utterly repugnant to common sense; and Charles V. of Germany, amidst the innumerable specimens of hypocrisy which he exhibited, was above an affectation which could impose on no one, at the same time that it must degrade himself. To attempt to deceive, where deception, if successful, must reduce the fame of him who practises it, offers a surprising inconsistency in a person of general and commanding faculties to the student of human nature. It is a littleness in a great and wicked being, that astonishes the mind. Independently of his vast armies which had been quartered in Germany, Buonaparté had resorted to that terrible engine of his power and lust of acquirements, the conscription; and had freely and largely drawn forth the youth of France to be sacrificed in his cause, by calling out fifty thousand conscripts, part of the whole number of eighty thousand, authorised to be placed in activity by a decree of the preceding year. Gigantic as were the immediate means of his warlike efforts, he moreover *openly* at the latter end of September, directed the league of the Rhine to embattle their troops, promising that France should exceed her fair proportion of the contingent, and bring three hundred thousand men into the field;

but it is most likely that *secret* instructions had long before been given to the vassal princes, to hold their forces in readiness. The public requisition was a mere ceremony. Being now ready for the field, the French leader set out for his headquarters on the 25th of September. From Bamberg he wrote to the enslaved body, which he called his senate. The language of the communication, that he made to them, is a strange mixture of complaint of alleged Prussian designs and aggressions with the stern menaces of implacable vengeance. Buonaparté dwelt upon the impending conflict in a tone of mind approaching to savage exultation; and his expressions painted his feelings in the most lively manner. The cautious, guarded, stiff and pedantic style of M. Talleyrand, in his reports to Buonaparté on Prussian affairs, dated at Mentz, presented a strong contrast to the fire and vivacity of his master's effusions. In these state papers the French minister observed, that if Prussia conceived she had any just cause of umbrage against France, it was her duty to explain the nature of it to the minister from that country, resident at Berlin; and ascribed the silence, which she had maintained, to the intrigues of a party in the Prussian court inimical to France, and desirous of preventing any explanation from being given on the part of the cabinet of saint Cloud. He also plainly insinuated that, if this were not the sole cause of the misunderstanding, it must originate from a wish of Prussia to subject Saxony, the Hanse towns, and other states in the north of Germany to her dominions. In the second of the reports M. Talleyrand

Ieyrand declared that the discussion, which should definitively settle the appropriation of the abbeys of Essen and Werden, had not been deferred by any tardiness of his master, and that the French troops had withdrawn from the territories occupied by Murat, through his mistake in supposing that they belonged to the duchy of Cleves; but he mentioned not a syllable respecting the union of Wesel with a French department. This report, which was written after the receipt of M. de Knobelsdorff's last note, then at once affirmed that Prussia had suffered her secret to escape by the demand, *that Buonaparté should present no obstacle to her forming a league in the north, which might embrace all the states not named in the fundamental act of the Rhenish confederacy*; and thus threw every blame of the war on the ambition of the court of Berlin, to gratify which it was willing to renew the calamities of the continent, that Buonaparté had been anxious to assuage.

The king of Prussia probably expected no answer to his demands made through general Knobelsdorff, and Buonaparté did not propose to return any to them except at the cannon's mouth. Both parties therefore prepared for hostilities. It has been stated that the Saxons had been forced into the Prussian cause as auxiliaries. The elector of Hesse, however, was permitted to be neutral. The Prussian army amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand men; and was thus stationed on the 8th of October. The centre, under the orders of the duke of Brunswick, marshal Mollendorf, and the king in person, occupied the coun-

try in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach; the right under general Ruchel extended in a line to Mulhausen; the left, commanded by prince Hohenlohe, with prince Louis of Prussia, and general Tauenzeln under his orders, occupied Saalfeld, Schlietz, and Hoff, with advanced parties stretching to Cullenbach and Munchberg; and the vanguard under the duke of Saxe Weimar, was posted at Meinungen. Another division of Prussians, with general Blucher at their head, was marching to join the centre from Gottingen, where it had been stationed to protect Westphalia. The chief command of the army was committed to the duke of Brunswick, and the headquarters were at Erfurt. It was supposed by the French that the king of Prussia intended to open the campaign on the 9th, by bearing down on Frankfort with his right, on Wutzburg with his centre, and on Bamberg with his left. Buonaparté therefore determined to anticipate the execution of this plan, by turning the extremity of the left wing of the Prussians; and for this purpose the whole French army, which had been collected in the vicinity of Bamberg, was put in motion on the 8th by three routes. The right composed of the corps of Soult and Ney, with a division of Bavarians, left Bamberg and Nuremberg, united at Bayreuth, and marched upon Hoff. The centre consisting of the reserve under Murat, the corps of Bernadotte and Davoust, with the imperial guard, advanced from Bamberg through Chronach to Saalburg and Schleitz. The left, comprising the corps of Lannes and Augereau,

Angereau, marched from Schweinfurth, upon Coburg, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld. It is difficult to conceive why the French should have been suffered to make this disposition of their forces, without an attempt to counteract their designs. No hope could have existed of an accommodation; and as it had been intimated that the march of the French troops would be considered as equal to a declaration of war, no point of honour could restrain the king of Prussia, by waiting until the 8th day of the month had expired, from impeding the French manœuvres.

The Prussians on the 9th, fearful of being cut off by Soult when he advanced upon Hoff, retreated to Schleitz; but there was not time to remove the magazines established at that place. These, therefore, as well as some prisoners, fell into the hands of the French general, who immediately pushed forward to Plauen, where he arrived on the 10th; and in this movement he was followed by Ney at the distance of half a day's march. Murat with the centre crossed the Saale on the 8th, after defeating a regiment of Prussians, which disputed the passage of the river. On the 9th he came before Schleitz, where general Tauenzein was stationed with ten thousand men. Buonaparté having arrived at this village, ordered the position to be carried; and an attack was made in which the French were victorious. Four hundred Prussians perished in this action, and three hundred were made prisoners. On the 10th the French established their quarters at Auma, and on the 11th at Gera. During the march, the French cavalry routed the es-

cort of the Prussian baggage, and took five hundred caissons and baggage waggons. The success of the French centre was equalled by that of the left wing. Lannes entered Coburg on the 8th, proceeded through Graffenthal on the 9th, and on the 11th defeated at Saalfeld, the advanced guard of the prince of Hohenlohe, which was commanded by prince Louis of Prussia. Six hundred Prussians fell in the field, amongst whom was prince Louis himself, one thousand were taken prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon remained with the French, who afterwards marched upon Naumburg, with the hope of making themselves masters of the Prussian magazines; and in this intention they unfortunately succeeded; for on the 12th Davoust took possession of them with a considerable number of prisoners. The left of the Prussian army was now completely turned, as well as cut off from every communication with Dresden, and all direct intercourse with Berlin. Part of these disasters arose from the want of intelligence respecting the motions of the enemy, and from the Prussian patrols suffering themselves to be deceived by the most trifling appearances. An officer, commanding a body of horse, who was sent out from the royal camp towards Naumburg to reconnoitre, returned without advancing to the town, because, when he was half way on the road, he was told by some travellers, that the French had not made their appearance in the neighbourhood of that place.

The French army was drawn up in two lines on the right bank of the Saale. The first consisted of the corps of marshal Davoust at Naumburg

Naumberg, that of Lannes at Jena, of the division of Augereau at Kala, and of the allies of the French with a corps of Bavarians, under Jerome Buonaparté, at Schleitz. The second line extended from Neustatt to Zeitz, a few leagues beyond which place Murat had established his quarters; Bernadotte was at Zeitz, Buonaparté and Soult at Gera, and Ney at Neustatt.

In order to create a dissention between the Prussians and Saxons, while Buonaparte was at Eberfeld near Gera, he made an artful appeal to the Saxon people, in which he insinuated that the Prussians had invaded their territories, whereas he was on the point of entering them for their deliverance. He told the troops that they had been forcibly incorporated with the Prussian army; and that they were going to shed their blood not only for interests, which were foreign to them, but even contrary to their own. "Saxons," continued this address, "your destiny is now in your hands. Will you hesitate whether you ought to take part with those who impose a yoke upon you, or with those who wish to protect you? My success will ensure the existence and independence of your prince, and of your nation. The victories of the Prussians would throw over you eternal chains." The French ruler might possibly have derived some advantage from this effusion, had the posture of affairs remained long in uncertainty; but the rapid course of events placed every thing in his power by the force of arms.

The Prussians ascribed the misfortunes at Saalfeld, with their fatal consequences, to the indiscreet

ardour of prince Louis, who instead of adhering to his orders, which were to defend the bridge over the Saale, and not to attack the French, advanced to meet the enemy. It is said that the prince of Hohenlohe intended to turn the corps of Lannes in its march upon Saalfeld, which manœuvre was entirely prevented by the intemperance of prince Louis. When however his death, and the extent of the reverses that had happened, were known at the head quarters of the Prussian army, confusion, despair, and fury seized the minds of the soldiers; but as no time was to be lost in the actual crisis of affairs, the duke of Brunswick employed the period between the 9th and the 12th in calling in all the detachments, and concentrating the forces between Jena and Weimar, to which latter city the head quarters were removed on the 10th; the only expedient that was left being to offer battle to the enemy. General Blucher with his division, which had been destined to protect Westphalia, had now joined the main army; but the duke of Saxe Weimar with sixteen thousand men, originally the vanguard but now forming the rear, was unaccountably suffered to remain at the Wirra valley near Meinungen, which was at least thirty miles distant from any spot where they could be useful. The absence of the duke from the principal scene of action was besides unfortunate, as he was thoroughly acquainted with every corner of his little territory, and could have afforded very material assistance had he been on the spot. The object of the duke of Brunswick appears to have been to force the different passages

the Saale; for this purpose, in order to prevent being himself attacked by the French, he defended in great numbers the high road from Jena to Weimar, leading up a hill so difficult of ascent, that the causeway was constructed in a serpentine form. As he conceived that the enemy must necessarily take this route, he suffered all the paths and lanes in the vicinity to remain unguarded, deeming them impassable to troops; he unhappily omitted to secure the important defiles of Koefen on his left, whither he did not send a single patrol; and equally neglected the glens stretching from the valley of the Saale, as well as a little elevated plain in front of Jena, on which indeed it was not thought practicable to bring any artillery, and which was besides so small that four battalions could scarcely deploy on it. Of these oversights the French availed themselves. The elevated plain was occupied on the 13th by the vanguard of the enemy; and two hours after mid-day Buonaparté, arriving at Jena, ascended the flat to reconnoitre the Prussian movements. Perceiving the advantage which might be drawn from this place, the French ruler directed a road to be formed up to it; and, after great labour during nearly the whole of the night, the men performed this difficult task, and succeeded in planting the artillery on it. In the mean time Davoust received orders to march through Naumberg and seize the defiles of Koefen, in case the Prussians should bear upon that town, or upon Apolda, to take the forces, which he commanded, in the rear. The whole corps of Lannes with the

imperial guard was then placed on the elevated flat; and the other passes already mentioned having been discovered, by which that part of the army, that could not be posted on this spot for want of space, might open out in order of battle, they were immediately secured; and every preparation was made for the approaching conflict. The night presented a remarkable spectacle: that of two armies of which one extended its front on a line of eighteen miles, and illuminated the atmosphere with its fires, the other in which the lights were contracted into a small point; and in both continued vigilance and motion were apparent. The hostile forces were so close, that every movement which was made was heard on both sides, and the French and Prussian sentinels almost touched each other.

Although Buonaparté was sensible that the heavy cavalry, which had not already joined his army, could not come up before mid-day on the 14th, and that the cavalry of the imperial guard was at the distance of six and thirty hours march, he was determined to attack the Prussians as soon as daylight appeared, conceiving it to be of the utmost importance to be the assailant on this occasion. On the other hand, it was urgently necessary for the Prussians to risque a general engagement to recover a direct communication with Berlin, and prevent its falling into the power of the enemy; and besides, having lost their magazines at Hoff, Zuickau, Naumberg, and Weissenfels, they were destitute of resources. Every article of food in the territory of Weimar was completely devoured during the

two



two days that the camp remained between Jená, Auerstadt, and the principal town of the state. The country was in no condition, nor by any means prepared, to subsist this army with its appendages. There was neither bread, brandy, or beer for the soldiers, nor any fodder for the horses; so that when the cavalry were forced to mount on the morning of the 14th, the horses had been without corn for two and thirty hours, and the men had actually fasted for the same time. Though the Prussians were evidently under the necessity of fighting to preserve themselves from famine, it does not appear that they proposed to come to an action on the 14th; and they had no idea that Buonaparté intended to attack them on that day; indeed, owing to the want of proper reconnoitring parties, they were far from supposing that the main body of the enemy was so close to them.

When the morning dawned the French were under arms. Buonaparté rode along the front of several lines and recommended the troops to be careful of the Prussian cavalry, which was represented to be so formidable. He bade them recollect that nearly at the same period of the preceding year they had taken Ulm; that the Prussian army, as that of the Austrians had formerly been, was surrounded, and had lost its magazines; that its object was no longer to fight for honour but for a retreat, that it only fought with this view to make openings on different points, and that the corps of the army, which should let the Prussians pass, would lose its glory. When this harangue was finished, the soldiers became impatient for the onset; and though

a thick fog came on which obscured the day, it did not impede the operations of the forces. The action was begun by the French sharpshooters with a very brisk fire on the Prussians, who were driven from their positions, and the French opened out on the plain in order of battle. So perfectly ignorant were the Prussian generals of the motions of their enemies, that the prince of Hohenlohe thought that the firing was a false alarm, as he was confident that the main army of the French was at Gera, and he was displeased, when lieutenant general von Grawert gave the command to strike the tents and advance; while general Denzel led a French column up to Rauthal, where the Prussians did not suspect a foe, and came within three hundred paces of them before he was perceived.

The duke of Brunswick now detached fifty thousand men from his left wing to defend the passes of Koefen; but in this intention he had already been anticipated by Davoust. There remained therefore the two corps which constituted the whole of the centre, amounting to about eighty thousand men, opposed to the French at the point of attack. The fog continued nearly two hours, but was at length dissipated by the sun, when both armies beheld each other scarcely at the distance of cannon-shot. Buonaparté wished to delay the engagement for some time, in order to wait, in the position which he had taken, the junction of the corps of Soult and Ney, which had been marching all night for that purpose, and particularly of the cavalry; but the impetuosity of the troops was not

to be restrained. Several battalions had committed themselves at the village of Holstedt, and as the Prussians were advancing to drive them from the place, Lannes received orders to support them, while Soult was commanded to attack a wood on the right. The Prussians having now made a rapid movement with their right on the French left under Augereau, he marched forward to repulse them; and in less than an hour the action became general, exhibiting a tremendous scene, in which the numerous combatants, and seven hundred pieces of cannon scattered death in every direction. The manœuvres of both parties were executed with the same precision as on a parade. The Prussians were however anticipated in every movement that they attempted, by the rapidity of the French evolutions, which astonished them; while the showers of cannon-balls that preceded the march of the French columns amazed them still more, and caused prodigious havoc in their ranks. Nevertheless the Prussian infantry displayed the greatest steadiness and bravery; but it cannot be surprising that the cavalry in general, exhausted as both the men and horses were by abstinence, did not act with the energy, which might have been expected from them under other circumstances; although a few regiments behaved with distinguished spirit. Independently of the imperial guard, Buonaparté, who directed the battle on the hill near Cospeda, kept near him a considerable number of troops of reserve, and of these he constantly made great use. Soult now carried the wood after a struggle of two

hours, and made a movement in advance; at this critical juncture Buonaparté received intelligence that a division of his expected cavalry, as well as two divisions belonging to Ney's corps, had come up, and were forming in the rear; he therefore ordered all the reserved forces to push forward into the first line, which, thus assisted by a body of fresh men, quickly overpowered the wearied Prussians, who, for want of a similar reinforcement began to give way, and were at length compelled to retire. For about an hour their retreat was conducted with great order; but when they were charged by the French dragoons and cuirassiers under Murat, as both the Prussian infantry and cavalry were by this time worn out with fatigue, they could not withstand the shock of their new assailants, and were thrown into the utmost confusion. The infantry in some measure rallied, and formed themselves into square battalions; but the exertions of these gallant men were fruitless, their ranks were broken, a complete rout of the whole army ensued, and great part of its artillery was taken. The Prussians directed their flight to Weimar, whither they were followed by the French, who arrived at the city at the same time that the fugitives did, having pursued them over a space of fifteen miles in length.

Unhappily the duke of Brunswick was wounded in the face by a grape-shot in the beginning of the engagement. After he was carried off the field, there was no commander in chief to regulate the motions of the Prussians. The corps fought separately without plan or concert, and some regiments did

did not engage at all. So little communication existed between the different divisions, that general Ruchel, under the notion that the centre had gained a complete victory, in which he was resolved to share, came into the field with the right wing, amounting to twelve thousand men, when the fortune of the day was irretrievable; and thus added to the general disorder, which, if he had arrived at the time that the French reserve was brought forward, he might have perhaps entirely prevented, and have even turned the tide of success, that was then supposed to be doubtful.

The Prussian left which had been detached to Koefen was as unfortunate as the three other corps of the army. After eleven consecutive and unavailing attempts to dislodge Davoust from the post in the defiles, they were repulsed and driven back to Weimar; which, by a peculiar coincidence of disaster, they reached at the same period, when the flying battalions of the centre and right wing of their army were endeavouring to retire upon Naumberg. In the confusion naturally arising from this event, as all the roads towards Erfurt were crowded with baggage waggons, and a retreat to that city was consequently precluded, the brigades dispersed, and tried to escape in any manner that circumstances permitted them to adopt. The king of Prussia himself, who had behaved with conspicuous gallantry during the conflict, was compelled to forsake the high road, and take a route across the fields at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

The French state their own loss in this battle at eleven hundred

killed, including one general of brigade, the only officer of rank who perished on their side, and three thousand wounded; but that of the Prussians at twenty thousand killed, thirty thousand prisoners, amongst whom were twenty general officers, five and twenty standards, and three hundred pieces of cannon. As to the immense magazines, which were so pompously described as having fallen into their hands in consequence of the engagement, the French had obtained possession of the greatest part of them two days before it occurred.

The original error of the Prussian generals was in suffering the French corps to unite without molestation in the outset of the campaign; but the oversights which arose afterwards were both numerous and fatal. By continuing to occupy the left bank of the Saale, they exposed their magazines, the road to Berlin, and the whole of the electorate of Saxony. Most of the negligences and omissions of the Prussians, as far as they regard the decisive battle of Auerstadt, have been before pointed out. They were attributed to a persuasion of the principal generals in the royal army, that Buonaparté did not intend to attack them on the 14th. The prince of Hohenlohe is reported to have been deceived by false intelligence, that the French chief had on the 13th proclaimed to his soldiers, that the next day was to be dedicated to repose. Whether this account be true or not, it is impossible to judge; but it is clear that a want of connection, as well as foresight, prevailed in all the movements of the Prussian officers, and hindered them from

from properly employing the unquestionable valour of the troops. The position of the duke of Saxe-Weimar, near Meinungen, was peculiarly disadvantageous. Notwithstanding the Prussians had suffered the French to take possession of the defiles of Koefen, and avail themselves of the other passes and glens in front of Jena, their centre might have been victorious, if they could have brought up the duke's division to reinforce their battalions, when Buonaparté ordered his reserve to advance; but it may be doubted if the best preconceived plans would have been executed, unless some experienced general had instantly assumed the command, when the duke of Brunswick was wounded, for the misfortune which befel his serene highness seems to have thrown every thing into confusion.

It was evident that a defeat never entered into the contemplations of the Prussians, because they did not settle any point, upon which the troops might be collected and rallied, in case of a reverse; hence the discomfited columns retreated in different directions, without the capability of effecting a subsequent junction.

A short time before the rupture

between Prussia and France, count von Stadion, by the command of the emperor of Austria, sent a circular note to all the foreign ministers resident at Vienna, informing them that his master was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality towards the belligerent powers; and that to preserve his frontiers from becoming the theatre of any undertaking whatever, and prevent any passage through his territories, he had stationed an army in Bohemia; at the same time offering to come to any explanation of his pacific sentiments with the courts of Paris, Berlin, or faint Petersburg; so as to leave no doubt of the rectitude of his views, or the possibility of a misunderstanding with respect to the measures which he had adopted. In the subsequent stages of the war, a military cordon was established on the confines of the northern provinces belonging to the Austrian empire. These bodies of troops appear to have been an object of jealousy to Buonaparté, when he advanced to Posen and Warsaw, and to have occasioned some very active negotiations concerning them; but they were not withdrawn from the various posts assigned to them at the conclusion of the year.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Substance of Buonaparté's letter to the king of Prussia. Capitulation of Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange Fulda at Erfurt. Buonaparté liberates six thousand Saxons on their parole of honour: his conduct towards their sovereign. The French pursue general Kalkreuth to Magdeburg. The Prussian reserve under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg defeated at Halle. The king of Prussia retires to Königsburg. Transactions at Berlin. Death of the duke of Brunswick. Retreat and surrender of prince Hohenlohe. Retreat and capitulation of general Blucher. Distress at*

at Lubec in consequence of the action there. The French enter Leipzig, and institute a search for British property. Buonaparté proceeds to Potsdam. The French occupy Berlin. Surrender of Spandau. Buonaparté arrives at the Prussian capital. His conduct there. His behaviour to the princess of Hatzfeld. The Family of Brunswick and the prince of Hesse deprived of their dominions. The French take possession of Hanover and Hamburg. Mortier sequestrates all English property found in that city. Surrender of Stettin, Custrin, and Magdeburg to the French. Progress of the army under Louis Buonaparté. Capitulation of Hameln and Nienburg. Davoust enters Posen. The French ruler's attempts to excite a general insurrection in Poland unsuccessful. Jerome Buonaparté besieges Glogaw, which holds out for three weeks. Gallant defence of Breslau. Buonaparté issues a decree declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade: The senate of Hamburg send deputies to him to remonstrate against it: The manner in which he received them. His message to the French senate relative to the conscripts. Fruitless endeavour of the king of Prussia to negotiate a peace: an Armistice concluded by his ministers, which he refuses to ratify. Buonaparté sets out for Posen. His intrigues with the Poles. He concludes a treaty with the elector, and the other branches of the house of Saxony. Motions of the Russian general. The French march to the Vistula. Field marshal Kaminski determines to advance, and Buonaparté consequently repairs to Warsaw. The Prussians commanded by Lesocq cut off from all communications with their allies. Actions at Czarnowo, Nasielsk, Pultusk, and Golomyn, in which the Russians are defeated. Both parties place their armies in cantonments, and Buonaparté returns to Warsaw. Insurrections in Hesse and other parts of Germany.

WHILE the French head quarters were at Gera, Buonaparté, two days before the fatal battle of Auerstadt, addressed a letter to the king of Prussia, couched in terms of peculiar insolence. He began by informing his majesty that he had such a force under his command, as to render all resistance of the Prussians useless. He professed to be unwilling to take advantage of the "vertigo" which animated his Prussian majesty's councils, and had led to errors in politics and war. He assured the king that he would be conquered, and advised him, while his armies were yet unbroken, to enter into a negotiation, which might then be conducted suitably to his rank, and warned him that he might treat a month

afterwards in very different circumstances. "If," said this adventurer, "you will never again have an ally in me, you will find a man who is desirous of never waging any wars, that are not indispensable for the interests of my people, and of never shedding blood in a contest with sovereigns who have no opposite interest to mine from industry, commerce, and political system. I pray your majesty to see in this letter only the desire which I have to spare the effusion of human blood, and to save a nation that, from its geographical position, cannot be an enemy to mine from the bitter repentance of having listened to those momentary passions, which are so easily roused and calmed amongst all people."

This letter was dated the 12th of October, and was conveyed to the quarters of the prince of Hohenlohe by an officer, who arrived there at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th. The French bulletins accused the prince of not suffering it to be delivered to the king of Prussia until nine o'clock on the morning of the 14th, when the two armies had already been engaged for some hours; and the king stated, in his proclamation at the latter end of the year, that he did not receive it before the battle had commenced; but it is not at all probable that the prince would have suppressed a letter to his sovereign under any circumstances. It is most likely that his Prussian majesty, confident as he was before the engagement in the strength of his army, was disgusted with the tone in which it was conceived, and deemed it unworthy of any answer. It is however certain, that the king on the 16th sent an aid-de-camp to Buonaparté, with a request that there should be an armistice for six weeks; but the latter replied that it was impossible after a victory to give an enemy time to rally.

After the action, fourteen thousand Prussians, under marshal Mollendorf and the prince of Orange Fulda, effected a retreat to Erfurt. This place was invested early on the 15th by Murat, and the next day it capitulated. Of the prisoners taken on this occasion eight thousand were found to be wounded, amongst whom was marshal Mollendorf. As it was supposed that this officer had exerted himself to prevent the war, he was treated with great respect by the French, and attended by Murat's physician. In the number of prisoners were the prince of Orange Fulda, lieu-

tenant generals Larisch and Graver, with several other officers of rank. By the capture of this city, the French also obtained considerable magazines, and a park of one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery.

Six thousand Saxons and above three hundred officers, who were taken prisoners in the battle, were the next day permitted to return to their own country on their parole of honour not to serve against Buonaparté. They bore with them the proclamation, which the French ruler had issued on the 10th of the month, and besides received assurances that it was with sorrow he had seen them incorporated with his enemies, and that he had only taken up arms to preserve the independence of the Saxon nation, and prevent it from being brought under the subjection of the Prussian monarchy. Besides this proof of his friendly disposition to the elector of Saxony, Buonaparté provided major Funk, a Saxon officer who had been wounded and captured, with a carriage in order that he might more speedily convey his amicable sentiments to the court of Dresden. When this gentleman arrived at the Saxon capital, he found the elector, who had received intelligence of the defeat at Auerstadt, making every preparation to quit the city, and the people in the greatest consternation. The message which he delivered to that prince at once calmed his anxiety and that of his subjects; but although the elector was thus relieved from his apprehensions, and in fact shortly afterwards entered into a negotiation with Buonaparté, when the French commissaries made their appearance at Dresden, they did not fail

to make from their new friends immense requisitions of cloth and shoes; and it must not be forgotten that, before the Saxon prisoners were allowed to depart from the head quarters of the French, the cavalry were dismounted, and obliged to give up their horses to the French dragoons and Hussars.

On the 16th Soult overtook at Greussen a column of about ten thousand men, with whom the king of Prussia was supposed to be, and who were endeavouring to retreat to Magdeburg. As soon as the French came up with the column, the commander of it, general Kalkreuth, who was aware that the king had demanded an armistice, and perhaps thought it might be granted, caused it to be signified to marshal Soult that a suspension of arms had actually taken place. Soult however was not to be retarded in his operations, and replied that he could not suppose his master had committed such an oversight; and that he would believe that the armistice had been agreed upon only when he received official notice of it. Kalkreuth consequently demanded an interview, and, in his conference with Soult, attempted in vain to convince the Frenchman that it was impossible Buonaparté could refuse the king of Prussia's request. Soult insisted that the Prussians should lay down their arms, while he waited for further orders from his chief. As Kalkreuth declined to accede to this proposal, the two generals separated, and hostilities commenced immediately afterwards. The result was that the village of Greussen was taken, the Prussians routed, and pursued sword in hand; sometimes they rallied, and endeavoured to form in order

of battle, but they were as constantly defeated. Soult, who was now joined by Murat and Ney, followed them to the walls of Magdeburg, and took many prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, two hundred baggage waggons, and the military chest containing a great quantity of treasure. Disasters overwhelmed the Prussians on every side, prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was on his march from Custrin with the reserve, although he was acquainted with the occurrences that had taken place, strange to relate, advanced to Halle. No sooner was Bernadotte, who was at Eisleben, informed of this extraordinary procedure, than he hastened to attack this last unbroken corps of the Prussians. On the 17th he came up with them, and, after a strongly contested action, routed them with great loss, and took five thousand prisoners, four standards, and twenty four pieces of artillery. The Prussians were pursued to a considerable distance by Davoust and Lannes; when the latter came to Dessau, he found they had destroyed the bridge over the Elbe to retard his progress, and he was compelled to give up the pursuit, until it was repaired. Davoust arrived just in time to prevent the Prussians from firing the bridge at Wittemberg; but it does not appear that they were overtaken in their retreat.

The confusion at Berlin may be easily conceived, as soon as the misfortunes, which had befallen the Prussian arms, were known. placards were stuck up in every part of the city to give the people every possible information, and exhort them to demean themselves quietly. The king arrived at Charlottenburg on the 17th, at which place

he staid but a very short time, and thence proceeded to Custrin, followed by the garrison of Berlin under count Schulemberg. The queen entered Berlin on the 17th and set out for Custrin the next day. In the desperate state of his affairs, the king did not consider himself in safety at Custrin; he therefore quitted that city for Osterode in West Prussia, and afterwards withdrew to Königsburg. Here he continued till the latter end of the year, protected by as many battalions of the Prussian army as could be collected to the east of the Oder. On the 21st the prince of Hatzfeld assumed the provisional government of Berlin at the request of the inhabitants. The posts lately occupied by the garrison were filled by the armed burghers, the people were admonished to attend to their usual occupations, all assemblies in the streets were forbidden; and as certain manufacturers had shut up their shops and discharged their workmen, they were reprov'd for these proceedings, which could only increase the public danger, and assured that every measure necessary for their protection would be adopted. At the same time the citizens were informed that there was every possibility of the French speedily taking possession of the metropolis.

After the battle of Auerstadt the duke of Brunswick was conveyed in a litter through Blankenburg to the capital of his states; from hence he sent his chamberlain to the head quarters of the French. That officer was intrusted with a letter, in which the duke recommended his dominions to the protection of Buonaparté. The chamberlain had an interview with the

French ruler, in which the latter indulged himself in a long and acrimonious speech. Amongst other things he said, "tell the inhabitants of Brunswick that they will find in the French generous enemies, that with respect to them I wish to soften the rigours of war; and the inconveniences, which the passage of troops may occasion, will be against my inclination. Inform *general* Brunswick that he shall be treated with the regard due to a Prussian officer, but that I cannot acknowledge a sovereign prince in a Prussian officer." As the French were rapidly approaching Brunswick, the duke was removed on the 28th of October to the little village of Ottensen near Altona, where on the 10th of November he died of his wounds in the 72d year of his age. The states of Brunswick sent a request to Buonaparté, that they might be permitted to bury their late sovereign in the tomb of his ancestors; but, with a vindictive spirit that would have disgraced an American Indian, the sullen tyrant refused their petition.

The principal part of the fugitive battalions of the Prussians, including all the guards who had been able to make a retreat, directed their steps to Magdeburg. The whole number united at this city under the banners of the prince of Hohenlohe, who though wounded was able to assume the chief command, amounted to more than forty thousand combatants. Being unable to find sustenance forso large a body of men in the neighbourhood, the prince of Hohenlohe determined to retire with these troops to Stettin. Upon his march his advanced guard, consisting of six thousand cavalry, was attacked at Zehdenick by Murat, and generals Beaumont, Grouchy, and



and Lafalle, with a body of dragoons and light cavalry. The Prussians defended themselves with bravery; but were at length overpowered with the loss of three hundred killed and seven hundred prisoners. This action took place on the 26th, after which the prince of Hohenlohe deviated from his direct line of march, and turned off to Furstenburg, in order to avoid the French, who had proceeded to Templin, with the hope of arresting his progress, till their infantry could join them, without which they could not venture to attack him. The prince of Hohenlohe had the good fortune to reach Bortzenburg without interruption; but at Wigneensdorf he was again assailed by Murat, and lost five hundred cavalry. He still persevered in his route, in the expectation of finding bread and forage, of which he was in extreme want, at Prentzlow. Scarcely had he attained the heights in the vicinity of this town, when the enemy appeared on his left flank, and shortly afterwards on his right. An action ensued in which, by the superior numbers and artillery of the French, he was defeated in the suburbs of Prentzlow, and forced to take refuge in the town. As the prince had lost most of his flying artillery, and was besides nearly destitute of ammunition, every rational hope of effectual resistance, and of reaching Stettin, had vanished. Seeing therefore that the enemy was prepared to renew the engagement on his front, he submitted to his fate with reluctance, and consented to capitulate. Sixteen thousand infantry, almost all guards or grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty four pieces of cannon were thus inevitably surrendered to the French on the

28th of the same calamitous month. The prince of Hohenlohe seems to have conducted this retreat like a good general, and a loyal soldier; and to have done every thing in his power which prudence and activity could have effected, although he was obliged to yield to the power of numbers, and the common tide of adversity which overwhelmed the Prussian arms.

General Blucher had contrived to gain the town of Magdeburg with a small corps, by alleging to general Klein, by whom he was almost cut off, that an armistice had taken place; and he received the command of the Prussian reserve, after the defeat of prince Eugene of Wirtemberg at Halle. This corps amounted to ten thousand five hundred men, and formed the rear of the prince of Hohenlohe's army. Blucher was at Bortzenburg when, on the 29th, the fatal news was brought to him of the prince's surrender; and he instantly determined to march towards Strelitz, under the idea of falling in with the troops under the duke of Saxe Weimar, who had effected his retreat across the Elbe at Havelberg. The duke it may be remembered was stationed near Meinungen with sixteen thousand men, and had taken no part in the great battle; his corps however was now reduced to ten thousand effective rank and file. Blucher's hopes were more than crowned with success; for he not only came up with the duke on the morning of the 30th at Dumbeck, but with the hereditary duke of Brunswick, who had also a body of soldiers under his orders. When he had united these divisions under his command, Blucher intended, by marching to the left,

to draw the French as far as possible from the Oder, and, as circumstances might permit him, to pass the Elbe, in order to throw additional troops into the fortresses of Lower Saxony, or operate in the rear of the enemy; but he was apprised at Dumbeck that Soult had also crossed the Elbe, and was endeavouring to intercept him. Nevertheless he sent officers to prepare vessels at Boitzenburg and Lawenburg, for the purpose of executing his original design. While he was on his route to Lawenburg, his rear-guard was attacked near Wahren on the 1st of November, and at the village of Fahne on the 3d, in which affairs he lost a great number of men. On the 4th he found that Bernadotte was in his front, Soult on his right, and Murat on his left. All these generals were in great strength, while Blucher's forces were much reduced and both the horses and men exhausted. From fatigue and want of provisions, most of his battalions had been obliged to leave forty or fifty men behind them daily; and though the road to Lawenburg still lay open, if he had continued in that course, he must have risked an engagement with an enemy, whose numbers were much greater than his own. Under these circumstances he had only to chuse whether he should take refuge in Hamburg or Lubec. He preferred the latter as a temporary asylum, in which he was in hopes to recruit his soldiers, and entered the city on the 5th. The next day however the enemy forced one of the gates of Lubec, and a contest of a very sanguinary description took place in the streets; in this dreadful

conflict the Prussians were worsted, and four of their regiments cut to pieces; nevertheless Blucher retreated from the city with nine thousand three hundred men to Schwartau, on the confines of Danish Holstein. Nothing now remained to this gallant general but to rush on a foe, so much his superior in strength, with the bayonet, for ammunition had failed him, violate the neutrality of the Danish territories, or to capitulate. As the first of these alternatives would have involved his brave followers in a destruction as certain as it was useless, and the second would have compromised the political relations of his sovereign, to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, just at the moment when the three French armies were on the point of attacking him on the 7th, he surrendered himself and the remainder of his corps prisoners of war.

The action in Lubec is represented to have been one of the most terrible during the war. The Prussians had in the city a great deal of artillery, which did the French much mischief; but nothing could withstand the overwhelming numbers of the latter, who pursued their enemies into the churches, public buildings, and even the houses, with dreadful carnage. The massacre lasted more than three hours, during which the dead bodies gradually choked up the streets. Many of the unfortunate inhabitants suffered in these hostilities, and after the action the French soldiers committed every species of excess too horrible to be described. Misery, famine, and despair subdued the wretched citizens of Lubec; but, in some degree

degree to alleviate their distress, the senate of Hamburg sent them supplies of flour, baked bread, meat and cattle.

In the mean time Buonaparté, to gratify the vanity of the people under his control, and prove that the battle of Jena had at length effaced the dishonour, which had formerly tarnished the French arms at Rosbach, ordered the column erected there to be taken down and conveyed to Paris. On the 20th of October he directed general Macon to occupy Leipzig, which was considered as the principal entrepôt in Germany of British merchandize. After having secured the magazines, Macon issued a notification to the bankers and merchants, enjoining them to enter in a register all English property in their possession, and threatening them with military punishment in case they attempted to evade this ordinance, which may be considered as a precursor of the Berlin decree; for it stated that his master was determined to blockade the British islands. On the 24th Buonaparté arrived at Potsdam, and on the 25th Davoust entered Berlin. The French ruler remained some time at Potsdam, where he visited the tomb of Frederick the Great, which he did not quit without an act of spoliation; for he sent the sword of that distinguished hero, the insignia of the black eagle, which he had worn, and also the colours taken in the seven years' war, as presents to the hotel of the Invalids at Paris. At Potsdam Buonaparté received intelligence that the fortress of Spandau had surrendered, which place he inspected. The easy cap-

ture of Spandau seems to have surprised the French engineers; for it is observed that in their hands it might have held out for two months; large magazines being found there, and a quantity of ammunition sufficient to double the provision for the whole French artillery. On the 27th Buonaparté made his public entry into Berlin in great military state. The foreign ambassadors resident at that city, the whole of the Lutheran and reformed consistories, and the members of the courts of justice were presented to him the next morning, and graciously received; but when the prince of Hatzfeld appeared, he ordered him to quit his presence and retire to his estates; and he informed count van Neale, that he would reduce those courtiers, who had instigated the war, to such extremities, that they should be compelled to beg their bread. With the same brutal insolence he exclaimed to the civil administrators of the city—"I will not suffer any windows to be broken. My brother the king of Prussia ceased to be a king, from the day that prince Louis was bold enough to break the windows of his majesty's ministers. His majesty should have ordered him to be hanged." After this disgusting effusion, he gave them directions to call together the burghers for the establishment of a strict police. His next care was to publish an address to his soldiers, in which he recounted their successes, and assured them that he would not lay down his arms, until he had obliged the English "those eternal enemies of his nation" to renounce their projects for disturb-

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ing the tranquillity of the continent, and for maintaining a tyranny over the seas.

All the French bulletins abound with the most gross and unmanly scurrility against the queen and ladies of the Prussian court. As these papers must have been written in a style to please the French ruler, it is evident that the invectives contained in them must have been agreeable to the rancour of his heart. Nevertheless he was prevailed upon to do an act of clemency at the request of a woman. The prince of Hatzfeld, who at the desire of the citizens had taken on himself the civil government of Berlin, previously to the arrival of the French, had written to the prince of Hohenlohe, and given him an account of the movements of the hostile corps that were advancing on the capital. The letter was intercepted, and, shortly after the prince had been dismissed from the presence of Buonaparté, he was arrested; and on the 29th a military commission was assembled to try him, or rather condemn him to suffer death. The princess, his wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, hastened to throw herself at Buonaparté's feet, and implore him to spare the life of her husband. This lady, who was the daughter of the minister Schulemberg, and who only knew that the prince had been arrested, without being made acquainted with the offence attributed to him, conceived that her husband had incurred Buonaparté's displeasure on account of her father's enmity to France. In this idea she was quickly undeceived by the French ruler, who informed her of the real nature of the case; adding that the laws of war

were decisively severe on this point. The princess ascribed the accusation to calumny. "You know the hand-writing of your husband," said Buonaparté, "I will make you his judge;" at the same time he put the prince's letter into her hands. "Well," continued he observing her agony, "you hold the evidence against him. Throw the letter into the fire. That document once destroyed, I shall not be able to prove your husband guilty." The prince was consequently liberated.

From the language held by Buonaparté to the duke of Brunswick's chamberlain, it may easily be supposed that his intention was to deprive that prince of his dominions; accordingly formal possession was taken of them, in Buonaparté's name, at the latter end of October, as well as of the principality of Fulda belonging to the house of Orange. On the 29th of the same month, late at night, the French minister at Cassel transmitted a note to the elector, stating that Buonaparté was perfectly aware of his devotion to the court of Berlin, by the friendly manner in which the Prussian troops had been received before the battle of Auerstadt; and that it was clear that they had only withdrawn from his serene highness's territories in consequence of the events of the war. The envoy then declared that he had positive orders to require that the fortress of Hanau, and the country of Hesse Cassel should be occupied by the French army, and that all the arms, artillery, and arsenals should be delivered up to it. The prince of Hesse was also informed, that it only remained for him to determine whether he would  
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oppose force to force, or submit to this humiliation. Little time was given for an answer to this note, since on the 31st Mortier appeared before the city and acquainted the inhabitants, by an address, that he came to take possession of the country to save them from the horrors of war; and that as their prince and his son held rank in the Prussian service, they were disqualified for the duties of sovereignty. The French bulletins accuse the prince of Hesse of manifesting a desire to preserve his dominions, by offering to march at the head of his troops against the Prussians; but if he really did degrade himself so far, the offer was refused. He was expelled from his states, his arms were removed from all the public buildings, his arsenals and fortresses seized, and his army disbanded, part of which afterwards entered into the French service. The elector knew it would be in vain to contend with his powerful oppressor, and therefore he did not attempt to oppose these acts of violence and iniquity. Having executed his commission in Hesse, Mortier proceeded to Hanover on the 10th and took possession of that electorate.

The French resident at Hamburg, M. Bourienne, had assured the inhabitants that the neutrality of that city would not be violated; but on the 20th Mortier appeared there with his advanced guard, and the next morning he sent a letter to the senate, containing an order to seize and place under sequestration all the English commodities, that might be found within their territories. The order was an exact transcript of that which Macon had issued to the ci-

tizens of Leipzig. It required the bankers and merchants within four and twenty hours to make a return of all English property, in whatever form it might appear, which they had in their custody. Domiciliary visits were to be made for the purpose of ascertaining whether the statements were correctly given, and for inflicting the pains of martial law in all instances of evasion that might be discovered. The consummate hypocrisy of M. Bourienne, who had so repeatedly declared that the French would not enter Hamburg, and who was thought to have prevented the intrusion of these unwelcome guests by his good offices and intercession, had procured him the present of a valuable service of plate, as a token of gratitude from the citizens; but French cupidity was disappointed in the plunder expected to arise from the seizure of the British merchandize. Ever since the unfortunate battle of Auerstadt, and particularly after the transactions at Leipzig, the probability of the occupation of Hamburg had been foreseen; and proper precautions had been taken to prevent the consequences of oppression, by embarking the greater part of the British property; the vessels containing it had already dropped down the Elbe, and were out of the reach of danger, when the French arrived. A corps of Mortier's army entered Cuxhaven just in time to witness the departure of the fleet. The French marshal who was by no means satisfied with the trifling booty obtained, and who thought possibly that, though the harvest had escaped him, the gleanings of it might be more considerable, if he resorted to greater acts of severity

rity, for some time put all the English merchants under an arrest, by ordering a soldier to accompany them, whithersoever they went, with directions to fire upon them, if they attempted to escape, and besides threatened to send the whole factory as prisoners of war to Verdun. He then issued a second requisition for the disclosure of British funds, under a menace of instant punishment in case they were concealed; but this harshness produced no other effect, than that of convincing him that nothing more was to be wrung from the victims of his power; and the merchants were soon afterwards freed from their disagreeable attendants, as well as from the fear of confinement at Verdun.

While the French ruler was indulging his rancour against England, every day brought him intelligence of the surrender of the Prussian fortresses. Stettin, though supplied with one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, garrisoned by six thousand men, and furnished with large magazines, capitulated on the 29th of October, without an attempt to defend the place. On the 1st of November Davoust appeared before Custrin. The town, situated in the middle of a marsh near the Oder, was well fortified and in good condition; yet at the first summons it was given up to the French, who found in it four thousand men, and ninety pieces of artillery, as well as numerous magazines. Marshal Ney was intrusted with the siege of Magdeburg, which city he bombarded, and set several houses on fire. In consequence of this attack the inhabitants expressed great displeasure, and the commandant, contrary to every

principle of duty, demanded to capitulate on the 8th. The request was granted, and Ney took possession of the city with eight hundred pieces of ordnance, twenty-two thousand prisoners, including two thousand artillerymen, and vast quantities of ammunition. The French ascribe, with great truth, the easy acquisition of these important places to the general terror that had pervaded the Prussians, after the dispersion of their grand army. Magdeburg might certainly have held out for a longer time; but it is reasonably to be doubted, though it possessed abundance of warlike stores, if it contained any considerable supply of provisions, after the great drain of them to support the retreating corps, which had passed through it. As to the commanders of Stettin and Custrin, they were inexcusable for the weakness of their conduct.

The army of the north, as it was called, consisting of French and Dutch forces collected at Wesel, was commanded by Louis Buonaparté, commonly styled the king of Holland. Nothing was committed to the care of this person but the task of occupying and securing the Prussian and Hanoverian provinces in Westphalia. Bremen, East Friesland, and Oldenburg fell into his hands without opposition. The siege of Hameln, a very strong town in Hanover, was undertaken by Savary, who, in a conference with the Prussian generals, induced them to sign a capitulation on the 20th of November. The garrison of Hameln amounted to nine thousand men; the place had provisions and ammunition adequate to sustain a blockade of more than

six months; yet, incredible as it may appear, the Prussian officers consented to surrender to one French and two Dutch regiments; for they were the whole of Savary's force. When this disloyal proceeding was known to the troops in the town, they were so indignant at the disgrace of it, that serious apprehensions were entertained of a revolt; they submitted however at last to the ignominious terms imposed upon them. The capture of Hameln was five days afterwards followed by that of Nienburg, the commandant of which fortrefs having scruples about yielding it up, Savary entered the town and dictated a capitulation. Thus the misfortunes of prince Hohenlohe and Blucher, with the fall of Plasseburg on the 25th of November, left the French not a single Prussian enemy in arms to the west of the Oder; but this success did not prevent them from immediately repairing the fortifications of all the cities, which they had taken, adding to the works, and putting them into the best possible state of defence. Buonaparté also placed strong garrisons in them, as much with a view of overawing the countries in the neighbourhood, while he was advancing, as from precaution in case he should be forced to retreat.

Davoust passed the Oder early in November, and arrived at Posen on the 10th. From this place Dombrowski, a Pole in the service of France, by the directions of Buonaparté, endeavoured to excite an insurrection amongst his countrymen by several addresses; and the celebrated Kosciusko was induced to make an appeal to the Poles for the same purpose. The last

personage seems not to have been much trusted by the French ruler; for though his name was employed on the occasion, he did not quit Paris. The matter was a point of some delicacy, because though Buonaparté would have been very willing that the Poles should shake off the yoke of Prussia and Russia, and rise in his favour, yet, as Austria had a share of the kingdom, the business required great management, even if the plan had promised to be prosperous; but the Poles betrayed no eagerness to re-establish their independence, though a partial movement took place in the countries about Warsaw and Posen, and a number of persons appeared in arms. Jerome Buonaparté, with the troops of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, entered Silesia about the same time that Davoust crossed the Oder; but his success was by no means rapid. The commanders of the different fortresses, which it was necessary to besiege, made a most gallant defence, and detained him a long time before the several towns. Glogau was invested on the 8th of the month, and the Prussian governor took his measures so well, as to baffle all the attempts of his opponents until the 29th, though the place was bombarded during all the intervening period, and he had but two thousand five hundred men to defend it; on that day however he was under the necessity of capitulating, and of delivering up the capital of Lower Silesia to the enemy. The commandant of Breslau, the principal city of the whole province, made a still more obstinate defence. The garrison gave ample employment to their assailants by frequent and destructive sorties; and, to

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add to their security, burnt the suburbs. The inhabitants also were extremely well affected to their sovereign, and took every means in their power of adding to the comfort of the soldiers. A society was formed to distribute warm meat and drink to the men on the ramparts; and so great was the number of individuals, who flocked to the walls with refreshments to their brave defenders, that the magistrates were at length obliged to forbid this exercise of their patriotism. The ladies too made subscriptions amongst themselves to reward the corps, that particularly distinguished themselves. While the city made this heroic defence, the prince of Anhalt Pless collected a body of forces, amounting to eight thousand men, from the different garrisons of Silesia, with the view of raising the siege of Breilau. In this laudable attempt he did not succeed, for he was defeated at Strhelen with some loss. At length, after a month's siege, and a bombardment of nearly the same duration, when every hope of relief had expired, and farther opposition was useless, in order to save this magnificent city from inevitable ruin, the commandant surrendered on the 5th of January 1807.

The temporary residence of Buonaparté at Berlin, however remarkable in other respects, will be for ever rendered memorable on account of the decree, which he promulgated against British commerce, dated from this place on the 21st of November. It has been supposed that this measure was part of a preconceived system, intended to be adopted whenever

circumstances might permit; but, although the confiscations at Hamburg were doubtless influenced by a general design, the decree itself was most likely the effect of a sudden resolution, inspired by the amazing success of the French arms. The preamble to the ordinance stated that England considered as an enemy every person, belonging to the state with which she was at war, and consequently made prisoners, not only of the crews of armed vessels, but also those of merchantmen; that she applied to ships, merchandize, and private property, the right of conquest, which was only referrible to whatever appertained to the hostile state; and that she extended the right of blockade to unfortified towns, and mouths of rivers, places before which she had not a single ship, as well as to entire coasts, and a whole empire, that her united force would not be sufficient to invest: therefore, as the law of nature justified the employment of the same arms against an enemy as that enemy had adopted, the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all trade and correspondence with them were prohibited, all letters and packets addressed to Englishmen or written in the English language were to be seized; every English subject, found in any of the countries occupied by the troops of France or those of her allies, was to be made a prisoner of war; English property of whatever description was to be considered as lawful prize, half of the produce resulting from the confiscation of it was to be reserved to indemnify the merchants for losses, which they had sustained by the capture of ships made by English cruisers;



no vessel coming directly from England, or her colonies, or which had touched there since the publication of this decree, was to be admitted into any port of France; and every vessel, in case the captain of it should violate these rules by a false declaration, was to be seized, and with its cargo confiscated, as if it were English property.

Any attempt to expose the extravagance of the principles, upon which this measure was founded, is unnecessary; they have often been discussed, and as often refuted. It would be equally idle to dwell on the absurdity of declaring that the British islands were blockaded, when it was evident that the French government did not dare to send a single ship to sea, except by stealth. Had Buonaparté been content with prohibiting all vessels coming from Great Britain, or her colonies, from entering the ports of those territories, which were occupied by his armies, the ordinance might have been less ridiculous, though, as it afterwards appeared, not less nugatory; and as to the idea of continuing these restrictions, until England admitted that the laws of war were the same by sea as by land, which appeared in the se-

cond report on this subject from Talleyrand to Buonaparté, it is notorious, that a difference in public law, relative to the transactions by sea and land, has ever obtained and been acted upon by all maritime nations; and it is equally certain that it was not in the French ruler's power to make England submit to the innovation, which he wished to establish as a general rule. Nevertheless this decree, as indeed was naturally to be expected, was adopted in Holland, and all other countries subject to the influence of France. Aware of the distress which this measure would occasion to the commercial interests of the continent in general, and particularly of Germany, the senate of Hamburg sent deputies to Buonaparté to represent the ruin in which that city must be involved by its operation; but he refused even to receive their address, and treated them with the utmost contempt. An account of the circumstances which occurred in their interview with him has been published; but the language which it attributes to the French ruler is so wild and impolitic, that the narrative appears incredible.\*

The victories which had been  
gained

\* Buonaparté is said to have insisted that the proceeding in question constituted the only means of forcing Great Britain to make peace; and that therefore nothing should induce him to depart from it. In vain the deputies informed him *that thirty houses in Hamburg had already failed in consequence of it.* His unfeeling answer was—“*So much the better, inasmuch as it will ruin many more than that number in England!*” Still they told him that his perseverance in his design would reduce the whole city of Hamburg to bankruptcy. His reply was again—“*So much the better; then you will not be able to carry on your commercial intercourse with Great Britain!*” Against this brutal remark they ventured to oppose the dreadful effects which would arise from the whole commerce of the world being stopped! “*I wish it to come to this pitch,*” said he, “*that there should be no commerce at all, and that there should only be an exchange of linen against cattle, and of grain against cloth. The fourth century must be revived, before the world can be reduced to its proper state!*” He declared that the deputations, which he knew were on the road to him from Nantz, Bourdeaux, and other places, with remonstrances against his decrees,

gained must have thinned the ranks of the French armies; for at the latter end of the message to the senate, concerning the blockade of the British islands, Buonaparté signified his wish that the conscripts of the year 1807, who according to the usual routine were not to be drawn out until the month of September, should be placed at his disposal at the beginning of January. "At what moment more glorious," said he, "could we call forth young Frenchmen? In order to join their standards, they will have to pass through the capitals of our enemies, and the fields of battle rendered illustrious by the conquests of those who preceded them." The senate unwilling to be exceeded in extravagance and bombast, in their address on registering the decree, observed—"Those of your children, sire, to whom the law has first assigned the honourable privilege of going to partake of the glory of their seniors, will thank you for having summoned them so soon to your camp, while they may yet have a chance of gathering laurels at the extremities of Europe." Had Buonaparté and his satellites been desirous of mocking the unhappy people of France, they could not have strained the language of insolent and cruel burlesque to a greater pitch of absurdity.

During all these transactions, the king of Prussia had been endea-

vouring to negotiate with Buonaparté. When the armistice, which had been demanded after the battle of Auerstadt, was refused, his majesty was willing to make considerable sacrifices to obtain peace, in consequence of the extraordinary advantages that had been gained by the French. He therefore dispatched the marquis Lucchefini, with full powers to conclude a treaty, to the head quarters of Buonaparté on the 18th of October. The French ruler appointed the marshal of his palace, Duroc, to enter on the business, and the king of Prussia's terms were esteemed so moderate, that they were accepted as the basis of a peace on the 30th; but, as has been related, Buonaparté continued to follow up his successes, and overrun all the countries on the Oder and Warta, seizing everywhere the king of Prussia's treasure, and taking possession of his fortified places; until elated with good fortune, he declared "that he must avail himself of the situation, into which Prussia had fallen after the battle of the 14th, to conclude a peace with Russia and England," and besides published in one of his bulletins dated the 10th of November, that the French army would not quit Poland and Berlin, until the Ottoman Porte was re-established in its independence, and Wallachia and Moldavia given up to it in perfect

should not be admitted into his presence. After repeatedly calling Hamburg "*Une ville Anglaise*," (an English city) he concluded with these remarkable words—"England must be humbled, and dealt with in a very different manner from that in which she has hitherto been treated. Russia and Prussia are at war with me, but upon fair and very different grounds; my conduct to them is therefore very dissimilar to that which I purpose to maintain towards England."—The editor has thought it his duty to give this singular extract, leaving it to the reader to believe as much or as little of it as he may think proper.

sovereignty;

sovereignty; nor until the Spanish, Dutch, and French colonies were restored, and a general peace concluded. As Lucchesini now despaired of accomplishing the object, which he had so perseveringly endeavoured to achieve, he was induced on the 16th of November to accept the proposal of an armistice, by the articles of which the French troops were to occupy all the country west of the Vistula, and north of Breslau and Schweidnitz, a portion of that on the east of the same river to the south of the Bug, together with the fortresses of Dantzic, Graudentz, Thorn, Colberg, Glogau, Breslau, Hameln, and Nienberg. His Prussian majesty was to engage that the Russians should retreat, in case they had entered his territories; the negotiations were to be continued at Charlottenburg, and if peace were not the result of them, each party was not to resume hostilities without giving ten days notice to the other.

It cannot be surprising that the king of Prussia declined to accede to terms so detrimental and humiliating; and was rather disposed to trust to the protection of his powerful ally. Besides he could not undertake to cause the retreat of his auxiliaries; for as the French forces had advanced to the Vistula, even after Duroc had signed the arrangement, it was in vain to think of stopping the march of the Russians, who saw their own frontiers menaced. His majesty's refusal to ratify the armistice was signified on the 22d of November.

Buonaparté, finding that the king of Prussia was not yet so far humbled as to resign every hope, after he had ordered a contribu-

tion of one hundred and fifty millions of franks to be levied on the states belonging to the house of Brandenburg, set out from Berlin on the 25th of November, and proceeded to Posen. Here, besides directing the operations of his marshals on the Vistula, he was occupied in various affairs. Soon after his arrival he gave a solemn audience to the deputations from the different orders in Poland; to whom he promised that he would declare their independence at Warsaw. To effect a revolution in a part, at least, of this country was certainly a favourite object with him. A bank was opened at Posen to receive voluntary contributions for a general armament; and two individuals are said to have subscribed, the one thirty thousand, the other seventy thousand Polish florins to the fund. Nevertheless the business languished, in spite of every manœuvre the Poles disappointed the expectations of the French ruler, and did not give him sufficient encouragement to proceed in his undertaking. At this city he concluded on the 12th of December a treaty of peace and alliance with the elector of Saxony; by which it was stipulated that his serene highness should thenceforth assume the title of king, and become a member of the confederation of the Rhine. His contingent in that capacity to the league was to be twenty thousand men; but in consequence of the events which had occurred, and the exhaustion of Saxony, for the existing campaign he was only to furnish fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand two hundred infantry, with a proportionate number of artillery-men and cannon.

The other five princes of the house of Saxony, viz. the dukes of Saxe Weimar, Saxe Gotha, Saxe Meinungen, Saxe Hilburghausen, and Saxe Coburg, formed an alliance with Buonaparté and were admitted into the Rhenish confederacy.

On the other hand, the French took possession of the states belonging to the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin; because he had granted a passage through them to the Russians in 1805, during the Austrian campaign.

The Russians estimated at about sixty thousand men, under general Benningfen, were in the mean time coming up with all possible expedition to the assistance of their allies. Benningfen's first design was to cover Warsaw, he therefore entered that city, and pushed his advanced guard to Bewics on the Bfura; but it was driven from this position on the 26th of November by the first corps of Murat, and pursued as far as Blonie. When the Russian general was informed of the strength of the French on the east of the Warta, he retired from Warsaw, burnt the wooden bridge over the Vistula, and fell back behind the Narew. In consequence of this movement, Murat with the French cavalry took possession of Warsaw on the 28th; he was followed by Davoust, Lannes, and Augereau. The first operation of the French was to repair the bridge, cover it with a tête de pont, and establish an entrenched camp in the suburb of Prag on the right bank of the Vistula. A tête de pont was also constructed at the bridge of Thorn over the Vistula, and a bridge was thrown over that river at Zákroc-

zym fortified in the same manner.

Marshal Kaminski arrived at Pultusk, the head quarters of the Russian army, at the moment when the corps of Benningfen and Buxhövdén formed a junction. Whether the commander in chief thought he was in adequate force to advance, or from the precaution taken by the French he conceived that they dreaded the troops under his orders, or from both these circumstances taken together he was induced to move forward, certain it is that he made every demonstration that it was his intention to return to the Vistula. The union of the Russians was celebrated at Sieroc by rejoicings and illuminations, during which a detachment of eight hundred Frenchmen threw themselves in the night across the Narew, and intrenched themselves so strongly, that when the Russians the next morning attempted to drive them from the post, they found it impracticable. By the exertions of the French engineers, a bridge, covered with strong works, was immediately built over the river at this spot.

As soon as Buonaparté was apprised of Kaminski's designs, he quitted Posen on the 15th of December, and repaired to Warsaw which he reached on the 18th. The whole French army was now on the right bank of the Vistula. The corps of Ney, Bessieres, Bernadotte, Soult, and Augereau, extended themselves from Thorn to Zákroczym; and those of Murat, Lannes, and Davoust, had proceeded to the Narew. As there was a considerable body of Prussians, under general Lestocq, at Soldow and Mlawaw, in order to cut them off from all communication with their

their allies, Buonaparté ordered Ney to manœuvre and detach them from the Wrka. While Ney was thus employed, marshal Bessieres on the 19th occupied Biezun. The Prussians knowing the importance of this position, and fearing to be separated from their confederates, bore upon it in great force on the 23d, but were defeated. Ney marched to Soldow on the 26th, where the Prussians had six thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, and though they were well posted behind marshes, he drove them from their lines into the town, from which he also expelled them. Lestocq made four several attempts to retake Soldow without effect. General Marchand had equal success at Mlawaw. In consequence of these disasters, Lestocq retreated to Niedenburg, and all his hopes of being able to join the Russians were thus extinguished.

On the 23d Buonaparté crossed the Narew to reconnoitre the banks of the Wrka, and the formidable works thrown up by the directions of Kaminski. After he had made his observations, he commanded the French to attack fifteen thousand Russians, who defended the village of Czarnowo. The day closed during the action, but the brightness of the moon enabled both parties to continue the conflict; which terminated at two in the morning in favour of the French, who routed the Russians and carried their batteries after a most obstinate resistance. On the 24th Davoust drove marshal Kaminski from a strong position, protected by woods and marshes, near Nafelsk, and pursued him for several leagues; on this day too Augereau passed the Wrka at Kursumb, after

routing fifteen thousand Russians, who opposed his passage with great gallantry. The French assert that none of the Russian corps would have been able to retreat, and that they must have been lost without a general engagement, if the shortness of the days, the nature of the country, which was intersected by woods and lakes, and the state of the roads, had not favoured them. This is possibly mere gasconade, but that the roads were in a bad condition there can be no doubt; for the mud, owing to a continual thaw, is stated to have been so deep, as to have prevented the artillery from advancing more than two leagues (five English miles) in a day.

After these various affairs, the the Russians occupied Golomyn and Pultusk. From some cause, which has never been satisfactorily explained, early in the morning of the 26th field marshal Kaminski, the commander in chief, quitted the army and withdrew to Ostrolenka. Two reports prevailed relative to this circumstance; one ascribed Kaminski's departure to a sudden derangement of his intellects, the other to a disagreement which had arisen between him and generals Buxhövdén and Benningfen, concerning the future operations of the campaign; and the latter of these reports is most likely true. However within a few hours after Kaminski had left the Russian quarters, the corps at Pultusk under Benningfen was attacked by the French, and an engagement followed which was maintained with the greatest resolution and fury on both sides till night, when the Russians retired in the direction of Ostrolenka.

lenka. On the same day the corps at Golomyn, commanded by Buxhövden, was brought to an action by Davoust, Augereau, and Murat. The struggle for conquest was as determined and ardent, at this place as at Pultusk, and continued for a longer time, the contest being protracted until eleven o'clock at night; it ended nevertheless in the retreat of the Russians towards Ostrolenka. Soult had endeavoured to take the Russians in the rear, and with that intent had arrived at Molati, two leagues distant from Makow; but the impassable sloughs prevented his progress, and rendered this manœuvre abortive. The French affirm that both these engagements, in which they declare they defeated their opponents, cost the Russians eighty pieces of cannon, twelve hundred baggage waggons, and twelve thousand men, either killed, wounded, or prisoners; while they acknowledge their own loss to be eight hundred killed, and two thousand wounded. They add that, if their movements had not been counteracted by the thaw, that they should have destroyed the two Russian corps.

On the other hand general Benningsen claimed the victory at Pultusk, and actually sent a dispatch, narrating his success, to the king of Prussia and also to Saint Peterburg. He made no other mention of Buxhövden or the corps under

him, than that he did not receive reinforcements from that general; and attributed his own retreat to the want of forage and provisions. This dispatch is dated the 27th at Rozan, about twenty miles from Pultusk. Thus, according to the relations of the respective parties, one of them, though he had obtained a great victory, could not take advantage of it on account of the thaw and mud; and the other, after splendid success, was forced to retreat, because he was destitute of forage and provisions. The truth seems to be that the Russians were, with extreme difficulty, worsted both at Golomyn and Pultusk, but that they effected a retrogradation in good order, and without that enormous loss, which the French have described. After these actions, the Russians went into cantonments on the Niemen, the French were distributed in the neighbourhood of Narew, the Wrka, and the Vistula; and Buonaparté returned to Warsaw.

Towards the close of the year, the exactions and violence of the French occasioned insurrections in Hesse and other parts of Germany; but they were attended with no other effect than that of drawing down on the unhappy countries, where they prevailed, greater severities, and adding to the misery of the inhabitants.

## CHAP. XV.

*Condition of Spain: Umbrage taken by the Prince de la Paz at the offer of the Balearic islands by France to the Prince Royal of Sicily as an indemnity for Naples: Levy of Spanish troops: Absurd pretext for that measure: The armament discontinued in consequence of Buonaparte's victory at Auerstadt;*

*Aæerstadt; and a body of Spaniards sent to reinforce the French in Germany. Mission of earl Saint Vincent, the earl of Roslyn, and general Simcoe to Portugal: object of the same. State of Turkey: Intrigues of Sebastiani, the French ambassador at the Porte, who instigates the divan to displace the reigning Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia: These princes are reinstated through the influence of the Russian minister: Dispute respecting the passage of the Bosphorus: Invasion of the Turkish empire by the Russians under general Michelson: Enthusiasm of the people of Constantinople against the invaders: The Russian minister withdraws from the Porte: Exertions of the Turkish Government to repel the Russians. Affairs of Persia. Miserable situation of Switzerland: Severe regulations enforced by France against her trade with England. State of Denmark. Review of American concerns: Transactions of the Americans at Tripoli: Financial and commercial prosperity of the Republic: Progress in civilizing the Indians: Difference between the United States and England, respecting the impressment of British seamen serving on board the American merchant vessels, and the capture of their ships: Violent proceedings in the Congress: Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney appointed commissioners for adjusting the dissensions between the two countries: Unfortunate occurrence at Sandy Hook: Consequences thereof: Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney arrive at London, and enter into a negociation with lords Holland and Auckland: A treaty concluded, but not ratified by the American President: Disagreement between the United States and Spain: Arrest of colonel Burr. Account of Miranda: his expedition to Carraccas. Discovery and prevention of an intended rebellion of the negroes at Trinidad. Revolution at Saint Domingo.*

**E**NERVATED by radical sloth, and paralysed by the most barbarous superstition, which was encouraged by the government, Spain slumbered under the superintendence of the Prince de la Paz. This minion of royal favour, who had been gradually promoted to the highest rank in the state, was originally indebted for his good fortune to a handsome and elegant person, which captivated the queen, who was a princess of the house of Parma, and had secured her affections. As a courtier he was accomplished and even brilliant in his acquirements. He is said to have spoken with fluency and correctness the principal languages of Europe, and to have possessed that species of superficial knowledge

calculated to engage respect in the circle of a palace; but he had neither energy of mind, nor consistency of action sufficient for the arduous duties, that vanity had induced him to undertake. For a long time nothing had remained of the Spanish grandeur of character, but the remembrance of past glories, which still delighted to dwell on the power and influence, that the country once held in Europe; and, with Nestorian loquacity, continued to boast of a respectability that formerly belonged to the inhabitants of the peninsula. Under the authority of such a person as the prince de la Paz, the nation was not likely to wake from its impotence and pride, and recover its departed fame. Sensible of the dif-

position of the people and the weakness of their rulers, the cabinet of Saint Cloud behaved to the court of Spain with much exterior ceremony, but with little real deference. The prince de la Paz readily enough perceived the absolute dependence, in which his country, with all its resources, was held by France; but he had not the ability, and perhaps felt no serious inclination to extricate his master from a thralldom, which neither an Olivares, an Alberoni, nor even a Ripperda would have endured for an hour.

A trait of practical contempt, on the part of the French government towards the Spanish favourite, effected what a sense of propriety, and national feeling, had failed to produce. As soon as the prince de la Paz was informed that M. d'Oubril had signed a treaty between Russia and France, by the secret articles of which Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica were to be torn from the dominions of Charles IV. and allotted to the duke of Calabria, as an indemnity for his right of succession to the throne of the two Sicilies, without the common decency and empty compliment of consulting the court of Madrid on the transfer, "the greatness of soul" which, according to his own account, "adorned him" \* immediately took umbrage; and he forthwith ordered thirteen regiments of infantry, and twenty battalions of militia, to be raised and disciplined.

This transaction occurred in the month of August; but still so cautious was he of committing the kingdom, resigned to his care, against the colossal preponderance of the French empire, that in order to conceal the real purpose of these levies, he had the weakness to propagate a report of an apprehension, that the emperor of Morocco might be excited, by the intrigues of English agents, to invade Spain! This absurd pretext for his conduct, which would have been incredible in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, must have tended still more to debase his reputation in the minds of the French ruler and M. Talleyrand. He had offered the best possible criterion for founding the shallowness of his capacity; and it cannot be thought extraordinary, that he was ever after treated by them with indifference.

The prince de la Paz issued two proclamations to the subjects of his catholic majesty, calling on them to stand forward in the service of their king; and particularly demanding of the people of Andalusia assistance in the shape of supplies in horses to mount the Spanish cavalry. Whether the requisition met with the expected attention does not appear; but the government was indefatigable in its exertions to carry the numbers of the troops to as great a height as it possibly could †.

In the midst of these warlike

\* See the narrative of the negotiation between England and Spain. Vol. 47, page 15.

† The breed of Spanish horses is justly celebrated. The animals nevertheless are not high, but very broad in the carcase, handsome in their proportions, and full of fire. To an English eye they seem rather clumsy; yet, it must be owned that they are active and tractable; and that they perfectly resemble the noble representations of the horse, produced in sculpture by the artists of antiquity. The Romans always used them for their legions; and in fact they have ever been admired; but it may be doubted if they would be equal to German, Flemish, or English horses, in a charge.



preparations, intelligence arrived at Madrid of the fatal defeat sustained by the king of Prussia; and the full tide of victory, which had attended the career of Buonaparté. Like the touch of the torpedo, this information benumbed all farther progress in armament; and the court again availed itself of the ridiculous tale of a Moorish invasion to cover their real designs. In most state affairs the hope to deceive is out of the question; a decent and plausible pretext to offer to an offended power is all that can be required. The subterfuge, under which the prince de la Paz endeavoured to shelter himself, was neither the one nor the other. It was however accepted at the Thuilleries, and a paragraph in the *moniteur* accounted for the late levies in Spain, according to the wishes of the cabinet of Madrid; nay it even proceeded so far as to remark that the explanation was satisfactory. Many motives concurred to induce the French court to dissemble the umbrage, that it naturally felt at the circumstance. Buonaparté was notorious for directing all his energies to a single point; and such a mode of procedure will nine times in ten succeed. Every disposable man in the French empire was in Germany; and the French chief was naturally desirous to have no diversion in his rear, which would have been vexatious. He therefore concealed his resentment; and, with his usual talent, turned the efforts of the Spaniards to his own benefit, by demanding a reinforcement to his armies from his ally. In the predicament incurred by the prince de la Paz, he did not dare to refuse the request; nor could he

with any show of sincerity decently decline to grant it. The men were notoriously levied and ready for a campaign; and consequently there could be no reasonable objection offered to hinder them from marching to the scene of action, except the miserable story of apprehension from Morocco, which was admitted to have greatly subsided. From twelve to sixteen thousand rank and file were therefore ordered to proceed to the head quarters of the French. The troops were commanded by the marquis de la Romana; and the Spanish officers had thus an opportunity of studying and practising the art of war under the most able leaders; an advantage that they afterwards felt in their glorious struggles for independence, which owing to bigotry, folly, weakness of intellect, and an atrocious passion for arbitrary sway, have had so unexpected and deplorable a conclusion.

In one of the conferences between M. Talleyrand and lord Yarmouth, a distinct threat had been held out, that it depended on England to prevent the subversion of the Portuguese government by making a peace with France. As from the best intelligence that could be obtained, thirty thousand men were collected at Bayonne ready to invade Portugal, when the cabinet of London were apprised of the menace, they took the most decided steps to avert the danger from that ancient ally of Great Britain. Buonaparté's design was to make a partition of the Portuguese provinces; some of which were to be given to Spain, and the rest, with the city and port of Lisbon, to be conferred on the prince de la Paz, or the queen of

Etruria. Earl Saint Vincent received instructions to proceed to the Tagus with a competent naval force, and the earl of Rosslyn and general Simcoe were directed to embark for Lisbon, in conjunction with the English admiral, to offer every assistance to the court; and concert with it proper measures either to repel the aggression, or to provide for every case that was likely to arise. A large body of troops were already assembled at Plymouth for a distant expedition. In order to give weight to the negotiation, and afford the promptest aid to the prince regent of Portugal, the original purpose for which they had been drawn together was suspended; and they were embarked in the transports, that no delay might occur, if it should be expedient to send them to the Tagus.

The British ministers were perfectly aware of the imbecility of the government, which they wished to protect. From the natural desire of procrastination, incident to a court conscious of the weakness of its resources, they had some reason to suspect that the prince regent might even be inclined to give way to despair, and calmly await the destiny prepared for him by France. In fact at this juncture little resistance to the enemy could rationally be hoped for. The Portuguese had long lost all martial spirit, and entertained so little taste and respect for the military profession, that when the count de la Lippe in the late reign undertook to place the army on a respectable footing, he was surprised to find that many subalterns in it had been selected from the menial servants of the noblesse; and that it was

by no means uncommon for officers in full uniform actually to wait behind the chairs, at the entertainments given by the grandees. Notwithstanding the count had done his utmost to reform the ideas of the nation on this point, and though he had certainly succeeded in a great measure to improve the condition of the forces, he never could inspire the people with proper respect for the character of a soldier. The nobility scorned, or pitied his opinions on the subject, and the Portuguese in general despised a warlike spirit. The foreign officers, who were introduced into the regiments, to give perfection to the discipline of the troops, were universally regarded as despicable adventurers, and their pretensions to the feelings of gentlemen ridiculed with no slight contempt.

The instructions to the British negotiators embraced three objects. The first was to rouse the prince regent to a sense of his immediate peril, and stimulate him to make the most effectual exertions for his defence; if that should be found impracticable, the second was to urge him to remove the seat of government to the Brazils, according to the plan proposed by the late marquis of Pombal; and in case of failing in these two propositions, they were to secure the Portuguese fleet, and prevent so great an accession of strength accruing to the enemy. If the court of Lisbon showed a disposition, either singly by its own energies, or in conjunction with the co-operation which it might be able to obtain from Spain, where it was probable that the plans of France would create more alarm than pleasure, seriously to engage in vigor-

ous and effective measures of resistance to Buonaparté, the plenipotentiaries were to offer his Britannic majesty's support to the full extent of the means which he could command; and in that case they were to signify that ten thousand men were prepared to act with the Portuguese at a moment's warning. Should the capacity and resolution of the prince prove inadequate to this purpose, and, in consequence of the representations made to him, he should be inclined to withdraw at once from his European territories, and remove with all that he could carry with him to his possessions beyond the Atlantic, they were to give him every encouragement to confirm him in that intention; and to enter into the strongest engagements that his Britannic majesty would, not only by his naval forces protect and secure such retreat, but that he would also guarantee the independence of the dominions in the Brazils, as well as the possession of all ships and other property, that might be carried thither by virtue of such arrangement. The last unhappy case was however to be provided for. If the court of Lisbon, as there was too much cause to fear it would, should abandon all idea either of resistance or escape, and wait in fearful acquiescence the approach of danger, as it then would become the duty of his majesty by every consideration of justice to himself, and regard even for his ally, to take such steps as might be necessary to diminish the evil, by anticipating the designs of France, the English commanders were, if necessary, to resort to measures of force for securing the Portuguese fleet; and, to hinder all

possible preparations undertaken with a view of foiling the intentions of his majesty, no mention was to be made to the Portuguese ministers of the troops collected at Plymouth, or that they were destined for this service until their actual arrival. Still the English generals and admiral were to impress both upon the government and people of Portugal, that this last step was not adopted with hostile or unfriendly views, but was the result of the unfortunate urgency, which the injustice and violence of France imposed on his majesty. Therefore should the court of Lisbon, after force had been employed, on better consideration be inclined to accept the proposal of removing to the American continent, every succour was to be tendered to it, and such contracts entered into as might best soften and conciliate their minds to so painful an extremity; and farther to prove the disinterestedness and moderation of his majesty, and that nothing would be more acceptable to him than, if it were possible, that the court of Lisbon should continue in the enjoyment of a secure and undisturbed neutrality, the negotiators were to deliver official notes to that effect, and to circulate in the Portuguese language a manifesto, wherein these circumstances were to be openly and frankly set forth, which justified, by the evident necessity of the case, an endeavour to secure those resources, that the enemy had formally evinced an intention of seizing for his own purposes.

But though it was absolutely expedient to act with decision, and prevent the Portuguese navy from becoming the prey of Buonaparté, the

the plenipotentiaries were directed to effect this service in such a manner, as might be least offensive to the dignity, and least injurious to the interests of the prince regent. Consequently they had authority to agree to any plan, by which the Portuguese ships of war might be consigned to England in trust, or to treat for the purchase of them according to their full estimated value; but they were unequivocally to signify to the government, that the certain consequence of submission to France must be the loss of the Brazils. In every one of the three predicaments before alluded to, the English troops were to be disembarked, and a position occupied that would place them in safety to facilitate the execution of the object to be accomplished; but if from alarms excited by accidental circumstances, or in consequence of demands made by the French, the country should be found in such a state of preparation as would compromise their security by a landing, or by the conduct afterwards to be adopted, their safety was not to be hazarded. The whole negotiation was then to assume a pacific shape; and the plenipotentiaries were to state that the regiments were sent to operate in the defence of Portugal, if desired by the government; but that, as such a wish was not entertained, they would proceed upon the service for which they were at first intended.

The earl of Rosslyn and general Simcoe arrived in the Tagus on the 25th of August, lord Saint Vincent having reached it some time before. After a conference between the three plenipotentiaries and lord Strangford, the ambassador

at Lisbon, they had a meeting with M. d'Araujo, the Portuguese minister, who affirmed that, from certain information which had come to his hands, there was neither an encampment, nor any considerable number of French troops, at Bayonne; and that he regarded M. Talleyrand's language as a device to induce lord Yarmouth to consent to the terms of peace proposed to the cabinet of London. He farther said that the Spanish minister had expressed so great a surprise and jealousy, when he knew lord Saint Vincent with his squadron had anchored in the Tagus, that he had thought it advisable to ascribe his arrival to information, received by his Britannic majesty of the measures taken by Spain for placing part of her troops on a war establishment, and especially those which were on the frontiers of Portugal; and that his majesty had, with a natural and just alarm for the safety of his ally, ordered such forces as were most at hand and most disposable to hasten to protect the prince regent. When M. d'Araujo was told that he might also communicate the intelligence given by lord Rosslyn, respecting the apprehensions that England entertained of France, in consequence of M. Talleyrand's declaration, he declined to do so; because, he said, he could not possibly attribute the arrival of lord Saint Vincent to designs, which he did not believe to exist. He moreover expressed the strongest fears that the presence of earl Saint Vincent's squadron in the Tagus would have the worst effect upon the interests and welfare of Portugal, not so much from the number of the ships, as from the importance at-

tached

tached to his lordship's exalted character, and the mission with which it was understood he was charged; and that this circumstance altogether would provoke an attack, which was not otherwise intended, draw upon his country the resentment of France, and be considered as a violation of the treaty of neutrality.

The nature and extent of the offers of assistance certainly had a considerable effect on the court of Lisbon, and drew from it a grateful acknowledgment for them; but it was suggested that it would have been more agreeable, if a minister had preceded the fleet to impart what had come to the knowledge of the British cabinet, and concert with the Portuguese government the means of defence, which it might be proper to arrange. With respect to the French army said to be at Bayonne, earl Saint Vincent appeared to be clearly of opinion that, from the advices which he had obtained, it was incredible that forces so numerous could have been assembled there, without its being known to all the merchants in the Portuguese capital; and he professed that he was inclined to doubt the reality of the French preparations. It is most probable that his lordship's ideas on the matter were correct, as far as related to the existence of the armament; but had not the aspect of affairs in the north of Europe suddenly changed, owing to the refusal of the emperor Alexander to ratify the treaty, which his minister had been imprudent enough to sign, and other events that engaged the attention of the cabinet of Saint Cloud, it can hardly be questioned that an inva-

sion of Portugal would have ensued, and have been prosecuted with the usual vigour and celerity of French aggressions. The precaution of the English ministers is therefore to be highly applauded, and the tenderness which they evinced for the dignity of the prince regent, with the moderation displayed in the instructions to the distinguished characters, employed in this important mission, redounds to their credit. When however it was ascertained that Portugal was no longer in danger of an immediate attack, the negotiators were directed to return home, the British squadron quitted the Tagus, and the regiments on board the transports at Plymouth were disembarked, until they could be sent upon other services.

The Turkish dominions at this period offer a melancholy picture of fallen greatness, imbecility and distraction. That vast empire was disjointed by mal-content in almost every one of the provinces; particularly those at a distance from the capital. The Wachabees, a fanatical sect, reinforced by the barbarians from the deserts of Arabia, had taken the cities of Judda, Mecca, and Medina, by assault with great devastation and slaughter, and overrun the adjacent countries. They had set fire to Medina in various places, destroyed the mosques, after having ransacked them of their valuable shrines and treasures, and completely demolished the tomb of Mahomet. Some thousands of females of the first rank, with a number of the principal male inhabitants, and booty in jewels and other treasure to an immense amount, became the spoil of these marauders.

marauders. Czerni George, the chief of the disaffected in Servia, was at the head of a large body of forces, with which he had continued to defy the power of his master, whose troops he had frequently routed and chased before him. This rebel did not even respect the confines of Austria; for he had dared to pass the barriers in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and had taken away several boats laden with flour and grain for the supply of his army. He was besides making an alarming progress in Albania. The Christians in Bosnia were in a state of revolt. Egypt was in the utmost confusion. Contest of the most barbarous nature tore that unfortunate country to pieces. A large body of Albanians, not having received any pay for some time, deserted the Turkish colours and went over to the refractory beys, who seemed determined to assert their total independence. The pacha of Bagdat, the former seat of Saracenic grandeur, had shaken off his allegiance, and threatened a dismemberment of that extensive province from the trunk of the empire. With so many intestine enemies to encounter, the divan hardly knew which was the most dangerous point of rebellion; and to what side to direct the enfeebled energies of the state, when it was suddenly plunged in a new difficulty by the conflicting ambition of France and Russia.

The ascendancy, which the cabinet of Saint Petersburg had obtained over the temporizing and inefficient government of the porte, was in no respect more clearly demonstrated, than in the agreement entered into by the latter to ap-

point the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia for the term of seven years, and not to revoke the nomination of the persons constituted the rulers of those districts during that period, without the consent of the Russian envoy resident at Constantinople. That so direct an interference should be sanctioned by the sultan was a manifest sign of weakness; and it was not unnatural that he should be inclined to shake off so degrading a yoke, by which his rights were impaired, as soon as with safety he could act according to the wishes, with which he was doubtless inspired. It has been seen that the sublime porte, contrary to its resolution in 1805, had thought proper to send an embassy to Paris to acknowledge Buonaparté's title as emperor of the French, and compliment him on his accession to sovereign authority. This step originated in a change of policy, arising from the fears which the sultan entertained of the augmented influence of France, after the defeat of the allies at Austerlitz. The Turkish cabinet also having beheld the French confines extended to Greece, began to regard France as the preponderating power in its vicinity. Willing therefore to conciliate its new neighbour, whose activity and resources it dreaded, it relaxed from its avowed reserve, and consented to receive an ambassador from the French ruler. No person appeared more likely to execute the intentions of his master than general Sebastiani, who was accordingly directed to repair to Constantinople in the character of minister. Sebastiani arrived at that city on the 10th of August; and instantly communicated to the  
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reis effendi the treaty, which had been signed by d'Oubril between Russia and France. As this treaty guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire, he easily persuaded the divan, who were inclined to be convinced, that an opportunity had arisen of recovering the injured sovereignty of the porte, by displacing the princes Ypselanti and Moroufi, the reigning hospodars, and naming others instead of them. This act was effected on the 24th of the same month, in spite of the regular protest against the measure made in form by Italinski, the Russian envoy. In the mean time Sebastiani received intelligence, that the arrangement concluded by M. d'Oubril was not ratified by the emperor Alexander; and on the 16th of September he delivered a note to the reis effendi, in which, after insinuating that the treaty between France and Russia had been rejected at Saint Petersburg, because it had stipulated for the independence of the Ottoman empire, he stated that he had the most positive orders to declare that, not only friendship, but the strictest neutrality required that the Bosphorus should be shut against all Russian ships of war, and every other Moscovite vessel, conveying troops, ammunition, or provisions; and that the passage could not be open to them, without committing an act of hostility against France, and without giving "his majesty Napoleon the great" a right of marching over the Turkish territories to combat with the Russian army on the banks of the Dniester. He added that any renewal or continuation of the alliance with the enemies of France, such as England and Rus-

sia, would be considered a violation of neutrality, and even an accession on the part of the sublime porte to the war, which those powers waged against Buonaparté. Sebastiani then observed that his master had a great army in Dalmatia, which had been collected for the defence of the Ottoman empire; but if the equivocal conduct of the sultan rendered it necessary, that army would be employed for a different purpose. He concluded by demanding an immediate and categorical answer to the paper which he had delivered. As there was an express treaty between Turkey and Russia, stipulating for the free navigation of the straits of Constantinople to all ships belonging to the latter, the divan, conscious of the debility of the state and destitute of resources, was greatly alarmed and of course indecisive. Not knowing how to reconcile the jarring views of the various competitors for influence, it laid before the English and Russian ministers Sebastiani's note, and thus indirectly requested their advice how it was to extricate itself from the embarrassment, which it felt. The British and Russian envoys represented the impropriety of yielding to Sebastiani's requisitions, but without effect. Italinski, the Russian ambassador, consequently declared on the 29th of September that, if the Turkish government proceeded in so disreputable a train of acquiescence, he should forthwith consider his mission at an end, and he actually made preparations for his return to Saint Petersburg. The alternate passions of fear and doubt overwhelmed the unhappy ministers at the porte; and esteeming the en-

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mity of Russia to be almost as formidable as that of France, they were so intimidated by Italinski's threat and procedures, that on the 15th of October they reinstated the deposed Hospodars according to his desire.

This concession was far from giving satisfaction to the court of Russia, which took great umbrage at the demands of Sebastiani, and the deference with which he was treated by the Turkish government. In pursuance of orders from the emperor Alexander, on the 23d of November general Michelson, at the head of a large army of Muscovites; entered the province of Moldavia, and advanced to Choczim, Bender, and Jassi. The cause of the invasion of the Turkish empire was set forth in a declaration, published by this commander; but the conduct of the Russian officers pretty clearly proved, that it was the object of their government to retain permanent possession of the fortresses, which had submitted to the Muscovite arms; an inference plainly to be drawn from the terms imposed on the vanquished at the surrender of Choczim. The course of general Michelson was as successful as he could have wished. Moldavia was quickly reduced; and on the 27th of December, Bucharest, the principal city of Wallachia, was surrendered without much resistance. The ayan of Ruschuck had endeavoured to prevent the progress of the victorious army, by detaching a corps for the defence of Bucharest, but his hopes were disappointed; for the Turkish troops were easily defeated and put to flight. Before the commencement of the new year, Bes-

farabia was added to the conquests of general Michelson, who soon expected to find himself in a condition to pass the Danube.

While these hostile movements were prosecuted, Italinski still remained at Constantinople, exhibiting, by his continuance at the metropolis, somewhat approaching to a cool contempt for the grand seignior and his ministers, which in the flourishing periods of the Ottoman grandeur would probably have cost him his life, or at least his liberty. In fact it is said that he prevented his committal to the seven towers, by promising that on the return of the messenger, whom he had dispatched to Saint Petersburg, the Russians would receive orders to abandon the districts which they had over-run. The Turks have ever had an antipathy to the Russians, originating from rivalry and the difference of religion; but in proportion as the Muscovites increased in power, that antipathy has by degrees subsided into a settled hatred, perhaps not unmixed with terror of the Russian prowess. Exasperated by the violation of their territories, stung with national disgrace, and full of resentment at the indignity offered to their sovereign and the divan, the inhabitants of Constantinople exhibited every desire to support the government. The janizaries, having for some time been offended by an attempt to impose the European discipline on them, were ripe for revolt; but the affront put upon their country diverted their enthusiasm into a thirst of vengeance on their assailants, and assisted by the zeal of the priesthood, who seized this occasion to instigate the populace against  
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a race of men whom they termed infidels, they were particularly active in reprobating the behaviour of the Russians; but the divan was by no means inclined to fan the rising flames, that were so rapidly spreading through the army, the ministers of religion, and the nation in general. It still hesitated and would possibly have endeavoured to avoid proceeding to extremities, had not the commander of a Russian vessel, with dispatches for Italinski on board, shown a disposition to pass through the straits of Constantinople. This occurrence happened on the 26th of December. The batteries were ordered to open on the Muscovite brig; and the captain of it, fearing that the dispatches might fall into the hands of the Turks, threw them overboard. The decision, though tardy, displayed by the Ottoman government made a great impression on the Russian envoy, who now began to be seriously apprehensive for his personal safety. On the 29th of the same month he therefore sought shelter on board the *Canopus*, an English ship of war mounting seventy-four guns, which had been stationed at no great distance from the city, and was conveyed to a place of safety. This vessel formed part of the squadron of admiral Louis, consisting of three line-of-battle ships and four frigates, which had been latterly cruising in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

The circumstances of Turkey were now peculiarly distressing. General Michelson had reduced all the countries to the north of the Danube; the French with a well appointed army occupied Dalmatia; and rebellion still reigned in

various provinces. With this unpromising aspect of affairs, the government was roused to a sense of the dangers that encompassed it. True it is that the people of the provinces near Constantinople were ardently devoted to the cause of the Sultan; and the Sheiks and the Ulemas gave an additional impulse to the national feelings. On the 5th of January a declaration of war against Russia was published. It complained of the unjust aggressions committed by that power; particularly the seizure of the Crimea and Georgia, and its conduct with respect to the seven islands. The insult, which the divan had received, stimulated the latent energy of the state; and every thing throughout the empire wore the air of vigour and resolution. The pacha of Widin, Paswan Oglou, assembled a large army to oppose the Russians, and Mustapha Barayctar, the ayan of Ruschuck, took measures for the safety of the porte in concert with him. Although the former had been one of the most dangerous and enterprising insurgents, that had opposed the sultan, yet implicit confidence appears to have been placed in him at the existing crisis. The boldness of his character perhaps induced Selim III. to employ him; and certainly that sovereign stood in need of able and experienced generals. The advanced guard of the Turkish army marched to the frontiers of Moldavia and Wallachia; and actually remained in the presence of the Russians under prince Dolgorucki, an officer of no talent. The command of the two straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, upon the defence of which the

safety

safety of the metropolis in a great measure depends, was conferred on Bekir pacha, who had distinguished himself for capacity, and by quelling the popular commotions in Romelia. The authority with which he was invested was as extensive as his office. Not only the land forces on both shores, but also the captain general of the fleet were subjected to him. Great exertions were made to add a considerable reinforcement to the marine; for besides the ships of war then lying before Bujukderé, and those in the road, nine others were equipped in the arsenal, and soon afterwards added to the naval strength of the porte. The grand vizier determined to take the field with the standard of Mahomet. The Asiatic troops, which were to constitute the major part of his army, daily arrived from the eastern provinces; and in a short time the government saw itself so much renovated in power, that it was able to send large bodies of forces for the protection of Bulgaria. During these preparations of the divan, the court of Vienna also naturally cast a jealous eye on the conduct of the Russians; and a coolness, arising from a just suspicion of the ulterior views of the cabinet of Saint Petersburg, was for some time manifest on the part of Austria towards her late ally.

Turkey was not the only side, on which Russia seemed desirous of extending her prodigious frontiers. The Persians had been doomed to feel the force of her active and increasing ambition. This ancient nation, which in former ages proudly resisted the Roman arms, was in danger of being reduced by the restless vigour of a people,

whose rise to power, and progress in civilization are almost within the memory of man. The Persians having few disciplined troops, and whose military establishment chiefly consists in a numerous and irregular, but excellent, light cavalry, found themselves inferior to their invaders in the field. Brought into contact with the English government, by the possessions of Great Britain in India, they had, in the preceding year, fought her potent interference with their enemy, and requested her protection. In their designs of interesting the cabinet of London in their favour they were frustrated; for Mr. Pitt discouraged their advances. Foiled in their expectations, they had recourse to France, and in the ruler of that country they found a person ready to take up their cause at his leisure; but at the present juncture he was occupied with other projects, and contented himself with sending an agent to examine their resources both moral and physical, and cultivate the connexion which they had voluntarily offered to establish between the two states.

Amidst the general wreck of continental independence, Switzerland exhibited only the ruins of her former freedom. Conscious of her incapacity to resist the will of France, she yielded with a sigh to the pressure of events. The occupation of the landamman was nearly limited to the internal business of the country; for he had little necessity for any intercourse with foreign nations, it being deemed sufficient for him to receive the commands of Buonaparté, and carry them into execution. The principal duty which the cabinet of the Thuilleries expected from him

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was, to prevent the introduction of English goods into the Swiss cantons. When general Oudinot took possession of Neufchatel and Valengin, in pursuance of the Prussian treaty, he found that these provinces were the general depôt of British manufactures, consigned to the Swiss merchants, particularly to the citizens of Bâle, who secretly supplied France with the commodities. This discovery excited great resentment in the French ruler; and a severe article appeared in the *moniteur* of the 18th of April, commenting on the behaviour of the landamman, and reprehending him for his contumacy, or want of diligence in performing the functions assigned to him. In addition to this public rebuke, M. Talleyrand was directed to make a regular complaint on the subject to the Swiss resident at Paris. The landamman endeavoured to exculpate himself as well as he could. A proclamation was made by the French officers at Bâle, prohibiting any trade with England, under pain of corporal punishment, disgrace, and death. The terms of this cruel manifesto seem so general, that it is impossible to judge, whether either of the threatened inflictions was to be endured by the convicted person, according to the extensiveness of his dealings, and his perseverance in them; or whether all of them were to brand and destroy the victim of Gallic despotism. The goods at Neufchatel being sequestered, the merchants to whom they belonged assembled and drew up a petition, which, it is said, was signed by the landamman, and was transmitted to Buonaparté, with the hope of softening the ri-

gour of his disposition, and of inducing him to countermand the forfeiture. The only effect of this procedure was to draw down a heavier castigation on the men, who had presumed to make the request. On the return of a courier from Paris, they were taken into custody; and with difficulty procured a discharge from prison, on giving sureties for their dutiful adherence to French decrees in future.

The history of Denmark may be comprised in a few words. The sole endeavour of the court of Copenhagen was to preserve a perfect neutrality. Surrounded by powerful states, Denmark saw that the only chance of maintaining her prosperity, or possibly of preserving her political existence, depended on avoiding the storms, that gathered round her. She presented a strong memorial to the cabinet of Stockholm, in consequence of the great loss sustained by her commerce, owing to the blockade of the Prussian ports in the Baltic; but, as it may be remembered, this cause of her dissatisfaction was voluntarily removed by the king of Sweden, after Prussia seemed disposed to resist the influence of France. She had been urged by Buonaparté to exclude the English flag from the Sound in the early part of the year; and when Hamburg and Lubec were occupied by the French, instances to the same effect were repeated; but she had the dexterity to extricate herself from a compliance with the desire, and elude the danger which must have resulted from a measure so decidedly adverse to Great Britain.

So few events of importance occurred in America during the year

1805, that it was considered expedient to omit all notice of the transactions in that part of the world, and reserve them for a connected narrative, and review of American affairs, in the present volume of this work. By the laudable energy of Mr. Jefferson's government in one respect, the citizens of the united states had humbled the petty arrogance of the marauding powers of Barbary, which the several nations of Europe have so long submitted to, and even supported by their inglorious and impolitic subsidies. Having had just reason to complain of the outrages, committed on the American vessels in the Mediterranean, by those detestable freebooters, the president ordered a squadron to be fitted out to chastise their presumption. The commanders of this expedition executed their duty with such spirit, that,\* after landing in Tripoli and carrying the towns of Derna and Bengasi by assault, they procured the enlargement of many individuals, who had been sentenced to slavery; and dictated a treaty of peace with the rulers of the country at the cannon's mouth; and although they did not reduce the bey of Tunis to the same conditions, they taught him to respect their name and fear their prowess. Perhaps it was even fortunate that the republican commodore did not immediately settle the differences between his country and the bey; for, by remaining off the coast of Africa, he ensured protection to the American commerce in the Mediterranean. The gratitude of his fellow citizens was strongly displayed to colonel Eaton, who had been consul at Tripoli,

for his exertions in vindicating the rights of his countrymen, and for ably assisting in the prosecution of the warlike measures against the regency at that place. The senate, with a proper munificence, passed a vote to confer on him and his heirs a tract of land, consisting of ten thousand acres in any of the unappropriated territories belonging to the district of the Maine, except the ten townships on the Penscott river. This was certainly a noble recompense for his meritorious services; and a reward which was likely to stimulate his posterity to exert themselves in the public cause, by bringing to their remembrance the occasion of that wealth in which they may participate; while it operated as an incentive to others to distinguish themselves in the same beneficial manner. The largess was splendid; but the example which it held forth to emulation was more than worth the value of the donative. It is pleasing to reflect that the descendants of Britons, however objectionable their conduct may have been to the race from which they sprang, trampled on that ferocious system of piracy, the existence of which is a disgrace to all civilized communities.

Mr. Jefferson, who was re-elected president of the states in the year 1805, had turned his particular attention to the finances; and they had greatly improved under his auspices. The revenues of the year 1806 amounted to fifteen millions of dollars; and exceeded those of the preceding year by two millions. Twenty three millions had been applied to the extinction of the national debt;

\* In the Spring of 1805.

and the payments to reduce it approached that point, when, according to contract, they were no longer to be continued; and so flattering was the prospect, that the treasury had declined to avail itself of a vote of congress, authorising it to borrow 1,750,000 dollars towards providing for the claims assumed by the convention of France; because with the receipts on which it calculated in the current year, besides paying the annual sum of eight millions of dollars appropriated to the funded debt, and meeting all the requisitions which might be expected, it would be enabled to liquidate the whole sum of 3,750,000 dollars claimed by the French convention, and still leave a surplus of a million applicable to any service, which the government might require.

The commercial prosperity of the united states seems to have kept pace with that of the public finances. By a statement of the capitals of the different banking houses in 1805, they altogether amounted to above twenty-eight millions of dollars; from which circumstance the trade must have been great. During a period of twelve months, ending on the 30th of October 1806, the exports of commodities, which were the growth and manufacture of the country, were estimated at forty millions of dollars; and those of the carrying trade, consisting of foreign goods entered and re-exported, at sixty-millions. The government had sedulously endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Indian tribes on the borders of its dominions; and, by maintaining the strictest integrity in its intercourse with them, had happily succeeded in its laudable designs. The natives of the wild regions

that surround the territories of the republic, taught by the example of their neighbours, whose ingratiating and honourable conduct inspired them with confidence in their professions of amity, gradually acquired a taste for the conveniences of civilized life; and exchanged the precarious subsistence, derived from hunting and fishing, for the more regular industry of cultivators of the earth. The plough rapidly converted barren wastes into productive tracts of land; and the cottage and the barn sprang up in scenes of former desolation. The rude vagrants, who beheld the superior comforts of their brethren, thirsted for the same advantages; and gladly bartered a portion of their wilds for implements of husbandry, and instruction, to convert the regions which they retained into farms.

Two circumstances gave the American cabinet uneasiness. The first their dispute with Great Britain relative to impressing English subjects, who were employed in their mercantile marine; the infringement of their rights as a neutral nation, by making captures of their trading vessels and condemning them as prizes, while prosecuting their legitimate voyages; and the invasion of their authority on their own waters, in the vicinage of the coasts belonging to the united states: and the second their differences with Spain on the subject of the transfer of Louisiana to America by the French.

With respect to their complaints against England, the government contended, that the right of search for British subjects on board their merchant ships was vexatious in the highest degree, derogatory to their flag, and besides that it was

often necessarily accompanied with injustice; for from the indentities of language and similitude of features and complexion between the natives of the two countries, all discrimination was rendered difficult; and they alleged that many native Americans were impressed into the service of his Britannic majesty, and compelled to assist in wars contrary to the interest of the united states.

The point concerning the captures of their trading ships requires something more of detail. In the year 1756, France was first driven by the pressure of maritime hostility to relax her colonial monopoly, and to invite neutral nations to resort to her West Indian ports, for the purpose both of furnishing supplies to her colonies, and of carrying their produce, apparently as neutral property, to market. The English prize courts however had at that time no difficulty in determining this commerce to be illegal, and condemning the vessels engaged in it, notwithstanding the property might clearly appear to be neutral. The principle of these decisions, which has since been generally known by the name of "the rule of the war of 1756," was substantially this, "that a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the inconveniencies of his enemies' hostilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war in a way that was prohibited during peace." This rule was asserted and submitted to pending the whole period of that war, which only terminated in 1763. Previously to the accession of France to the American war, she had in some measure relaxed her monopoly, and permitted neutrals in time of peace to trade with her colonies to a certain extent; in that war her

maritime inferiority was by no means so decided as to disable her from protecting her trade; and though neutrals did then undoubtedly engage in the colonial branch of it more largely than they would have been suffered to do in peace, it was not thought advisable, in the peculiar political situation of England, to maintain to its full effect the rule of the war of 1756; but it was never abandoned or reversed. As soon as peace was concluded, the colonial monopoly of France was resumed in its utmost rigour, and neutrals were again entirely excluded from a trade, which had been entrusted in a great measure to their hands. Upon the breaking out of the war in 1793, the same system of evasion was resorted to, and neutrals openly invited to trade in the French ports. England immediately reverted to the rule in question, and in the November of that year issued instructions to seize all vessels bringing goods from the hostile settlements, or carrying supplies to them. This resolution gave rise to warm remonstrances on the part of America, and in January 1794 the instructions were so far modified and relaxed, as only to subject to seizure vessels coming directly from any port of the colonies to Europe. Matters continued upon this footing till 1798, when a farther indulgence was given to the neutral trade, by permitting the produce of the hostile colonies to be carried to the mother country of the neutral trader, whether in Europe or America, and thence to be brought by them into the ports of this country. This regulation remained in force down to the treaty of Amiens, when France again returned to a principle of strict monopoly.

nopoly. On the commencement of the war in 1803, the accustomed movements took place; the trade of the colonies was once more resigned by the enemy to neutrals; and our government gave directions, subjecting to seizure all vessels carrying on trade between colonies of hostile powers and any state but the mother country of the neutral merchants.

The Americans who, from their proximity to the West Indian colonies of all countries, were advantageously situated to enter into the carrying trade, became of course desirous of largely embarking in it; and, in order to evade the rigour of the rule established by Great Britain, first took in a lading at the different colonies, and proceeded directly to some port in America, whence they immediately exported the cargo, in the same or a different bottom, to the European market pointed out by the hostile proprietor. A question then arose in the English admiralty courts, whether the continuity of the voyage was really broken by an effective and *bona fide* delivery in America, and a subsequent shipment on account of an American owner; or whether it was not evident, from all the circumstances, that the voyage to America was merely a colour and pretext, and that the original destination of the freight was for the European market, to which it was ultimately consigned. At first it was held that an entirely new clearance, and set of papers, taken on board in the American port were sufficient; but afterwards, when it became manifest that the vessel merely touched there for the purpose of procuring these documents, and instantly pursued her voyage to Europe, it was deemed necessary to

require evidence of the goods having been actually landed, or of the property having been transferred by a real sale; of the insurance having been made separately upon the voyages from the colony to America, and from that country to Europe, as upon two independent voyages; and finally of the payment of the importation duties in the ports of the republic; but when the nature of the custom-house regulations in America was understood in England, it was decided that the evidence offered of the duties having been paid did not prove a sufficient importation into the united states. It appeared that the duty was not actually levied in America, but merely secured by bonds, that the merchant, who meant to re-export the goods, was entitled to debentures for the same amount as the bonds, and concurrently payable with them from the office of customs; and that when these bonds were cancelled, on producing the corresponding debentures, only the sum of three and a half per cent. on the value of the customs due was deducted. This system, operating as an immense drawback, was besides found to be an accommodation to the trader; for the bonds of course lay dead, but the debentures were issuable in the nature of government securities and instantly convertible into cash; but in case of the merchant's failure, the holder of them was protected by a summary process. The British courts therefore could no longer recognize the transactions of the custom house in America, as an adequate proof of compliance with the prescribed terms of suffering this circuitous trade to continue. The consequence

quence was that our cruizers detained and made prizes of their vessels and cargoes. This procedure the Americans resented; and it must be acknowledged that these seizures were scarcely warrantable; for though this system was by no means to be endured by Great Britain, as evidence of a bonâ fide importation, yet it was her duty to know the economy of the custom house in America; and if, through inadvertence, so injurious an arrangement had been permitted to exist; and, in pursuance of such acquiescence, large American capitals had been embarked in the commerce, adequate notice of a change of conduct ought to have been given, and a proper time allowed to clear up the misunderstanding, before any captures were made.

The people of America were greatly exasperated by the interruption of their trade, and the impressment of their seamen. Meetings took place in most of the commercial cities, at which very violent addresses to congress were voted on the subject. A bill was brought into the lower house of the legislature, the purport of which was to declare any person, convicted of impressing, under pretence or colour of a commission from a foreign potentate, any seaman on board a vessel bearing the flag of the united states, a pirate, and that he should suffer death; and, as an encouragement to resist such impressments, offering a reward of two hundred dollars to any seaman, or to his representatives, if he should fall in the conflict, who should, on the attempt being made, oppose force to force; and in case an American seaman,

who had been compelled to serve on board any foreign vessel, should suffer death or any other corporal punishment, by the authority of that foreign power, requiring the president of the republic to execute the most rigorous and exact retaliation on any subject of that government, whom he was authorized to seize for this purpose. The bill likewise contained certain indemnities to seamen, who should be constrained to enter into a foreign marine. This extravagant act was, after a long discussion, rejected on the 21st of February; and a new bill, brought up in its room, shared the same fate. The committee, appointed by the senate to consider the alleged spoliations on the American commerce, resolved that the president should be requested to demand satisfaction for the same, and insist upon a recompense for the captured property; but the resolution was afterwards qualified, the words "insist upon" expunged, and the president authorized to enter into such arrangements with the British government, on this and all the differences subsisting between the two nations, as might be consistent with the honour and interests of the united states, and manifest their earnest desire to obtain for themselves and their citizens, by amicable negotiation, that justice to which they were entitled. Notwithstanding the congress had thus assumed a more moderate tone, it passed, by a great majority, an act to prohibit the importation of British manufactures into the territories of the republic; but the president withheld his assent to it, until the result of the conferences, on the points in dispute



dispute between the two countries, should be known. Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney were appointed commissioners extraordinary to settle these differences; and it was supposed that the recent change in the British administration would prove propitious to their endeavours.

While affairs were taking this favourable turn, an unfortunate occurrence happened. The *Leander* and the *Cambrian* frigates, with the *Driver* sloop, were on the 26th of April cruising off Sandy Hook, and, doubtless according to their instructions, stopped and overhauled the different American vessels with which they fell in. Some of them they seized and sent to Halifax, and from others they impressed a few hands. A sloop from the Delaware refusing to bring-to, a shot was fired from the *Leander*, which struck the man at the helm, named John Pierce, who was the brother of the captain, and killed him. This event excited the greatest commotion, particularly at New York, where the body of the deceased was brought on shore, and exposed all day to the enraged spectators, previously to the interment of it by the corporation, who determined to attend the funeral. The populace were inflamed to such a degree of madness, that they armed two schooners, filled with volunteers, and failed to retake the vessels captured by the English squadron. It was fortunate for these inconsiderate persons, that they did not persist in their enterprise. Had they done so, they would have been guilty of piracy, being without a commission for acting. The elections in America are generally attended

with demonstrations of party violence, and as this deplorable incident took place while they were going forward, the federal party eagerly availed themselves of the circumstance to calumniate their opponents, and represent the government of Mr. Jefferson as devoid of energy. To vindicate himself from their remarks, and prove that he entered into the popular feelings, that gentleman published a proclamation, accusing captain Whitby of the *Leander* of murder, requiring all persons in authority to do their utmost to apprehend him, and ordering the commanders of the English vessels before enumerated to quit the harbours and waters of the united states. The federalists instantly contrasted Mr. Jefferson's decisive conduct in all disputes with Great Britain, with his tame submission to the aggressions of France, which, although they were extremely detrimental to the American commerce, and derogatory to the state, he neither resented nor even mentioned. In spite of the agitation of the people, which might easily have been conceived, if it were not actually known, the purser of the *Leander* had the imprudence to repair to New York on the 28th, where he purchased three boat-loads of provisions. Two of the boats were stopped, but the third, having failed, was overtaken near the Hook by a pilot boat dispatched for the purpose, brought back, and the provisions, to the quantity of ten cartloads, distributed to the poor. At the suggestion of a federalist, a grand jury was also summoned, who returned a verdict of wilful murder against captain Whitby. A meeting of

the inhabitants was also held, and some strong resolutions adopted, justifying the behaviour of the people, and censuring the government for not keeping a proper naval force to prevent violations of their national sovereignty. On the return of captain Whitby to England, he was tried for the death of Pierce and acquitted.

The congress had already voted a considerable sum for the equipment of armed vessels, to be used according to circumstances; and decreed that the militia should be embodied to the amount of an hundred thousand men. In addition to their warlike measures, they evinced a strong desire to increase the boundaries of the republic, by placing a very large sum at the disposal of the president, for the purchase of the Floridas from Spain; whither an accredited minister was dispatched to induce the court of Madrid to consent to the sale of them.

As soon as Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, the commissioners named to treat with Great Britain, had arrived in London, the lords Holland and Auckland were deputed to hold conferences with them on all the matters at issue. The first subject, the impressment of the American seamen, was entered upon; and it was distinctly stated on the part of Great Britain, that she could by no means disclaim a right of search for contraband of war, which had been uniformly and generally maintained, and upon which the security of her navy might depend; more especially when she was engaged in hostilities, that enforced the necessity of the most vigilant attention to preserve and supply the naval force of the

kingdom; but the American envoys were assured that instructions had been given, and should be repeated, for the observance of the greatest caution in impressing British seamen; that the strictest care should be taken to preserve citizens of the united states from any molestation or injury; and that immediate and prompt redress should be afforded, upon any wrong to them being represented. As the right of a belligerent to the service of all its subjects, wherever they might be found, and to the recovery of that service, when it was withdrawn, could not be disputed, Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney appear to have been so perfectly satisfied with the justice and moderation of the claim, that, after repeated attempts to devise expedients to prevent all further difficulties on the point, they agreed to wave the discussion of it, "upon such an informal understanding being substituted, as would in its practical effect remove the vexation complained of," and proceed to the completion of other arrangements. This conciliatory behaviour must be admitted to be handsome on both sides. A treaty was consequently projected, in which it was declared that, in the case of the carrying trade, the proof of such an importation as should legalize the commerce should consist in the entry and landing of the goods in the united states, paying the duties as for home consumption, with such a drawback as should leave an impost of at least one per cent. ad valorem on the articles re-exported, and that the cargo, as well as the vessel conveying the same, should from the time of the clearance from the American port

port be *bonâ fide* the property of citizens of the republic. As to the maritime jurisdiction of America, it was agreed that it should be inviolable within five miles of her coast: except that it should be allowable to stop or search any vessel beyond the limit of a cannon shot, or three marine miles, from the shore, for the purpose of ascertaining to what nation the ship belonged.

These were the chief stipulations of the treaty, of which it is unnecessary to enter more fully into the merits, as the president of the united states declined to ratify it, principally because he did not deem it satisfactory on the points of impressing the seamen of America, and the recompence claimed for the injury which her commerce had sustained. These questions had been left open for future agreement, at a more convenient opportunity, by mutual consent; but the treaty as far as it went was complete in itself, and regularly signed by the plenipotentiaries; and though it was doubtless competent to the American president to withhold his sanction from it altogether, yet his wish to revise it, alter the clauses of the articles, and interpolate fresh matter, was not warranted by diplomatic usage, and tended to make all negotiation indefinite and settlement hopeless.

The dispute between America and Spain united two subjects. During the former war, the Spaniards had committed depredations on her commerce upon the high seas, for which the court of Madrid had acknowledged redress to be due; but when France had violated her engagements with Spain, which were not to alienate

Louisiana without the concurrence of the latter, by selling that extensive province to the republic, and after the American government had shown a disposition to extend the frontiers of her new acquirement, and encroach on the territories of Spain, if not to add both the Floridas to the vast dominions under its superintendance, the Spanish ministers refused to enter into a discussion of the illegal captures, until the boundaries of Louisiana were settled, and satisfaction tendered for the invasion of the trans-atlantic colonies belonging to Charles IV. On the other hand, the Americans complained that their commerce on the Mobile was obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches; that inroads had been made into the districts of Orleans, and on the banks of the Mississippi; and that American citizens had been seized, and their property plundered, in the very parts formally given up by Spain. These questions were not adjusted at the close of the present year; and though a hostile movement was made by the governor of Mexico, who sent a corps into Louisiana, which advanced into settlements undoubtedly subject to America, upon a strong remonstrance from the president of the republic, and a manifestation of resisting force by force, the Spanish officer thought fit to retire behind the Sabine river, which it was agreed should not be passed by either party, while the limits of the province were undetermined.

At the close of the year, colonel Burr, the late vice-president of America, was arrested on a charge of forming a numerous association for two distinct objects, which might

might be carried on either jointly or separately, and either the one or the other first, as circumstances should direct. One of these was the severance of the union of the American states by the Alleghanny mountains, and the establishment of an independent empire, of which he was to be the head, to the west of the Mississippi; the other an attack on Mexico. This conspiracy was detected by Mr. Burr's opening his designs to Mr. Eaton and general Wilkinson, whom he attempted to gain over to his cause; but those gentlemen, indignant at his propositions, laid as much of his plan as had come to their knowledge before the government at Washington. A premature attempt to bring Mr. Burr to justice in Kentucky, without sufficient evidence for his conviction, produced a popular impression in his favour, and a general disbelief in his guilt. This gave him also an opportunity of hastening his equipments. At length however the proofs of his intentions were daily developed, and such measures taken by the people in office as were most calculated to frustrate his machinations.

The natives of the Spanish colonies in South America had long submitted to the government of the parent state with impatience. They longed to throw off its authority, and to establish their independence. A plan for this purpose was laid before Mr. Pitt as early as the year 1790 by Francisco de Miranda, a gentleman of Venezuela, during the dispute with the court of Madrid relative to Nootka Sound; but that disagreement was accommodated, and the project was abandoned. The man by whom

this suggestion was made was descended from one of the principal families of the province in which he was born. At the early age of seventeen he repaired to Spain, and, by the influence of his connexions, obtained a captain's commission in the Spanish army. When France and Spain resolved to take a share in the war, which was carried on by Great Britain and her American colonies, the regiment to which Miranda belonged was amongst the forces, destined to co-operate with the French. Thus employed, the young American was gradually inspired with an enthusiastic desire to emancipate his own country; to this design he dedicated his whole life; and he was the prime mover in every scheme that was proposed for that end. At the close of the American war, he resigned his commission in the service of Spain, and travelled through most of the countries of Europe, in quest of knowledge and improvement. While he was in Russia, he attracted the notice of prince Potemkin, who introduced him to the empress at Kiow. By that sovereign he was regarded with great distinction, and invited to remain in her dominions; but he declined the offer, and unfolded to her his wishes to liberate his countrymen, and she is said to have manifested the strongest interest in the accomplishment of this object, to have transmitted a circular letter to her ambassadors in Europe to afford him her imperial protection everywhere, and even to have allowed him to draw on her treasury for his personal support. Whether he made any considerable use of this permission is uncertain; but it is affirmed that he obtained a large sum from the empress

press to the amount of four thousand pounds.

On his return to France, he renewed his acquaintance with his old companions in arms, and accepted a post under Dumourier with the rank of *maréchal de camp*. While he was under the auspices of this officer, the idea of changing the condition of Spain and her colonies was adopted by the republican leaders; but Miranda foresaw the dangers with which the design was pregnant, and forbore to enter into their views. When Robespierre tyrannised over France, Miranda became an object of suspicion to the revolutionary tribunal; but after a trial he was acquitted by that body, although he still remained in prison. As soon as he recovered his freedom, under the party that assumed the government after the death of Robespierre, he might have acquired a distinguished command, which he refused; because as he observed, though he had fought for liberty, it was not his purpose to fight for conquest. About this time he was met at Paris by deputies from Mexico, and the other chief provinces of South America, who had been sent to Europe to concert with him

measures for establishing the independence of their country; and it was decided that he should in their name again repair to England, and make to the British government such offers as, it was hoped, might induce it to lend them the assistance required to promote the great object of their wishes. The terms\* proposed might possibly have been advantageous to England, and on his arrival in London Miranda had several interviews with Mr. Pitt. The outline of the proceeding was fully agreed upon. It was concerted that North America should furnish ten thousand troops, and that the British government should find money and ships. The president of the united states, Mr. Adams, however did not transmit an immediate acquiescence to the proposal; and the measure was in consequence postponed.

In the beginning of the year 1801, during lord Sidmouth's administration, the project was again renewed; it was once more impeded by the peace of Amiens; and revived on the commencement of hostilities with Spain in 1804. The measure was now prosecuted with zeal. Lord Melville and sir Home Popham were employed in arranging with Miranda the

\* The Spanish colonists agreed to pay the sum of thirty millions sterling for the assistance required. They wished to conclude a defensive alliance between themselves, England, and the united states of America:—a treaty of commerce with Great Britain:—to open the navigation of the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans by the isthmus of Panama, as well as by the lake of Nicaragua, and the freedom of using it was to be guaranteed to the British nation:—to establish a connection between the bank of England, and those of Lima and Mexico, for the purposes of mutual support, and of giving England the advantage of that command of the precious metals, which the country supplying them might have it in its power to yield:—to cede the Floridas to the united states, the Mississippi being proposed as the most advisable boundary between the two nations; and in return to have a small military force from the North Americans to aid them in procuring their independence:—and to resign all the islands belonging to the Spaniards, except Cuba, the possession of which was rendered necessary, as the Havannah commands the passage from the Gulph of Mexico.

whole details of the procedure, when the execution was suspended at the desire of his imperial majesty of Russia, who had hopes of prevailing upon Spain to accede to the coalition against France.

The prospect thus appearing shut upon them in Europe, the South American exiles from the provinces of Caraccas and Santa Féé, residing in the united states of America, and in the island of Trinidad, pressed Miranda, and at last prevailed upon him, to quit England and make an effort in their behalf, through the medium of America alone. Under these circumstances, he embarked for that country, conceiving that the disputes between the united states and Spain, respecting Louisiana, afforded him a hope in that quarter of all the assistance, which the occasion demanded; but on his arrival, he had the mortification to find that a compromise on the subject of Louisiana was likely to take place; and that the avowed aid of the American government was not to be obtained. He was received however with cordiality and distinction by the president and secretary; and had from various quarters encouragement to suppose that, by private exertions and resources, such means might be collected, as, with the help of good fortune, would be adequate to the enterprise. It should seem also that he enjoyed a perfect understanding with the British government; for

it is conjectured that he was accommodated by Mr. Pitt with letters of credit on a house at New York for forty thousand pounds. Though the receipt of this pecuniary assistance is doubtful, it is certain Miranda was secretly on good terms with the English cabinet.

At New York he agreed with Mr. Ogden, a merchant, to equip an armed ship, the *Leander* of eighteen guns, commanded by a person named Lewis. On board this vessel in February 1806 he embarked with about two hundred volunteers, many of whom were said to be young men of respectability, and proceeded to Saint Domingo; where according to stipulation he expected to be joined by another ship, called the *Emperor*, mounting thirty guns, under the orders of Mr. Lewis's brother. His hopes in this respect were disappointed, for soon after his departure from New York, the Spanish and French ambassadors influenced the American government to \* prosecute Mr. Ogden and another gentleman, who had interested himself in Miranda's favour, for fitting out the *Leander*, on the ground that their conduct was unauthorized and illegal; and the master of the *Emperor*, having heard of this action while he was at Saint Domingo, was so much alarmed at the occurrence, that he positively declined to accompany the expedition. In this exigence Miranda was compelled to engage

\* Notwithstanding the united states, from the obvious motives of exculpating themselves in the eyes of France, thought proper to disclaim all knowledge of the transaction, it came out, on the trial of the parties prosecuted, to the conviction of the jury, who thereupon acquitted them, that the government had been privy to all the proceedings of Miranda, and by never so much as hinting their disapprobation, appeared of necessity, both to him and his agents, to favour, though they deemed it impolitic at the time openly to countenance, his undertaking.

two schooners instead of the Emperor; but the refusal of Mr. J. Lewis to perform his contract, however excusable and natural, and the delay occasioned by the necessary equipment of the schooners, were perhaps detrimental to the undertaking; though it was not very probable that it could have prospered with the slender means employed. After this mortifying check, Miranda sailed with his little squadron for the coast of Caraccas. Here he discovered that the Spanish government had been informed of his intentions, and had already taken measures of defence; and he had the additional misfortune to lose his two schooners, which were captured by the *guarda costas*. Finding that there was no chance of success without an auxiliary force, he repaired in the *Leander* to Trinidad to procure aid from admiral Cochrane, who then commanded on the windward station. That officer afforded him support both in ships and men, and sent several sloops of war and gunboats to co-operate with him. On the 24th of July Miranda again embarked on his destination with about fifteen vessels, conveying five hundred men. When he arrived off the coast of Caraccas, a heavy gale of wind and the ignorance of the pilots delayed a descent for thirty-six hours; and by these circumstances the Spanish officers were prepared for resistance. Five hundred soldiers and seven hundred Indians poured a heavy but ineffectual fire on Miranda's troops, as they attempted to land before day-break on the 2d of August. In spite of these obstacles, the boats pushed for the beach, and the men, having gained the terra firma, exchanged a couple of volleys with

their opponents, who instantly fled; when the Indians, no longer under the control of their masters, wished success to Miranda with repeated exclamations.

Having secured the two forts in the harbour of La Vela, satisfied himself of the friendly disposition of the people in the town, and communicated with some of the principal persons in the interior, Miranda marched to Coro, situated about fifteen miles up the country, and containing a population of nearly twelve thousand persons. Here he published an address to the inhabitants, in which he called on them to assert their independence. After taking proper measures for the safety of the persons and property of the citizens, he invited the ecclesiastical and judicial courts to send deputies to the army, for the purpose of forming a provisional government.

On Miranda's landing, the members of the court and city council of Coro withdrew from that town to Buen Vista. He consequently authorised the count de Rouvray, who commanded the vanguard of his forces, to confer with them on the best means of preserving the peace, union, and happiness of their countrymen. A secret correspondence was kept up with this body for some days, during which time Miranda continued on an extremely amicable footing with the most respectable inhabitants of Coro; but being at length convinced that his force was too small to encourage the people to join his standards, and as the captain-general of Caraccas was collecting troops, he withdrew from the town and retreated to the coast. He now dispatched Mr. Ledlie, whom he had appointed

appointed a captain under him, to the naval and military commanders on the Jamaica station to represent his prospects, and press for a reinforcement sufficient to inspire the people of South America with confidence. Mr. Ledlie arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of August, and had an interview with sir Eyre Coote and admiral Dacres, who are understood to have expressed their regret that they could not grant the aid, which was demanded, without official instructions from home; yet admiral Dacres gave orders to his cruisers to afford Miranda every possible protection. In the mean time Miranda had retired to Aruba, an island situated a few leagues from Vela de Cora, with the intention of making himself master of the strong post of Rio de la Hache, where he proposed to remain till the succours, which he hoped to receive, should join him. Not long afterwards admiral Cochrane sent him a ship of the line, and two frigates, with renewed promises of support. Fortune, to whom it must be confessed this enterprising American had so largely trusted, again frowned on him. A false report reached the West Indies that preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France had been signed at Paris; and as Miranda was given to understand, that, owing to this event, the British naval force must be withdrawn from him, he abandoned the enterprise in despair, and returned with his followers to Trinidad.

The conduct and heroism of Miranda in this expedition have been highly panegyriced; but it does not appear that he had opened any correspondence with the leading

people in Spanish America; and it was not to be imagined that, on his landing, and without previous notice, the inhabitants of the country, whatever might be their disposition, would listen to his arguments, unprovided as he was with a proper force to protect them. They justly dreaded the vengeance of their Spanish governors in case of a defeat, and judiciously refused to countenance an undertaking, which, under all the circumstances of it, seemed wild, romantic, and desperate. Miranda had possibly meditated so long on his project, that his mind had become heated. The idea of effecting a revolution with a body of five hundred men, pompously called by his admirers "a little army," though it scarcely was worthy of the name of a battalion, could only have entered into the intellect of an enthusiast, who, by his prodigality in rashness, sank from the lofty character of an enterprising patriot into that of an extravagant adventurer. The noble name of Washington has been profaned by a comparison between Miranda and that great man; but amongst the virtues and talents of Washington, prudence was most conspicuous. He had besides a vast personal stake in the provinces of which he became the liberator. Miranda, on the contrary, is no where stated to have possessed any property in Spanish America, however respectable his family might have been. That he once was highly in the confidence of his countrymen is undoubted, since they conveyed their sentiments through him to the English government; yet as he had nothing to lose by the disturbance of the colonies, in case of disaster and defeat,



feat, he naturally wanted that weight with the inhabitants of them, which is inspired by sympathy; and he certainly gave them no great reason to confide in his judgment, by making an attempt which depended so much on chance for success. In proportion as Miranda's exertions have been extolled, the indifference of the British cabinet has been blamed in this matter; yet let it be recollected that the posture of affairs in Europe was changed after Miranda's departure from England, and that a negotiation was latterly in train between Great Britain and France; and it could hardly have been thought justifiable, at that particular juncture, to throw impediments in the way of peace for any precarious advantage, which might have resulted from a future connexion with the Spanish Americans, even if they had been able to form a separate state; and if they had failed in their endeavours, the hope of making a satisfactory arrangement on the continent of Europe, and between the two great powers then at war, would have been gratuitously sacrificed, or at least compromised, for a remote and questionable possibility of benefit.

In December 1805, the people of Trinidad had nearly experienced a rebellion of the most horrible nature, which, had it taken place, would have involved all the windward islands in general misery. The negroes had concerted a plot to massacre all the white male inhabitants, and to cast lots for the females. Luckily colonel Gloster discovered the conspiracy, and gave notice of it to the governor, general Hislop, who sent a

strong detachment of regulars in the dead of night, and took all the miscreants into custody, with their uniforms and standards, which were found concealed. By the prudence and indefatigable sollicitude of general Hislop, the plan of these infuriated beings was totally frustrated, and tranquillity restored in the island.

Dessalines, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of Hayti, was in the month of October 1806, deprived at once of his dignity and life. As there was good reason to apprehend that he had ordered a sanguinary proscription, which was to immolate great numbers to his ferocity, to be enforced, the principal officers of state, and the commanders possessing most influence amongst the troops, with the people of the towns and the planters, who were already disgusted by his severity and tyrannical conduct, determined to prevent the execution of his cruel designs; and so secretly did they take their measures, that the oppressor was in their power, before he had the least suspicion of their intentions. Finding that they purposed to arrest him, Dessalines made an effort to escape, but was slain in the attempt. By this revolution, the supremacy of the island devolved on Christophe, who assumed the title of chief of the government. The first use which he made of his power was to order a proclamation to neutral nations, inviting them to trade with the people of Saint Domingo, and promising that the commerce should be conducted on terms advantageous to all parties, as well as regulated by the principles of dispatch, convenience, and integrity.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, which is surrendered to the British forces. Unauthorised attack and capture of Buenos Ayres. Proceedings subsequent to the conquest. Sir Home Popham's address to the Corporations in Great Britain. Enthusiasm of the mercantile interest to embark in speculations to the newly acquired settlement. The Spaniards, excited by Pueridon and Liniers, retake the Town and its dependencies. The army under Brigadier Beresford capitulates on terms, which are violated by the enemy, and the English troops are marched into the interior. Sir Home Popham makes an ineffectual attempt on Monte Video; but reduces Maldonado. His extraordinary conduct relative to some Spanish prisoners, who had fallen into his hands. General Achmuty arrives at Maldonado with a reinforcement. Sir Home Popham superseded by admiral Stirling. Affairs of India. The Marquis Cornwallis appointed governor general. His measures and death. Sir George Barlow succeeds his lordship in the superintendence of British India. Terms of the treaties of peace signed with Scindiah and Holkar. Massacre at Vellore. Differences between his majesty's ministers and the court of East India Directors, respecting the nomination of lord Lauderdale to be governor general of India: That nobleman waves his pretensions, and lord Minto appointed to the office. Naval Transactions. Account of the French fleets. Capture of Linois by Sir John Borlase Warren. Admiral Duckworth defeats Le Siegle in the West Indies. Cruise of Villaumez. Vigilance of the British Admiralty. Destruction of the major part of the squadron under Villaumez. Sir Samuel Hood engages five French frigates of the largest class, and takes four of them. Gallantry of Captain Brisbane. Spirited action in Bouche d'Arkie. State of Ireland. Account of the Threshers. Death of Mr. Fox. Narrative of his illness, and sketch of his character. New ministerial arrangements. Westminster election. Dissolution of Parliament.*

**I**N the autumn of 1805, a body of troops, which amounted to nearly five thousand men, under the orders of sir David Baird, was embarked on board a fleet consisting of several ships of the line and frigates, besides transports, commanded by sir Home Popham, to form an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. The armament, having failed from England, reached Saint Salvador in November; where it remained some time to recruit the strength of the men, and procure horses for the cavalry. On the 26th of the same month it

quitted that port, and arrived in Table bay on the 4th of the following January. The general intended to effect a landing immediately; and for that purpose lieutenant colonel Mc Donald, with the 24th regiment, was detached, under charge of the Leda frigate, to make a demonstration in Campo bay; but the wind failing, the fleet did not arrive at its anchorage, until the day was too far advanced to attempt a descent. On the morning of the 5th the first brigade, under brigadier general Beresford, was sent in boats to-

wards the only accessible part of the shore in a small creek, sixteen miles to the northward of Cape Town; but the surf had so much increased, and the difficulties of approach to the shore were so great, that it was found necessary to abandon the undertaking. After having carefully examined Lospard's bay, it appeared that the chances of effecting a landing depended upon contingencies very unlikely to be realized, except in a perfect calm; and therefore brigadier general Beresford was directed to proceed, with the 38th regiment and the 20th light dragoons, escorted by the *Diomede*, to Saldanha bay, where the debarkation could be accomplished with facility, and a prospect was afforded of procuring horses and cattle; and sir David Baird intended to follow with the main body of the army, in case the beach should be found impracticable the next morning; but the surf in Lospard's bay having considerably abated, the general, in concurrence with sir Home Popham, determined to make an effort to get the troops on shore, which was happily accomplished by general Ferguson with the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, although the swell was so violent, that five and thirty rank and file of the latter corps were lost by the over-setting of one of the boats. The enemy had scattered a party of sharpshooters on the contiguous heights; but no serious injury ensued from them. The remainder of the troops could not be landed until the next day, and even then amidst formidable obstacles. However on the 8th, the principal part of the army, consisting of the 24th, 59th,

71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, about four thousand strong, was formed into two brigades, with a couple of howitzers, and six light field pieces, and moved off towards the road that leads to Cape Town; and having ascended the *Blau-berg* (blue mountain) and dislodged the enemy's light troops, came in fight of his main body, the greater proportion of which was cavalry, altogether numbering about five thousand men. From the nature of the ground which he occupied, it was evident that he intended to refuse his right, and with his left out-flank the right wing of the English. To frustrate this design, the army was thrown into two columns, which had the desired effect, and the line being formed with great celerity and order, the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, advanced under a heavy fire of round-shot, grape and musketry. The enemy received the British, and maintained his position, with obstinacy; but, daunted by the intrepidity of the charge, at length was forced to a precipitate retreat. The first brigade comprising the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, could not participate in the action; but the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, by dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights. This action cost the hostile forces seven hundred men; the loss of the English in the engagement was very inconsiderable, but consisted chiefly of officers. A deep, heavy, and arid sand covered with shrubs, scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry, and the total privation of water under the effects of a burning sun, presented severe difficulties

to the troops in their march to the Reit valley, where they took a position for the night. Great part of the provisions and necessaries, with which the army started, was lost during the action; but the unwearied diligence of the navy having thrown on shore such supplies as it was possible to land, sir David Baird advanced towards Cape Town, and established himself to the south of the Salt river, in expectation of the battering train, which had not yet come up. In this post general Baird received a flag of truce from the commandant of Cape Town, requesting that hostilities should be suspended for eight and forty hours, in order to settle the terms on which the garrison might capitulate. The demand was complied with; and, by agreement, the 59th regiment marched into Fort Knokke. On the next day the articles of surrender, which were very favourable to the military and citizens, were agreed upon; and sir David took possession of the town.

The Batavian commander in chief, general Jansens, with twelve hundred men and twenty six pieces of artillery, retired to Hottentots Holland Kloof after the engagement on the 8th. No chance remained to him of being able to prolong the contest, but to move into the district of Stellenbosch; and overtures were made to him to prevent any unnecessary effusion of blood; but to give these more weight, brigadier general Beresford was detached to occupy the country and secure the passes. General Jansens offered no resistance to the measures of the British; and though he at first hesitated about the conditions proposed to him, seeing that his posture was

hopeless, he accepted them on the 14th, and capitulated. In consequence of the gallant defence made by the Batavian troops, they were not to be considered prisoners of war, but embarked for Holland, on their engaging not to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, until after they had been landed in that country. Thus was the whole of the settlement of the Cape, with all its dependencies, given up to Great Britain.

This expedition had been suggested by sir Home Popham, during the ministry of Mr. Pitt, on account of intelligence which the commodore had received of the facility of the undertaking, from the unprovided state of the colony. It appears also that when Mr. Pitt encouraged general Miranda in his views on South America, that sir Home had frequent conferences with the right honourable gentleman on the subject, and to be ready to act in conjunction with Miranda, in case it should be held expedient to concert any combined system of action on the Spanish main, he was appointed to the Diadem; but as it has been related, out of respect to the emperor of Russia, the whole project was suspended. In the mean time the armament against the Cape failed from England; and when sir Home was acquainted, in the month of February 1806, with the disasters that had befallen the allies, and the fatal termination of the battle of Austerlitz, he was willing to persuade himself that Mr. Pitt's reason for delaying the attack on the Spanish settlements in South America, (the hope of inducing the court of Madrid to join the confederacy against France) had ceased to operate,

ate, as it was evident that the confederacy was crushed. He therefore determined to incur the dangerous responsibility of immediately proceeding to the rio de la Plata; and of this ulterior movement he affected to conceive the conquest of the Cape as merely a leading part. On the 9th of April he signified his intentions to the board of admiralty, and made every preparation to carry his schemes into effect.

In every point of view his conduct was unwarrantable. If an officer is to permit himself, either through desire of fame or cupidity, to undertake remote expeditions not within the bounds prescribed in his orders, the most able minister may be perpetually counteracted by the mistaken zeal of the persons whom he employs. The best combined system of policy may be frustrated by the mischievous activity of a general or an admiral, who thus presumes to deviate from his line of duty, and arrogates to himself the functions which belong only to the united deliberation of a cabinet. It is most completely evident, by the issue of the gallant commodore's trial, that he was invested with no discretionary powers; but his imagination was so much fired with the idea of conquests, wealth, and rewards, that he resolved to risque every danger to realize the splendid reveries that dazzled his understanding; to overleap every obstacle, and vault into the possession of imaginary consequence. The benefit of his country might unquestionably be amongst the most powerful motives, that influenced him in this resolution; yet it is the duty of subordinate characters, when they have no express latitude

of action allowed them, to reflect that their best merit is to perform the services required at their hands. It is also possible that sir Home thought, that success would atone for his deviating from the strict import of his orders. Success may captivate popular applause, and popularity screen an individual from reprehension; but success cannot alter the nature of right and wrong, nor make any amends to a people for the destruction of a single link of that chain of combined duty, which is so material to the welfare of the state.

No sooner was sir Home Popham persuaded that the French admiral, Villaumez, with his squadron had altered his destination from the Cape to the West Indies, than he became eager to prosecute his long cherished enterprise; and when he had prevailed on sir David Baird to permit a division of troops to embark with him, he actually left the lately acquired settlement without any naval force for its defence, notwithstanding he had been apprised that a French squadron was expected at the Mauritius. After touching at Saint Helena for a reinforcement of infantry, which he was fortunate enough to obtain, he arrived in the rio de la Plata in the month of June, with about 1460 effective rank and file, under the orders of brigadier general Beresford. The two commanders immediately consulted whether it would be better to assail the town of Saint Philip, at Monte Video, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the province; and the latter being preferred as the point of attack, the troops and marines, with such seamen as were incorporated with them, were re-

moved from the line-of-battle ships into the transports and the *Narcissus*. Owing to adverse winds and currents, as well as continual fogs and the shoals in the mouth of the river, the squadron was occupied from the 16th to the 24th in reaching the point of Quilmes. Directly the wind would permit on the next day, sir Home Popham took the shipping as near the shore as it was possible for them to go, and the troops were disembarked. During these operations the *Diadem* blockaded the port of Monte Video, and the *Raisable* and *Diomede* cruized before Maldonado to divert the efforts, which the Spaniards might make to resist the forces. About two thousand of the enemy witnessed the landing of the forces, from the brow of a hill, without opposing them. It was eleven the next morning before the English could move forward, when an ill directed fire was opened on them, which did little damage. The cool advance of the line struck their opponents with dismay; and after receiving a volley they fled in confusion, burning in their retreat a bridge over the Chuela, and again drew up behind hedges and houses on the opposite bank of the river. As it was important to lose no time, general Beresford ordered the army to cross the Chuela the next morning at day-break, by means of rafts and such boats as could be found. He forced a passage without any considerable opposition; and learning that the Spanish troops, chiefly militia with regular officers, had abandoned the city, he summoned the governor to surrender. Buenos Ayres was almost instantly delivered up; and

very liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants. The stipulations were that all *bona fide* private property, of whatever description it might be, should remain free and unmolested; that all the inhabitants should receive protection; that the taxes should be collected by the magistrates as usual, until the king's pleasure could be known; that every sanction should be afforded to the exercise of the catholic religion; that the coasting vessels in the river should be delivered up to their owners; but that all public property should be surrendered to the captors. These conditions were very lenient to the vanquished in every respect; and the moderate conduct of the commanders in foregoing their indisputable right, when they generously restored the captured coasting vessels, with their cargoes, valued at a million and a half of dollars, while it was honourable to themselves, must have made an extremely favourable impression on the Spaniards. Even if policy had any share in influencing the British general and admiral to behave in this handsome manner, it by no means diminished their merit; for though, as it has been suggested, there might not have been a sufficient number of hands to be spared from the fleet to man the vessels, and that by destroying them all means of intercourse with the coast and interior would have been precluded, except by the tedious and expensive method of using caravans, and by thus intercepting all means of commerce, the value of the settlement would have been lost, the behaviour of the commanders, after all these drawbacks, must be admitted to be exemplary, and originating

originating in the purest regard to national advantage. The public property which was captured consisted of 1,086,208 dollars, which were sent home in the *Narcissus*, and of the merchandise, chiefly Jesuits' bark and quicksilver, in the stores belonging to the king of Spain and those of the Philippine company; but these latter articles fell into the hands of the Spaniards, when the place was retaken. A proclamation followed the conquest of this settlement, in which general Beresford acquainted the commercial interest of the country, that it was his majesty's intention to open a free trade with South America, similar to that enjoyed by the rest of the British colonies, particularly the island of Trinidad; and he promised that such duties, as were found to bear too hard on the enterprise of trade, should be taken off.

In addition to the dispatches, which sir Home Popham transmitted to the admiralty, detailing the naval manœuvres in the rio de la Plata, and, in a summary manner, recapitulating the movements of the army under general Beresford, whose opponents he multiplied into four thousand men, he had the presumption to send an account of the importance of the colony subdued by the British arms, and the immense prospect of advantage which it opened to the trading part of the community, not to his majesty's ministers, but to the corporate bodies of England. An address so officious and indecent naturally excited the greatest surprise in the reflecting part of the public, and perhaps the resentment of the ministry, who thus witnessed their

duties in some degree superseded by the forwardness of their servant. The proceeding was indisputably contemptuous, and possibly in no slight measure added to their determination of bringing sir Home Popham to a court-martial. Without giving themselves time to investigate the real value of the capture, and appreciate the benefits likely to arise from speculating adventures to South America, the mercantile and the sanguine were fired by the narrative of the gallant commodore. Ships were expeditiously freighted with the commodities likely to find a vent; and fancy anticipated prodigious returns from the profits of the sale of them. Enthusiasm revelled in imaginary wealth. The fortunate individual who could command a vessel, and the no less happy trader, who was admitted as a sharer in joint concerns, equally expected to see their warehouses filled with the produce of Spanish opulence, or crowded with the ingots of Potosi and Peru. The speculators did not even trouble themselves to consider, that such British articles as were wanted had long been supplied to the inhabitants of South America, through the medium of Spanish merchants, or an extensive contraband trade; and that consequently the whole additional acquirements to be derived from the open commerce, would be the profits of the persons through whom it was formerly conducted. They did not wait to feel the pulse of the market, with the idea of increasing their investments in proportion as they found they would be wanted; but poured their goods with the utmost abundance on a population, whose demands were infinitely exceeded by

the magnitude of the supply. However on the arrival in the river Plate of the first vessels, which had been sent out, in consequence of the alluring prospects exhibited by sir Home Popham, the masters of them found Buenos Ayres again in the possession of the Spaniards; and the whole population of the country hostile to the British interests.

Although ministers gave no encouragement to this wild spirit of adventure, they were highly blamable in not endeavouring to undeceive the people on the subject. It was clearly their duty to point out the delusion which had so generally obtained; yet they were not only content with being silent on the occasion, but also indirectly augmented the errors of the speculators by publishing an order of council, permitting the commodities of the British isles to be imported into Buenos Ayres, on paying a duty of twelve and a half per cent, to which sum general Beresford had undertaken to reduce it from thirty four and a half per cent *ad valorem*; and allowing articles, being the growth of the settlement, and its dependencies, to be brought into any of the ports of Great Britain, on the same terms as from the West Indies.

The servants of the crown felt themselves much embarrassed by this unauthorised expedition of sir Home Popham; yet as Buenos Ayres had fallen into their hands, they ought either to have abandoned it altogether, or have taken the proper means to keep it. Indeed before any material assistance could have been afforded to general Beresford, the place was recaptured; but that circumstance does not extenuate their want of

decision and promptitude. It was clear from a paragraph in sir Home Popham's letter to Mr. Windham, but which was suppressed in the gazette, that the natives considered the object of the expedition to the rio de la Plata to apply principally to their independance; and the people of colour to their total liberation. Had general Beresford felt himself authorized or justified in confirming either of these persuasions, no exertions whatever would have been made to dispossess him of the colony; but when they found themselves disappointed in their hopes, they eagerly listened to the incitements of Pueridon, a member of the municipality, who secretly prepared the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood for a general insurrection; while Liniers, a French officer in the service of Spain, collected the people for the same purpose at Colonia. Their measures were conducted with such prudence, that though they must have been some time in acquiring a consistency, general Beresford was not apprised of them until nearly the moment of explosion. On the 2d of August Pueridon, having thrown off the mask, advanced with fifteen hundred men towards the capital; but he was successfully encountered by the English commander, who took all his cannon. As sir Home Popham had been informed on the 31st of July of the threatened danger, he endeavoured to prevent the enemy under Liniers from crossing the river Plata, to co-operate with the insurgents on the right bank of it; but he was frustrated in this attempt by the violence of the weather, and Liniers in a thick fog gained the southern side of la Plata, unobserved by  
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any of the ships, except a schooner, which of course could offer no adequate resistance to him. Such torrents of rain fell during the 6th, 7th, and 8th of August, that the roads were impracticable for any thing but cavalry, a circumstance as favourable to the enemy, who abounded in horses, as it was detrimental to the British forces, from their total want of them. It consequently became impossible to attack the Spaniards at any distance from the city, where they arrived in great force on the 10th, and summoned the castle. In this predicament, it was determined to embark the wounded that night, and cross the Chuelo for the purpose of moving towards Ensenada; but the tempestuous state of the weather rendered this plan ineffectual. On the 12th at day light, a smart fire began from the enemy's advanced posts, which was returned with great effect by the British artillery, planted towards the principal streets leading to the great square. In the mean time vast numbers of the disaffected within the city, armed with musquets, crowded the roofs of the houses, which are all flat and surrounded with a parapet; insomuch that they entirely commanded the position of the English and the castle; and as they had placed a piece of ordnance on the top of one of the churches, they annoyed the British troops with impunity. To persevere in this murderous conflict, against so prodigious a disparity of force, would have been folly; and general Beresford, having lost nearly 180 men in this desperate action, capitulated. It was agreed that the English were to be considered as prisoners of war, but they were

to be embarked as soon as possible in the transports then lying in the river, and conveyed to England or the Cape. Owing to some unexplained cause, this engagement was not adhered to; and general Beresford with the troops was detained in the country.

A small reinforcement, under the command of lieutenant colonel Backhouse, having arrived in the rio de la Plata from the Cape, that officer in conjunction with sir Home Popham, on the 28th of October endeavoured to take Monte Video by assault; but the water was found too shallow to admit the ships to stand in sufficiently near to the town for an effective cannonade; and the enterprize was given up. After this failure, it was deemed advisable to proceed against the village of Maldonado, which was defended by 600 regulars and militia. These were quickly dispersed by four hundred men, under lieutenant colonels Backhouse and Vassal, who landed on the 29th. Thus that village and the fortified island of Gorreti were reduced; and a convenient station for the troops and shipping was obtained for the winter.

During these transactions, sir Home Popham, in order to disembarass himself of the prisoners that he had taken out of some captured Spanish vessels, with an inhumanity scarcely credible, landed two hundred of them on the small uninhabited island of Lobos, in the mouth of the river. In this situation he left them without shelter, water, or sustenance of any kind. To avoid an exposure to all the inclemency of the atmosphere and a lingering death, forty of these unhappy persons construct-

ed machines made of seal skins, to support them in swimming, and ventured to commit themselves to the waves, with the hope of gaining the continent. In this dangerous undertaking they succeeded, and dispatched a vessel to liberate the sufferers who remained behind. As soon as the conduct of the British commodore was known to the natives, the extreme cruelty of it naturally exasperated them to the utmost pitch of fury against his countrymen, who were in their power. Independently of its moral turpitude, all inhumanity exercised towards an enemy is impolitic. Accordingly the English troops, who were kept as prisoners of war in the province of La Plata, suffered by the extraordinary behaviour of sir Home, and two of the officers were assassinated. General Beresford addressed a letter on the subject to colonel Liniers, he having assumed the chief command in the colony, who took every means to prevent such excesses in future, and place the prisoners of war in security. Liniers, in his answer to general Beresford, drew a marked distinction between the sentiments which he, as well as all the people of the colony, felt for that officer and the commodore; paying every tribute of respect to the former for the moderation, kindness, and generosity of his disposition; while he reprobated each procedure of the latter with the strongest expressions of disgust.

When the English government despaired of bringing the negotiation with France to a fortunate issue, they sent a formidable body of troops to reinforce those that were supposed to be still at Buenos

Ayres. Sir Samuel Achmuty, who commanded them, sailed from England on the 9th of October; but he did not reach Maldonado till the following January, owing, as it is said, to the bad sailing of the transports. Admiral Stirling, who was appointed to supersede sir Home Popham, entered the river Plate on the 1st of December. The admiral carried out general Grey. This officer was to succeed sir David Baird in the command of the Cape, to which place he took his passage from Maldonado in the Sampson.

Much alarm had been excited from an indistinct and exaggerated apprehension of the evils, which it was imagined would result from the system of policy pursued by lord Wellesly in India, and the ruinous wars in which the government was thought to be involved. This feeling was rendered more general and popular amongst all persons in England, connected with the company, from the increase of the Indian debt; the interest of which, combined with the want of sales for their accumulated investments, threatened that body with immediate distress, that many were desirous of exclusively ascribing to the measures of the governor general, and not in any degree to that immense loss, to which, from the nature of the war in Europe, the commerce of the company was at this period subject. An idea had also prevailed that the measures of the noble marquis, besides being dictated by ambition, were characterised by profusion. It must be acknowledged that there appeared some foundation for these latter sentiments; yet his lordship's ambition,

bition, if perhaps it had carried him too far, seemed to have been purely for the public welfare, and the glory of the British nation. There was nothing of private cupidity mixed with it. As to his alleged profusion, it was precisely of the same cast; for in every instance the expences entered into were incurred to support the rank and high authority of the government, or for establishments of public utility. The best intentions of individuals in a public station may however be productive of serious inconveniences, if the resources of the community are inadequate to meet the exigencies created by their ardour. It was therefore perfectly natural in the ministry of 1805 to seek for a remedy of those evils, which were supposed to exist, and tranquillize the popular opinion by their choice of a new governor general. The reputation of marquis Cornwallis for moderate views, incorruptible integrity, and firmness, pointed him out as the most proper person to satisfy all parties both in England and India. Though the health of this venerable nobleman was in a declining state, the goodness and greatness of his mind impelled him to resume an office, which he had formerly discharged with so much credit, and his appointment to it gave universal satisfaction.

When the marquis arrived at Fort William in July 1805, he adopted such measures as were most likely to relieve the finances from the embarrassments, that were the inevitable consequence of the wars, which the company had been carrying on, and in which they were still engaged. His first retrench-

ment was of a large body of irregular horse, which had joined the army of lord Lake, after the retreat of Holkar from Hindoostan. These corps consisted of the numerous followers of chiefs, whom the continued defeats of that leader had set free to follow their own inclinations, and who consequently attached themselves to the British cause. It is but justice to add that the disbursements for this cavalry were only of a temporary nature, and were in a progress of reduction, before the marquis's arrival in India. To supply the actual deficiencies in pecuniary resource, lord Cornwallis was compelled to detain the sum of 250,000*l.* which had been destined to be sent to China for commercial investments; because it was impossible to disband any part of the forces, before the war was completely at an end.

No final settlement had taken place with Scindiah, who was much discontented at the construction put on some of the articles of the treaty of Surjee Argengaum, and who had had the presumption to prevent Mr. Jenkins, the English resident, from quitting his camp, after the desire of that gentleman to depart, and even to permit his baggage to be plundered. Lord Lake had required the release of the resident, and informed Scindiah that if he failed to comply with the demand, he would bring on himself a renewal of hostilities; but although the marquis Cornwallis was in the first instance determined not to have any intercourse with Scindiah, till he had made reparation to the British government for the insult offered to it, so strong was his lordship's desire

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fire for peace, that he consented to wave this demand, as a mere point of honour, if it should ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment with that chieftain.

But before the instructions to this effect had reached lord Lake, he had judiciously opened a channel of communication with Scindiah, and effected the release of the English resident, by means of Kavel Nyne, who had long been one of Scindiah's favourite and confidential servants; but had fled from the temporary tyranny of that chief's father-in-law, Surjee Rao Gautka, to Delhi. When this respectable native arrived in lord Lake's camp, he was directed to depute one of his relations to Scindiah to explain to him the manner in which he could best reconcile himself to the British government. Scindiah, as it was expected, caught at this new and unexpected mode of intelligence, and transmitted proposals, through Kavel Nyne, to lord Lake, who, in answer to these overtures, observed that he could not attend to any of them, till the resident and his suite were suffered to depart. The result was that Mr. Jenkins, with his retinue, was on his march for the English territories, before lord Cornwallis's resolution was known to the commander in chief, and the necessity of acting upon it was of course prevented.

The marquis Cornwallis gave lord Lake complete instructions with respect to the treaty, which he was desirous of concluding with Scindiah, in a dispatch dated the 19th of September; after which he left Fort William to join the army in the upper provinces, as

well as to accomplish other important objects intimately connected with the interests of the state. His health, which was by no means good when he quitted England, became worse from the period when he left Calcutta; and his valuable existence terminated at Gazypore, near Benares, on the 5th of October 1805.

In consequence of this lamentable event, sir George Barlow succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the administration of the affairs of British India. This gentleman was a civil servant of the company. He had recommended himself to the notice of his superiors, by an able and honourable discharge of the various subordinate offices, which he filled, before he reached the high station of governor general. He was actively employed by lord Cornwallis, in introducing the code of regulations for the civil management of the territories of Bengal; and held the office of chief secretary under lord Teignmouth and lord Wellesley, previously to his having a place in the supreme council, of which he was a member during the four last years of the government of the latter nobleman. The instructions, which he gave to the commander in chief for the conclusion of the treaty with Scindiah, in no respect differed in principle from those issued on the same points by lord Cornwallis. He expressed, in his first letter to lord Lake, his resolution to follow the steps of his predecessor, and his conviction that the public interests would be best promoted, by throwing off, at the earliest practicable period, all connexion with the petty states west of the Jumnah, and by limiting the British boundary to  
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that river, and a line of territory not exceeding eight or ten miles in breadth on its right bank, for future security in the contests of the company's neighbours. With the same views, while he wished to be free from all defensive engagements with Scindiah, he was more desirous of a peace with Holkar, than of the complete reduction of that chief.

On the 23d of November a treaty was concluded between Scindiah and the company, by which, although the latter did not acknowledge that Scindiah possessed any claim to Gohud and Gwalior, under the prior arrangement with him; yet from sentiments of friendship, they agreed to cede to him the fortress of Gwalior, and certain parts of the territories of Gohud. Scindiah consented to relinquish all claims to the pensions, granted to different officers of his court by the original treaty of peace, to the amount of fifteen lacks of rupees annually; but the company were to pay the arrears of those pensions up to the 31st of December 1805; and the balance due on the revenues of Dhoolpoor, Barree, and Rajah Kerrah, up to the same date, with certain deductions, amongst which was one for the plunder of the British residency at Scindiah's camp. The river Chumbul was to form the barrier between the two states, from the city of Kottah in the west to the dominions of Gohud in the east. The company granted to Scindiah, personally and exclusively, the sum of four lacks of rupees annually; and assigned, within their dominions in

Hindoostan; a Jagheer of two lacks of rupees per annum to his wife, and another of one lack per annum to his daughter. They also engaged to enter into no treaties with the feudatories of Scindiah, nor to interfere with any settlement which he might propose with Holkar. In addition to the jagheers given to this chief and his family by the treaty, estates to the amount of three lacks of rupees were bestowed on the principal officers of his court.

Shortly afterwards conditions of peace were dictated by lord Lake to Holkar, who was reduced to the extremity of distress, and had sent agents from the banks of the Beeah\* to solicit his lordship's mercy. By the act of pacification signed in pursuance of his entreaties, Holkar was to renounce all claim to districts north of the Chumbul; but south of that river the company engaged not to restrain him in his arrangements with any rajahs, or other dependents of the Holkar family; and to restore, eighteen months after the conclusion of the treaty, Chandore, Gaulnah, and other forts and provinces, south of the Taptie and Godavery, which they had conquered and occupied, provided the conduct of Holkar were such, as to satisfy the English government of his amicable intentions towards them and their allies. Holkar resigned all claims upon Koonah and Bundelcund, and entered into the same stipulations, as Scindiah had previously done, not to admit Europeans into his service. Holkar was on these terms allowed to return to Hindoostan by a route prescribed to him.

\* One of the five rivers which run through the country of the Panjaub.

Sir George Barlow considered this adjustment, which took place on the 7th of January, as highly honourable and advantageous to the company; but though he had instructed the commander in chief to insist upon the cession of Tonk and Rampoorah, amongst other settlements to the north of the Chumbul, under the idea of making some arrangement concerning them with Scindiah, in lieu of the jagheer of four lacks of rupees; yet as he found that to be impossible, and as he conceived that no state would venture to take them without a guarantee, he determined to restore those provinces to Holkar. The governor general thought that, with the exception of the defensive alliances, subsisting between the British government and the great powers of India, it was for the interest and security of the company, to confine all relations with the surrounding states to those of general amity and friendship; and to trust the safety of its territorial possessions to the supremacy of its power, a well regulated system of defence, and the probable revival of those contests and commotions, which formerly prevailed amongst the chiefs of Hindoostan. Lord Lake endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon Sir George Barlow not to withdraw the company's alliance and protection from the petty rajahs, who had joined the British during the war, and whom he thought entitled to consideration by their conduct and attachment; but the governor general was inexorable on this point, and though he admitted the great attention, which was due to the local experience of Lord Lake, he deemed it his duty to adhere to those general principles, by which

he had determined to regulate his policy. By the splendid victories, which had been obtained over the great enemies of the British name, a recurrence to a more neutral and moderate system of government had undoubtedly become practicable; and the distressed state of the company's finances clearly vindicated the prudence of such a resolution.

The tranquillity of India seemed to be secured by these measures; but an event of a very alarming nature occurred in the month of July. The military officers at Madras had attempted to introduce an alteration in the shape of the turban worn by the sepoy, by which it was made to resemble the cap of European light infantry; and, with an impolitic zeal in innovation, the same persons wished to prevent the native troops from bearing on their foreheads the marks designating their various castes. These injudicious regulations, so repugnant to the feelings of the men, excited in them the greatest discontent, which was still farther heightened by an ill-founded suspicion, that the British government cherished designs hostile to their religion, and intended to compel them to profess the principles of Christianity. The growing spirit of disaffection, which already prevailed to a dangerous extent, manifested itself in the first instance at Vellore. On the 10th of July, about two o'clock in the morning, two battalions of sepoy, forming part of the garrison of the place, surrounded the European barracks, and at every window and door poured in a heavy fire, from their muskets and a six-pounder, on the defenceless British soldiers, who were

were quartered there, consisting of four companies of his majesty's sixty ninth regiment of foot. They then put to death the European sentries, the men on duty at the main guard, the sick in the hospital, and as many officers as they could find, two of whom they shot, as they were endeavouring to collect and animate their men to defend themselves. This scene of carnage continued till seven o'clock, when colonel Gillespie with a party of the 19th dragoons arrived from Arcot. As soon as his galloper guns came up, the gates of the barracks were blown open, and the English dragoons entered, who quickly vanquished the insurgents. About six hundred were cut down; and two hundred, who had attempted to hide themselves, were afterwards shot. In this horrible affair one hundred and sixty four privates of the four companies of the sixty ninth, besides many officers, not only of that regiment, but belonging to the native troops, were massacred. Soon after the firing on the barracks commenced, the standard of the late Tippoo Sultan is reported to have been hoisted on the palace at Vellore, where the sons of that sovereign resided, with a number of nobles of the Mysore, who had been deprived of offices; and if it had not been for the entreaties of lieutenant-colonel Marriott, who declared that the princes were innocent of any connection with the mutineers, colonel Gillespie would have delivered up the palace to the enraged soldiers. A vague rumour also obtained that the princes had instigated the sepoys to commit this outrage, and then to get possession of the fort, which they cal-

culated on keeping for a few days, till they could be reinforced by fifty thousand men from the Mysore; but there does not seem to be any foundation for this conjecture, although it is possible that the princes hoped to derive advantage from the disgust and jealousy, with which the sepoys were so universally inspired; and therefore might have contributed to inflame their minds against their English rulers. A mutiny indeed soon afterwards broke out at Nundydroog, and four hundred and fifty Mahomedan soldiers were consequently disarmed; at Bangalore and other places also the spirit of discontent was observed to increase; but the disaffection was most probably to be attributed to the apprehensions entertained by the native troops respecting their religion, and to the alterations of their equipments, as well as the depriving them of their marks of caste, which seemed to afford a reasonable ground for their fears. Such appeared to be the opinion of the persons in authority at Madras; for lord William Bentinck, the governor, wisely made an order to annul the absurd regulations that had given so much offence, and the council issued a proclamation to assure the native troops, that the same respect, which had been invariably shown by the British government, for their faith and customs would be always continued; and that no interruption would be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

Advice of the death of lord Cornwallis was received in London on the 29th of January; but as the members of the existing cabinet expected

expected shortly to be superseded in their departments, they declined to make any permanent provision for the government of India. This duty therefore devolved on the new ministers immediately on their accession to power; and in some measure embarrassed them, by creating a competition amongst their adherents for so valuable an appointment, as that which they had to bestow. Mr. Francis was an old and tried partisan of Mr. Fox, and he undoubtedly had hopes that he should succeed to the vacant situation; but ministers conceived that no person, who had not the advantage of high rank, was eligible for the office; an opinion that barred the claims of Mr. Francis. Under the pressure of circumstances, the servants of the crown signified their desire to the court of directors, that they should continue Sir George Barlow in the high station to which he had succeeded, in order that he might have full powers to complete the negotiations then pending. The court of directors willingly assented to this arrangement, which they clearly understood to be of a temporary nature; nevertheless when on the 12th of May a communication was made to them by the board of control, recommending the recal of sir George Barlow and the appointment of the earl of Lauderdale in his room, they manifested the strongest disgust at the proceeding; and by a vote of the court on the 20th of May, the recal of sir George Barlow was negatived by a great majority. Ministers finding that there was a fixed resolution not to concede the point to them, advised his majesty to recal sir George Barlow by a warrant under the sign manual, as

he was impowered to do by law; and as the nomination of lord Lauderdale had appeared so objectionable, that nobleman was induced to wave his pretensions, and lord Minto was proposed to the court of directors, whom they appointed without opposition governor general of India.

The singularly refractory disposition of the East India directors seemingly originated in a personal dislike to the earl of Lauderdale, and a struggle for patronage and power. As far as related to preventing a person, who was disagreeable to them, from being forced on them as the principal officer of their settlements, it has been seen that they prevailed; and on the other question that they were compelled to submit to a species of coercive compromise.

The victory of Trafalgar so severely crippled the exertions of the maritime powers hostile to England, that their efforts were reduced to objects of minor importance, and directed rather to harass than to brave the British navy. Nevertheless several blows were struck on the forces of the enemy, which redounded highly to the honour of the English admirals; and contributed still farther to insure the command of the seas to their country. Some of the marauding squadrons, as well as single ships, belonging to France, indeed, committed extensive depredations on the commerce of Great Britain; and in several instances with impunity. Six sail of the line, three frigates mounting forty guns, and two sloops, under Allemand, had contrived to elude the vigilance of the blockading fleets, and escape from Rochfort in August 1805.

This



This division cruized about a month in the latitude of Cape Finisterre. Thence it proceeded in several directions, and during its progress captured the Calcutta of fifty six guns, three sloops, and forty two merchant ships, forming part of the fleets under convoy from Saint Helena, the Caribbees, Lisbon, Oporto, and the coast of Africa. After this success, it returned to France in the beginning of January, with twelve hundred prisoners. Another squadron considerably annoyed the English trade on the coast of Africa during the Spring; and the Piedmontese, a French frigate of 44 guns, having fallen in with the Warren Hastings East Indiaman on the 21st of June, after a most spirited resistance, reduced her to the necessity of striking her colours, and took her into the Mauritius. On the other hand, although the Guerriere, a French frigate of the largest class and carrying fifty guns, had done great damage to the ships in the Greenland and Newfoundland fisheries, she felt the retribution of English prowess, and was taken on her return by captain Lavie of the Blanche, having maintained a gallant action of three quarters of an hour, on the 19th of June off the Ferroe islands.

On the 13th of March sir John Borlase Warren had the good fortune to overtake the Marengo of eighty guns, and the Belle Poule of 40, the remainder of the French squadron, under admiral Linois, that had so long infested the Indian seas. An engagement ensued, which lasted from before day-light till near ten o'clock in the morning; the result of it was the surrender of the enemy. The loss on

the part of the British was trifling; but that of the French severe, sixty five men being killed and eighty wounded, including M. Linois himself.

Fifteen sail of the line, six frigates, and four corvettes, put to sea from Brest harbour on the 13th of December 1805. This fleet on the 23rd divided into separate squadrons. Admiral Le Siegle, who commanded one of them, steered immediately with five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, to Saint Domingo, where he landed some troops and ammunition for the service of that settlement. While he continued in Ocoa bay, where he remained between a fortnight and three weeks, providing his crews with necessaries and refitting his ships, intelligence of his arrival in the West Indies was conveyed to sir John Duckworth, who commanded on that station with seven line-of-battle ships and four frigates. On the 5th of February sir John passed the Mona passage, and at eight o'clock the next morning came in sight of the French fleet in compact line, going before the wind for Cape Niaso. Le Siegle on receiving notice of sir John Duckworth's approach, conscious of his inferiority in point of numbers, had endeavoured to escape with the utmost celerity; but he was overtaken a little after ten o'clock in the morning, when an action commenced, and lasted with great severity till half past eleven. At this period the French admiral, much shattered and completely beaten, hauled directly for land, and at twenty minutes before twelve o'clock ran his ship on shore; in which manœuvre he was followed

followed by the *Diomedé*, another of his own squadron. These ships were fired on the 8th by captain Dunn, after rescuing the crews of them from the perils by which they were surrounded. This glorious victory, achieved within the space of two hours, was obtained at the expense of seventy four men killed, including twelve officers; and two hundred and sixty four wounded, amongst whom the officers were numerous; but the slaughter on board the French ships was almost unprecedented, no less than seven hundred and sixty men having been killed and wounded belonging to three ships only; for it was not possible to ascertain the loss in the vessels that had been run ashore. *L'Alexandre* of eighty four guns, *Le Jupitre* and *Le Brave*, both of seventy four, were taken. The two French frigates and the corvette escaped.

Admiral *Villaumez*, under whose orders another squadron of the Brest fleet was directed to proceed to the Cape, made sail to the south, and took in his course two English transports with troops on board destined for Gibraltar; but the frigate, into which the men were put, was retaken by sir *Home Popham* on the 4th of March. *Villaumez*, having learned that the Cape had submitted to the British forces, on the 6th of March bore up for Saint Salvador, which port he attained on the 2d of April. Here he staid until the 21st for the purpose of recovering his men from the scurvy, when he sailed to the West Indies, with upwards of eight hundred men, labouring under that disorder. In the month of June he reached Martinique with six ships of seventy four guns,

one of eighty, and a frigate. Although the squadron must have been distressed in every respect, after a cruise of six months, *Villaumez* did not think it prudent to avail himself of the security, in which he was placed, for more than a few days. The last of his ships did not get into Martinique before the 4th of June; and within a week the whole division was at sea again, followed by sir *Alexander Cochrane*, who was cruising on that station; but he, having no more than four sail of the line and a frigate, was unequal to cope with the superior force of the French, and was therefore obliged to content himself with following and watching their motions, and prevent them from doing any material damage to the British settlements or commerce. On the 4th of July, *Villaumez* anchored at Saint Martin's to procure pilots for Tortola, with the hope of destroying the English vessels, that had escaped from Saint Christopher's; and when he had obtained them, he sailed again the same evening, still pursued by sir *Alexander Cochrane*. On the 6th, while he was passing to leeward of the harbour of Saint Thomas, perceiving the English admiral in sight under a heavy press of sail, he seemed inclined to let the latter come up with him; but sir *Alexander* was too prudent to risque an engagement with so great a disparity of numbers, and hove to, detaching two frigates to watch the motions of the enemy, who pursued his course through the sail-rock passage to the northward.

As soon as it was known in England that *Villaumez* had steered for the West Indies, besides the division

division commanded by sir Richard Strachan, which was already dispatched to look out for him, the admiralty, with laudable promptitude, ordered sir John Borlase Warren to proceed directly to Barbadoes, with six sail of the line and a frigate. Sir John quitted Spithead on the 4th of June, and reached the place of his destination on the 12th of July. The French admiral had therefore a narrow escape; and only owed his safety to the celerity of his movements. Determined if possible to intercept some part of the hostile fleet, in consequence of the intelligence brought by the *Champion* frigate, that the squadron was on its return to Europe, the admiralty directed sir Thomas Louis to put to sea with six sail of the line, a frigate, and a sloop of war from Plymouth, and they also took every precaution to prevent it from getting into a friendly port.

Villaumez however, though he could not be aware of the commendable activity of the English ministers of the marine, nor of all the divisions that were in pursuit of him, had sagacity enough to dread meeting with some check to his progress; and he therefore caused his fleet to disperse, and seek for impunity by their individual efforts in eluding the toils prepared for them. The *Veteran* of 74 guns, commanded by Jerome Buonaparté, was the first that parted company from the rest of the fleet, which it left in the gulph of Florida. On the 15th of August Jerome fell in with a fleet, under convoy from Quebec, and took nine vessels. After having collected the most valuable part of the cargoes, and having placed the crews

in some American ships which he met, he burnt the hulls of his prizes and proceeded towards France. On the 26th he was descried by an English man of war, which chased him till he ran under the batteries in the port of Concarneau in Brittany. In his eagerness to avoid his pursuer, he went so close into the shore, that the *Veteran* was stranded; but the stores, plunder, guns and crew were conveyed to land. Jerome Buonaparté was received with great distinction by his brother Napoleon, who presented him, on his arrival at Saint Cloud, with the great ribbon of the legion of honour; and his success was pompously described in the *moniteur*.

The remainder of the fleet under Villaumez was overtaken on the 18th of August by a terrible gale of wind. The *Foudroyant* of 84 guns, under jury masts, was driven by the *Anson* frigate, mounting only forty guns, under the cannon of the Moro castle in the island of Cuba on the 15th of September. The *Impetueux* having severely suffered in the storm, without masts, bowsprit, or rudder, endeavoured to enter the Chesapeak; but on perceiving that some of sir Richard Strachan's vessels were entering the bay, in her attempts to escape, she ran aground; and on the 14th of September was destroyed by the boats of the *Melampus*, her crew becoming prisoners of war. Two vessels belonging to the same squadron, each of seventy four guns, were equally unfortunate, after having reached the Chesapeak in a shattered plight, they were at length burnt by the English.

On the 26th of September the *Centaur*, *Monarch*, and *Mars*, all

of seventy four guns, part of the strong blockading squadron under sir Samuel Hood, had the good fortune to fall in with five French frigates of the largest class and two corvettes, which had sailed from Rochfort the day before, with two thousand troops on board destined for the West Indies. After a chase of above an hundred miles, sir Samuel overtook and captured four of them. In this action the English commodore lost his right arm, and the crew of the Monarch suffered severely from the enemy, who maintained a running fight, and supported each other with dexterity. The Monarch had besides to contend with an additional disadvantage; for the swell was so violent that she could not open her lower ports. There was however but one officer, a midshipman, killed on board of her.

Two engagements of minor importance deserve to be mentioned, from the extreme gallantry, with which they were conducted. As the Arethusa and Anson frigates were cruizing off Cuba, captain Brisbane, who commanded the former, perceived the Pomona, a Spanish frigate of thirty eight guns, within two miles of the Moro castle, and carrying all possible sail to get into the Havannah. He therefore made a signal to lay the enemy on board as soon as possible. In this design he was frustrated by the Pomona anchoring within pistol shot of a castle, mounting sixteen thirty six pounders. Besides her advantageous station, she was protected by twelve gun-boats, each carrying a twenty four pounder, with a complement of one hundred men. This line of defence, added to the dangers of a lee shore, cer-

tainly appeared formidable; but captain Brisbane confident in the valour of his crew, and the able assistance to be derived from captain Lydiard of the Anson, instantly decided to attack the Spanish frigate in her strong position. In bearing down on the enemy, both the English ships were much injured in their sails and rigging from the guns of the boats, the Pomona and the castle reserving their fire, till the Arethusa, with the Anson on her larboard bow, was anchored in one foot water more than she drew, alongside the Spaniard, when the action became general. It continued only five and thirty minutes; and the consequence was that the Pomona struck her colours, three gun-boats blew up, six were sunk, and three driven ashore on the breakers. Notwithstanding the severe fire of red-hot shot from the castle, lieutenants Parish and Sullivan, detached from the Arethusa and Anson, took possession of the enemy's frigate. The Arethusa caught fire; but the blaze was quickly extinguished. A dreadful explosion however occurred in the castle from the mismanagement of the furnaces; after which, the engagement ceased on both sides. In this honourable transaction, which took place on the 23rd of August, no officer fell; but captain Brisbane was wounded, although he did not quit the deck. Unfortunately the money belonging to the king of Spain was landed, before the action commenced; but the plate, and various kinds of merchandise, on board the Pomona became a prize to English bravery.

Another display of energy happened on the 12th of October. Captain Thicknesse of the Shel-

drake cutter in company with the *Constance* of twenty four guns, and the *Strenuous* gun-brig, engaged in *Bouche d'Arkie*, near *Saint Maloes*, *La Salamandre*, a French frigate-built ship, mounted with twenty-six long twelve and eighteen-pounders, covered by a strong battery of guns on the hill above the rocks, and assisted by field pieces and musketry employed by the troops, which were drawn up on the shore to annoy the assailants; who, after a most spirited and obstinate conflict, obtained the victory and hoisted the English colours on board their prize; which unfortunately took the ground as well as the *Constance*. Every exertion was made to get both ships off, but without success. The *Constance* became a wreck, and such of her crew as escaped from her prisoners of war; but *La Salamandre* was destroyed by the conquerors. Captain *Burrowes* of the *Constance* fell by a grape-shot, and the commander of the French vessel also lost his life in this engagement, which, notwithstanding it was attended by unhappy circumstances, that it was impossible to prevent, added another wreath of laurel to the British marine, which asserted its accustomed pre-eminence, and obtained a great share of glory during the whole year.

The administration had committed the welfare of Ireland to the mild superintendence of the duke of Bedford, who certainly endeavoured as much as possible to conciliate all parties, and make them forget past differences and animosities. It is said that when Mr. Fox first came into office, he did not flatter the catholics of that

country with the prospect of any immediate steps being taken to promote the object of their wishes; and it is understood that it was the unanimous conviction of his majesty's servants, that to initiate any measures on the subject would only revive dissensions and heat without the least advantage; particularly as the agitation of the question would prove painful in a high quarter, and as the recent decision of parliament had rendered it very unlikely, that any plan for the benefit of the catholics would be successful. Calmness and patience were recommended to this body; but it was assured by some of the members of the cabinet, amongst whom was Mr. Fox, that if contrary to their advice, it should by its own means bring forward the question, they would support it, although such conduct would be held indiscreet. The temperance suggested to the catholics at least governed their actions during this year. The spirit of insurgency broke out about October in the counties of Mayo, Leitrim, Sligo, and Cavan, in consequence of a number of deluded persons, calling themselves Threshers, committing every species of enormity, under pretext that they were aggrieved by a rigid exaction of tithes. In some instances the leaders of this infatuated banditti assumed to themselves the character of avengers of wrongs, and general protectors of the oppressed; and by their proclamations denounced, without distinction, the catholic with the protestant clergy, whom they exhorted not to oppress the poor, nor to exact more than 2s. 6d. for performing the marriage ceremony,

and one shilling for baptizing children, while they forbade the catholic pastors to receive any thing for extreme unction. To repress these audacious rebels, it became requisite in some districts to call out the yeoman cavalry; but the commotions excited by this miserable rabble were in general happily composed by the ordinary exercise of the civil administration of the country. Such was the love of forbearance and lenity, which distinguished the noble duke at the head of the government, that he carefully avoided having recourse to severe means to reduce this disorderly spirit; and his system of mercy and tenderness produced the most fortunate result in restoring tranquillity to the whole island.

In the month of September, his majesty's servants lost a powerful coadjutor by the death of Mr. Fox. The health of this celebrated person had suffered from his close attendance in parliament, and the protracted debates, after he became a minister. About the beginning of June he was attacked by an indisposition, which rapidly increased, and was pronounced to be a dropsy. As his disorder became more severe, the operation of tapping was performed, which he bore with great calmness and fortitude. In the mean time the negotiation with France was proceeding, and he had hitherto dictated the dispatches; but he now found his strength unequal to the conduct of business, and the appointment of lord Lauderdale, as a plenipotentiary in that affair, was one of his last public acts. As soon as he had in some measure recovered from the operation which he had undergone, finding that

visitors fatigued and oppressed him, he was particularly desirous of leaving town, and repairing to Saint Anne's Hill, a retreat to which he always had the greatest attachment; but as he was extremely weak, the duke of Devonshire offered him the use of Chiswick House, by way of resting place, from which, as soon as he might be able, he could reach his own residence. After Mr. Fox's removal to Chiswick, he evidently grew worse, and his complaint was confirmed. As little or no hope existed of his recovery, he was no longer consulted by ministers on state affairs, most probably because they were unwilling to disturb him, and not from any slight as has been insinuated. It became necessary to repeat the painful remedy that Mr. Fox had before endured. This by no means answered the expectations that were entertained from it. Mr. Fox languished but a few days afterwards. At six o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 13th of September, he expired; and although he had felt much pain during his illness, he did not appear to suffer greatly in his last moments.

All the accounts that have been laid before the public concur in representing, that Mr. Fox bore the anguish incident to his malady with exemplary patience, and received the intimation of his approaching death with unshaken firmness. Surrounded by weeping friends, his efforts were employed in acknowledging their kindness and soothing their grief; and possibly alluding to that peace of mind which he felt, he exclaimed with nearly his latest breath, "I die happy." He attempted to speak further, but

but his words were unintelligible.

Mr. Fox was the third son of Henry the first lord Holland, by lady Georgiana Carolina, eldest daughter of the second duke of Richmond. He was born on the 13th of January, 1749. On his mother's side he inherited the blood of the Stuarts; and of Henry of Navarre. Sir Stephen Fox, the father of lord Holland, held several distinguished appointments at the court of Charles II. He was a person of much piety, and of a noble and generous disposition. The churches of Farley in Wiltshire, and Culford in Suffolk, remain monuments of the former; and his donative of above thirteen thousand pounds to the military hospital at Chelsea, of which benevolent institution he was a zealous patron and promoter, is a striking example of the latter. Sir Stephen Fox in 1703, at the advanced age of seventy six years, married a second time, and had two sons, both of whom received the honour of the peerage, Stephen the elder being created by George II. earl of Ilchester, and Henry, the second son, lord Holland by his present majesty.

Mr. Fox in early youth giving promise of extraordinary genius, his talents were assiduously cherished by his father. He was instructed to think with freedom, and to express his thoughts with energy. After a short initiation in the classics at Westminster school, he was removed to Eton, where he published the periodical paper called "The Spendthrift," in twenty numbers. From Eton he was removed to Oxford, and devoted himself at once to ardent application and the eager pursuit of pleasure. After a residence of some time

abroad, he was elected, even before he was of age, member for Midhurst, and his first speech was in favour of ministry against Mr. Wilkes, and the Middlesex election. After enjoying the patronage of lord North as a lord of the admiralty, and afterwards as a lord of the treasury, he was dismissed from office, in consequence of a misunderstanding with that nobleman, and had the singular fortune, before he reached the twenty fourth year of his age, of being the ablest supporter of the government during one session, and in the next of becoming one of its most eloquent opponents. His subsequent political career, in hostility to the American war, his conduct under the ministry of lord Rockingham, his coalition with lord North, and his measures and opinions respecting the French revolution, are too well known to need recital. As an orator his powers were gigantic; his eloquence was irresistible, vehement, and grand. His mind at one view grasped the whole subject of debate, at one glance he saw the weak and strong parts of his adversary's arguments, and with masterly dexterity combated his antagonists, and improved every advantage which in the field of ratiocination lay open to his attacks. If he was less copious, elegant, and sententious than Mr. Pitt, if he was deficient in the dazzling and flowery profusion and lively sallies of imagery, so conspicuous in his great master Mr. Burke, he possessed the pathos, the forcible argument, the convincing language, the imposing earnestness, which captivated the attention of his hearers. With the most retentive memory, he has been known, after the lapse of many hours, when

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the powers of the mind might be expected to grow languid, to answer the arguments of various speakers, and with the most minute arrangement. His manner was not graceful, neither was his voice harmonious; but as an orator he was still peculiarly animated and impressive; and his replies always exhibited the force of his ability. In a profound acquaintance with the human character, and a mature knowledge of domestic and foreign policy, he was indisputably very happy. In private life he was universally beloved. He was a convivial friend, and a pleasing companion. So strong was his abhorrence of affectation, that, notwithstanding his superiority of intellect, his character had all the greatness of simplicity. In his youth he had been much addicted to play, and the other foibles which marked the fashion of the times; but it is admitted, that in his faults there was no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, or pride. In his latter years he had become extremely domestic, and preferred very early hours in all his arrangements. He excelled in that species of poetical trifles called *vers de société*; and was passionately fond of poetry in general, especially that of the Greeks and Italians. He was a good classic, and spoke and wrote French, Italian, and Spanish, with facility and correctness. It is impossible to judge of his literary talents, by the history of the early part of the reign of James the second; because he left it in an unfinished state.

As it was decided amongst his friends, and indeed it was the general wish, that his funeral should be a public one, interment in Westminster Abbey was determined

upon. His obsequies were attended by a most numerous assemblage of his friends, and men of rank who honoured his memory. The ceremony, which took place on the 10th of October, was conducted with the utmost magnificence and solemnity.

In his ministerial capacity, after his accession to office on the death of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox had undoubtedly not fulfilled the public expectation. Much of the ardour of that popular respect, formerly attached to his character, had certainly abated; but it is unnecessary to notice the causes of this change in the public sentiment on the present occasion, as they will more properly come under enquiry in the following year, when the merits of the ministry, of which he formed a part, will be considered in a more connected manner, than they could be in detail.

An idea had been industriously propagated, that there was no real cordiality between the parties, which formed the existing government. It had been said that whenever the tomb should close on Mr. Fox, his adherents would be instantly dismissed from their short-lived portion of power; that the partizans of Mr. Pitt would be immediately recalled, and their former connexion renewed with lord Grenville. During the life of Mr. Fox, an endeavour had manifested itself to mortify that nobleman and his friends with the perpetual assertion, that the Foxites predominated in the cabinet; but after the decease of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, the insinuations were changed, and it was affirmed that the persons, attached to the sentiments of that eminent man, were in their turn to be made sensible



sible of their disgrace, and if retained in office, were to hold their places at the pleasure of lord Grenville. Whatever hopes might be entertained of disunion in the coalesced parties, or of lord Grenville's secret dislike to the persons, with whom he had become connected, they were quickly disappointed; for his lordship took an early opportunity of convincing the public that the alliance, which he had formed with Mr. Fox's admirers, had been cemented and confirmed by more intimate acquaintance with them, in recommending to his majesty lord Howick, as a proper person to fill the vacant post of secretary of state for foreign affairs. In consequence of this appointment, Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded lord Howick as first lord of the admiralty. Earl Fitzwilliam wished to retire from office, but to retain his seat in the cabinet; and his inclinations in that respect were gratified, lord Sidmouth being nominated president of the council in his stead; while lord Holland was constituted lord-privy-seal. The ministry also received the accession of Mr. Tierney, as president of the board of control for East India affairs, in lieu of Mr. Thomas Grenville, who had conducted that department, after lord Minto's departure for India. Mr. Grenville had already obtained a vote in the cabinet, when he accepted the situation which he relinquished; so that the cabinet had for some time consisted of twelve individuals. No addition was made to that body by these changes, Mr. Tierney not having a seat in it.

By the death of Mr. Fox, a new election for a representative of the city of Westminster became neces-

sary. Earl Percy, the eldest son of the duke of Northumberland, offered himself as a candidate, and he was supported by all those who had been peculiarly devoted to Mr. Fox, as well as by the friends of the ministry in general; but several of the electors objected to the choice of this young nobleman, as tending to impair the freedom of suffrage, which had hitherto distinguished that city. These persons endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Sheridan to stand forward as his lordship's competitor; but he declined to comply with their request, stating, as the principal reason for his refusal, the dislike which he felt of adopting any step, which might create an inference that there was a dissention amongst those, who revered the departed statesman. Unwilling to be disappointed in their object, the electors who were adverse to lord Percy proffered their influence to Mr. Whitbread, sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Curran, successively, but they also discountenanced the proposal; the first not only on the ground assumed by Mr. Sheridan, but because he was unwilling to desert those constituents, who had on three occasions placed their confidence in him, by honouring him with their votes; the second on account of his attachment to the freeholders of Middlesex; and the last from the motives expressed by the treasurer of the navy. Earl Percy therefore was returned without opposition.

The last session was only the fourth of the existing parliament, and as no occurrence had arisen to render an appeal to the people particularly expedient, there did not seem to be any reason to warrant a dissolution of it; but whether

ministers were conscious that their popularity was on the wane, or fearful that some event might fall out inauspicious to their continuance in power, certain it is that they thought the period fit for the exercise of their discretion on this point, and favourable to their desire of securing a more permanent interest with the representatives of the nation, and of attaching to themselves a longer promise of support, than a house of commons, whose functions must expire in three years, could offer. By a general election too they conceived that they should procure a majority of persons more devoted to themselves, and consequently acquire strength. Accordingly on the 25th of October parliament was dissolved; and writs were issued to renew the lower house of the legislature.

The members of government were not disappointed in their hopes of obtaining a preponderance in that branch of the constitution, with which they wished to improve their connexion; although several of their friends lost their seats. Much intemperance and animosity prevailed in almost every part of the kingdom, during the elections, which were contested with great keenness, particularly in the counties of York, Norfolk, and Middlesex, the borough of Southwark, and the cities of Norwich and Westminster. In the last place, earl Percy having waved his pretensions, Mr. Sheridan was opposed by a new candidate in the person of Mr. Paull, who had rendered himself remarkable, and acquired some consideration, by firmness and perseverance in exhibiting criminatory articles against lord Wel-

lesly, in spite of the difficulties which he incurred in that arduous attempt. Every species of scurrility and acrimonious attack was resorted to by the friends of both parties. Mr. Sheridan certainly did not receive that cordial support from the electors, on which he had relied, and he was at last indebted for his success to a junction of interests with sir Alexander Hood, and the assistance of administration. This gentleman was clearly deceived in his conception of the weight, that he possessed with the partizans of the late Mr. Fox, and with the country in general. Admirable in talent and oratorical ability, as well as respected for a conscientious discharge of senatorial duties, had he continued to fill the post, to which he had so long been deputed by his constituents at Stafford, he would have preserved more personal consequence, than by listening to the dictates of that ambition, which induced him to become the successor of Mr. Fox, as the representative of Westminster.

The progress of an ameliorated feeling, and a superior regard for the sufferings of humanity, were conspicuous at Liverpool, by the return of Mr. Roscoe, who canvassed that borough as the professed advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, and with the words "No Slavery" inscribed on his banners. This triumph of virtue and generosity was most honourable to the inhabitants of a town, which had owed great part of its prosperity to that abominable and disgusting commerce; and the conduct of the voters on this occasion, not only proved that they were worthy of their franchise, but merited the most distinguished applause.

# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **I**T is well known that Basil, in Switzerland, was celebrated for Holbein's admirable picture of the Dance of Death, which had undergone several repairs from time to time, and had been recently retouched, to the great satisfaction of all the connoisseurs. In the evening of the 6th of August last, however, a mob collected in Basil, and accompanied by a great number of women carrying lanterns, broke in upon the gallery in the church yard, which contained this master piece of antiquity, tore it from the walls, and in a few minutes succeeded in completely destroying it.

Mr. Bezenberg, Professor of Physic and Astronomy, at Dusseldorf, has published an account of twenty eight experiments made in the coal mines of Schebusch, with balls well turned and polished. They were made to fall from a height of 262 French feet. At a medium they produced a deviation of five lines towards the east: the theory gives 4.6 lines. These experiments furnish an additional proof, if any were wanted, of the rotatory motion of the earth. Experiments made at Bologna, by Mr. Guglielmini, give nearly the same results.

In the year 1804, fifteen new  
VOL. XLVIII. or VOL. VI. NEW SERIES,

journals were printed in Russia, and 115 new books were published the same year at St. Petersburg and Moscow: among the latter were translations into the Russian language of the following works: Sterne's Tristram Shandy; Rousseau's Confessions, and his Eloisa; Hufeland's Art of prolonging Human Life; Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis; besides a variety of original works in the Russian language.

During the action off Trafalgar, a woman was stationed below, handing up powder in the enemy's ship L'Achille, which was burnt in the engagement. She escaped in the following extraordinary manner:

“After the ship was dismasted and had struck, she came upon deck. About this time the ship took fire; her rigging lying across her, it soon became impossible to extinguish the flames, and all the people, who were able to swim, began to quit her. The woman then went down to the lower deck, while the fire was raging above, and staid there until the guns began to fall through the main deck; she then got out of the gun-room port on the back of the rudder, and undressed, but would not trust herself to the water, till the melted lead from the tafferil ran down, and burnt her head, shoulders, legs, and several

parts of the body. Then, committing herself to Providence, she jumped into the sea, and was about half an hour, as near as she could guess, without any thing to support her; she then, fortunately, got hold of a piece of cork, which she found floating. Soon after, a man, who was swimming near, brought her a small piece of plank, which she got under her breast—this was the only support she had; and, after being an hour and a half in the water, she was taken up by one of the Belleisle's boats, the officer of which, with that humanity and attention to the weaker sex, which, we hope, will ever characterize a British seaman, immediately pulled off his coat, and some other part of his cloaths, to cover her. She was soon after put on board the Pickle schooner, from whence she was sent on board the Revenge the next morning. She found on board the Pickle her husband, who had also escaped, and who was brought to the Revenge with her. They were both landed at Algeiras, on the ship's arrival at Gibraltar, after she had been fitted out by the officers in a dress as suitable to her sex as the conversion of dressing gowns, &c. would admit of. She was young, handsome, and very intelligent. She was a native of French Flanders—her name Jeanette."

The four vergers of St. Paul's Cathedral, who have the exclusive property of the body of the church, are said to make more than a thousand pounds by the daily admissions to see the preparations for the funeral of lord Nelson; the door-money is taken as at a puppet-show, and amounted for several days to more than 40l. each day!

This morning a meeting took place near Nottingham, between ensign Butler, of the 36th regiment, and ensign Brown, who was on the recruiting service in that town. The parties fired together by signal; when unfortunately, ensign Brown was shot through the heart, and instantly expired, without uttering a word. Ensign Butler immediately disappeared. Ensign Brown was a young officer, of a very respectable family in Ireland, and had only just attained his 17th year. He and lieut. Butler belonged lately to the same regiment; but, from a serious disagreement which took place between them, the commander in chief ordered them to be placed in different corps. On their meeting at Nottingham, however, the embers of animosity re-kindled, and the unhappy result has proved the loss to society of a valuable and much-respected young member.

A nautical clock was lately stolen from the observatory of col. Beaufoy, at Hackney Wick, which was a very extraordinary piece of mechanism. It has four hands, the first of which points at the number of yards a ship sails; the second shews the hundreds of yards, from 100 to 2000; the third specifies the number of miles, from one to ten; and the fourth, the tens of miles, from 10 to 100. This curious machine is put in motion by a log-line, and the whole is considered as a great discovery in navigation.

At Cawthorne, near Barnsley, in her 18th 2d. year, Martha Mellor was shot by Samuel Ibbotson, a boy 12 years old. Having gone into the house where the girl was,  
he

he took up a gun, but was desired to lay it down immediately, which he did; but shortly afterwards took it up again, and, seeing the girl in another room, said he would shoot her, which shocking to relate! he immediately did.—Verdict—Manlaughter. He was committed to York Castle.

At Drogheda, in Ireland, Miss Brunton, of Dublin, a handsome young lady, who was on a visit to capt. Gooden, of the Sligo militia, got up in her sleep, went to the window of her bed-room, which was two stories high, threw up the sash, fell into the street, and was almost immediately taken up lifeless. Before she reached the ground, she fell on the top of a shop-window under her room, and then screamed so violently as to awaken capt. Gooden. It is conjectured that at that moment she awoke, and recovered her senses only to know that she was then about to lose her life.

3d. At a farm-house in the parish of St. Dogmell, co. Pembroke, a quarrel arose between Joshua Lewis, farmer, and John Owens, master of a trading vessel from Cardigan, respecting a young woman; blows followed; and Lewis was wounded with a knife in six different parts of his body, which shortly occasioned his death.

4th. The house of Mrs. Head, near Aylesbury, was broke open, and she and her son murdered. The son was found in a pond near the house, with his head nearly severed from his body, and the mother in the house, dreadfully mangled.

FATAL DUEL.—About a year ago, a duel was to have taken place at Liverpool, between major

Brookes and colonel Bolton, in consequence of a quarrel; but the affair being known, they were bound to keep the peace for one year. After this, the animosity between them increased daily, and each reproached the other with having informed the officers of justice of their intention to fight. The time for which they were bound to keep the peace elapsed on Friday week, when a challenge passed, and an immediate meeting was determined upon.—They met, and at the first fire major B. was killed on the spot. The colonel has absconded.

FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON.—The great hall 5th. at Greenwich Hospital was this day (Sunday,) thrown open for the admission of the public to see the coffin which contains the body of our naval hero, when the confusion and impetuosity of the crowd, who had long been waiting for admission, was such as perhaps was never equalled.—It is calculated that upwards of 20,000 persons were unable to gain admission. On the second and third days the crowd was equally great; but some troops of horse guards having arrived to assist the volunteers, the ingress and egress were effected with more regularity, though not without many persons sustaining severe injury.

The arrangements of the solemnity were as follows:—In the funeral saloon, high above the corpse, a canopy of black velvet was suspended, richly festooned with gold, and the festoons ornamented with the *chelenk*, or plume of triumph, presented to his lordship by the grand seignior. It was also decorated with his coronet, and a view

of the stern of the San Josef, the Spanish admiral's ship, already quartered in his arms. On the back-field, beneath the canopy, was emblazoned an escutcheon of his arms; the helmet, surmounted by a naval crown, and enriched with the trident and palm branch in saltier—motto, "*Palmas qui meruit ferat.*" Also his shield, ornamented with silver stars, with the motto,—"*Tria juncta in uno;*" and surmounting the whole upon a gold field, embraced by a golden wreath, was inscribed in fable characters, the word "*Trafalgar,*" commemorative of the proudest of his great achievements.—The Rev. Mr. Scott, chaplain of the Victory, and who, in consequence of his lordship's last injunctions, attended his remains from the moment of his death, sat as chief mourner in an elbow chair at the head of the coffin.—At the foot of the coffin stood a pedestal, covered with black velvet, richly fringed with alternate black and yellow, and supporting a helmet surmounted by a chelenk or triumphal plume, with models richly gilt, and his lordship's shield, gauntlet, and sword.—Ten mourners were placed, three on each side of the chief, and one at each corner of the coffin, all in deep mourning, with black scarfs, their hair full powdered, in bags.—Ten banners, elevated on staves, and emblazoned with various quarterings of his lordship's arms and heraldic dignities, each bearing its appropriate motto, were suspended towards the coffin, five on each side.—A railing, in form of a crescent, covered with black, enclosed the funeral saloon from the great hall, by the *ellipsis* of which,

from right to left, the spectators approached and receded.—Both the hall and saloon were entirely surrounded at the top by rows of silver sconces, each with two wax lights, and between each two an escutcheon of his lordship's armorial dignities.

During the funeral procession of lord Nelson up the river, a lady of the name of Bayne, (related to the late capt. William Bayne, who lost his life in the West-Indies under lord Rodney,) was so affected at the scene, that she fell into hysterics, and died a few minutes after.

For an account of the funeral, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

One of the workmen employed in making the alterations at St. Paul's, preparatory to lord Nelson's burial, fell over the scaffold, and was killed on the spot.

This evening, a lunar iris, or rainbow of the moon, was distinctly seen at Horbury, near Wakefield, as likewise in Wakefield, and several places adjacent. It was entirely perfect in its arch, and appeared very beautiful. The time of its appearing was from half past nine to half past ten at night. A second bow was likewise discernible above the first, which was also perfect in the arch, but the colours could not be so distinctly seen or recognized. The same phenomenon was observed about the same time at Leeds, although its appearance was not quite so vivid.

The following very singular and truly whimsical *amende honorable*, is extracted from the *Lincoln Mercury*.

Whereas

Whereas I Benjamin Birch,  
 Of Baston town (and near the church,)  
 At Stamford market, o'er the bowl,  
 Got drunk, and 'bus'd my neighbour Cole,  
 For which he hath to my vexation,  
 By law compell'd this declaration;  
 That I without just cause or reason,  
 Made use of words as base as treason;  
 And therefore do his pardon ask—  
 A most unpleasant, painful task;  
 But as I own I was to blame,  
 Why ——— it then, I'll sign my name.

BENJAMIN BIRCH.

Baston, Jan. 7th, 1806.

8th. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, the mansion-house occupied by lord Lowther, at Cottismere, near Grantham, was discovered to be on fire, occasioned by some defect in the flues under the apartment in which his lordship, the viscountess, and the hon. Miss Lowther, usually slept; all which were destroyed before the flames could be subdued: the rest of the house was fortunately preserved.

9th. As a young girl, named Carey, was returning from the market of Drogheda, to her father's house at Tulleyesker, with bread, tea and sugar, she was way-laid by some villains, near Mr. Davis's lime-kilns, on the north road, who dragged her into a field, and after debauching her, abused her in so shocking a manner as to leave her for dead.—Early the following morning, as Mr. Davis's man was coming to town to chapel, he heard the moans of a person in distress, and went into the field, where he found her lying in a furrow, and nearly covered with water. Having procured immediate assistance, he brought her to his house; but she was so much exhausted that she could not give any account of the villains. She was afterwards removed to the house

of a relative near town, and died the next day. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, who found a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown. She was not robbed of the articles she was carrying.

Carried out of St. Paul's, in consequence of having had an apoplectic fit, capt. Richard Whitford, who had been many years in the Jamaica trade; and, though medical assistance was immediately obtained, both in the cathedral and after he had been conveyed home to his apartments in Great Queen-street, he died about 12 o'clock at night.

The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, vice-president of the college of Fort William, in Bengal, has proposed a prize of 500l. to bachelors of law, masters of arts, and persons of superior degree of the university of Oxford, for the best work in English prose, embracing the following subjects, which has been accepted:—I. The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominion.—II. The duty, means, and consequences of translating the Scriptures into the oriental tongues, and of promoting christian knowledge in Asia.—III. A brief historic view of the progress of the gospel in different nations, since its first promulgation; illustrated by maps, shewing the luminous tracts throughout the world; with chronological notices of its duration, in particular places. The regions of Mahomedanism to be marked with red, and those of paganism with a dark colour.

Among the many extraordinary interpositions of Providence, the following

following circumstance stands almost unparalleled:—During the height of the storm on Thursday se'night, a stack of chimnies belonging to Mr. Bignel, of Shepherd's Bush, without the slightest notice to afford preparation for escape, fell through the roof of the house into his bed-room, with a most tremendous crash, breaking a beam which lay length-ways over the bed, through which it was forced, and at last rested against the floor: the other part destroying at the same instant a child's bed immediately opposite. The ends of the wall fortunately remained fixed. At the first alarm, Mr. Bignel directed his aid to the protection of his youngest child (only three months old) lying by his side, and succeeded at length in escaping from the ruins, with his wife much bruised, and the infant unhurt; and afterwards he extricated the child in the other bed from its perilous situation, who had remained asleep during the whole of this terrific scene. When it is added, that the brick-work, wood, lath, and mortar that fell weighed nearly two tons, it will give an imperfect idea of this miraculous escape.

10th. About two this morning, as the servant of Messrs. Harleys, very eminent brewers at Loughborough, was in the stables, feeding his horses to go out with his waggon, the wind began to be tremendously high (having been very stormy for some hours before); and in an instant one of the lower windows of the large brewery with the frame was torn out, and nearly half of the roof of the building carried off altogether to a distance, with

much of the walls down to the first floor. The servant was so alarmed for some time that he was rendered speechless. The crash was tremendous, and heard at a great distance. It was supposed there was thunder and lightning; but the wind roared so dreadfully that this could not be ascertained.

As Mr. Houghton, shoe-maker, in the butter-mar- 11th. ket at Bury St. Edmunds, was (in apparently good health) chopping a faggot, he accidentally cut one of his fingers, and on his wife expressing a wish to dress it, he said "Never mind it, my dear; what is this wound compared to lord Nelson's?" and immediately fell down in an apoplectic fit, from which he never recovered to utter another sentence.

A man was executed at Dublin for cow stealing. At the commencement of the fatal ceremony, the rope broke, and the unfortunate wretch fell upon the railing before the entrance of the prison.— He was brought up to the place of execution, dreadfully bruised and cut, and the awful sentence of the law was completed without any further obstruction.

This day the newly- 12th. erected iron bridge, over the Tees, at Yarm, fell with a tremendous crash and concussion, that was sensibly felt in every part of the town. Workmen are at present busily employed in getting the iron out of the river, to prevent the danger of an inundation, in case of heavy rain coming on. Fortunately, the old bridge still remains standing, or the road leading into that part of the country must have been totally stopped for some time.



13th. At the Clerkenwell sessions, J. L. Barrow, G. Wintle, S. Davis, J. Marryat, and Sarah Grover, in various connexion, were convicted of conspiring to prevent a bankrupt, named Hathaway, from obtaining his certificate, because he would not connive with them to let them put in their claim for money lent him at an exorbitant interest, and which they wished him to swear was a transaction for goods. On the 17th sentence was passed on them as follows: Marryat, Barrow, Wintle, and Davis, to be imprisoned two years, and pilloried, within the first month of their imprisonment, in Finsbury-square. Sarah Grover to be imprisoned six months.

15th. A dreadful accident happened to Thomas Whittington, esq. of Hamswell House, near Bath, by the machinery of his threshing-mill catching his hand, which tore off his arm, and fractured the opposite collar-bone. He is since dead.

The Society of Arts have been engaged in investigating the genius of a child, only nine years of age, who has the extraordinary talent of staining glass in a manner that surpasses belief; and is equal to the productions of the first masters. His mother was fifty years of age at the time of his birth, and he at present supports her, together with his sister, by the exertion of his premature abilities.

Dr. Ashbury, of the Methodist church in America, in a late publication, speaking of the increase of that religious sect within thirty-five years, announces, that, in the United States, 120,000 persons were in their fellowship, and that

1,000,000 attended their ministry; so as to include a seventh part of the population of the United States. It has in America 400 travelling preachers, and 2000 local preachers.

An inquisition was taken on the body of R. Edwards, who cut his throat at his lodgings, in Queen-street, Grosvenor-square. It appeared, by the evidence of Mrs. J. Beard, at whose house the deceased lodged, that he was taken ill of a fever on Sunday last, and on Monday he appeared in a state of high delirium. About ten o'clock he requested the witness to procure him some porter, which was done, and on her return, he was sitting upright in the bed, having cut his throat during her absence. The witness did not perceive what had happened at the moment of her return, for he had covered himself over with the bed-cloaths, and thrown himself on his back. He, however, groaned bitterly, and on the witness moving the covering of the bed, she discovered him weltering in his blood. She perceived a razor by the bed-side. Mr. Davies, an apothecary in Duke-street, was sent for, and also a surgeon. Mr. Davies stated, that the deceased had procured some medicines of him in the morning of Sunday, personally, and he supposed him to be deranged. The surgeon confirmed the opinion of Mr. Davies; for although the deceased appeared sensible some time after the wound had been bound up, on being interrogated, he seemed ignorant of what had happened.—Verdict—Insanity.

An inquisition was taken at the Triumphal Car, Piccadilly, on the body of Miss Elizabeth

zabeth Butler, who expired in Bond-street on the preceding evening. The deceased resided at Somers Town. She had been at the house of a friend in Hamilton-street, Piccadilly. On her return she was observed by a gentleman leaning against a post, and vomiting, at the corner of Burlington-gardens. Mr. Tibbs, a chemist in Bond-street, was applied to for assistance, and on examining the deceased she was quite dead, and it was discovered she had broken a blood-vessel.—Verdict—Died by the visitation of God.

A few days ago, as the daughter of Mr. Johnson, of Appleby, near Brigg, six years old, was stirring the fire, the flames caught her dress; she ran into the street for assistance, but expired before it could be procured.

This day lieutenant Smith and seven men, belonging to the *Namur*, lying at St. Helen's, were unfortunately lost. During the very dreadful gale which blew on the 16th, the launch of that ship broke adrift, with two men in it; two cutters were manned, and sent after the launch; one of them returned to the ship with the launch; but the other, with the above persons in it, was suddenly lost sight of; from which it is imagined, that she struck on the Wolleners and overfet, in attempting to enter Langston Harbour, and that every person perished. A cutter with six oars, and the body of a seaman, is drifted on shore at Hayling island.

A most melancholy accident occurred at Plymouth, during the gale of the 16th and 17th. The launch of the *Hibernia*, admiral Douglas, was sent ashore with old

stores, and to receive new, manned with a lieutenant, a midshipman, and 43 seamen. After having loaded the launch, they went off to join the *Hibernia*, in Cawsand Bay, it blowing then hard; but before the launch could near the *Indiaman* in the bite of Cawsand Bay, it was found necessary to bear away, and endeavour to weather the Mewstone, and get into Yealm river for the night, but in doing this the mast went over the side; the launch missed weathering the Mewstone, and got, it being near the high water, between the Shag rock and the land. She then struck on the deceitful Rannie rocks, between the Shagstone and the land, and overfet. The lieutenant and 18 men were by some providential means washed on shore, but the midshipman and 23 men were unfortunately drowned. The poor young midshipman and 16 bodies were washed ashore, and decently buried together in Wembury church-yard. One seaman with his leg broke and jammed to pieces, contrived to crawl up a rock, and his comrade, almost exhausted, crept to his side for warmth: in the morning, when the quarrymen came to their assistance, the wounded man was found still alive, but his companion a lifeless corpse. The wounded seaman was conveyed to the Royal Naval Hospital.

A violent storm commenced at an early hour this morning, attended with heavy rain; it was felt in every part of the metropolis and its vicinity. In the neighbourhood of Portland-place and Portman-square, several houses were much injured. The back part of a house in Brownlow-street was blown

blown down; the roof of the Pitt's Head public house, Pitt's Head Mews, Park-lane, was blown off. About twelve, the storm abated. The beautiful cedar which overhung the promenade at the back of the green-house, in Kensington-gardens, was torn up by the violence of the storm. The diameter of the root was about 12 feet. Various other trees presented a mutilated appearance, from the torn-off branches. The wind came from the North-West, and for the space of twelve minutes blew a furious hurricane. The stack of chimnies belonging to the workhouse, St. Pancras, was blown down, and forced through the roof, into the second floor, which contained several women, one of whom was killed on the spot; three others were much bruised. The front brick wall of a barn, near the Cattle, Kentish Town, was also blown down, and likewise the roof of the Castle, which was much damaged. Tiles from the roofs of houses flew in every direction. The inhabitants of that part of Fleet-street which is adjacent to St. Bride's church were in great alarm the entire of the day. Some time since, a small piece of stone in one of the angles of the spire was observed to have given way, and to project from the building. The church being so closely surrounded by houses, that any accident to the spire must carry destruction with it, Mr. Jones, of Newcastle-street, Strand, an eminent builder, remarkable for his skill in erecting scaffolds, was immediately employed to examine it, when he discovered that the steeple was cracked, and that it must be in part taken down. A scaffolding was erected,

and Mr. Jones had taken part of the steeple down. During the storm this day it was perceived to rock, and the scaffolding was forced close to it.

The Sessions House at Clerkenwell was uncommonly crowded, 17th, as the trial of the Rev. John Baxter Pike, of Enfield, was expected to come on, for an assault on two young ladies placed at his wife's school. It was to have come on in November, but was put off in consequence of an affidavit from him of the absence of a material witness; it was to have come on last Tuesday, but was put off again for the same cause; it was fixed by the Court for Friday; when he was called, he did not appear, and forfeited his recognizances, and disappointed numbers.

An unfortunate occurrence happened at Cuxhaven, on 19th. the last arrival of the Prince of Wales packet, with the mails for the continent. Baron Henry Gustavus Wrangle, a remarkably fine young man, lieutenant in the 1st regiment of Swedish guards, and of a distinguished family, was on board the above-mentioned vessel: his baggage was landed at the German hotel, when some difference arose respecting the expence of delivery. The sailors, who undertook this business, insisted on the return of the property if their demand was not satisfied. Words ensued, and at last the insolence of the claimants becoming insupportable, the young nobleman seized a knife from the dinner table, and directed it at the heart of one of them, who had advanced in a menacing attitude. The blow was not fatal; but, until the result should

should be known, the baron was placed under a guard, at the governor's house.

As Gabriel Tatterfal, better known by the name of Doctor, one of the company of Old Bathers, at Brighton, was hanging across one of the groyns to dip water, he was overpowered by a strong gale of wind from the west, and forced into the sea, where, though an excellent swimmer, he soon sunk, and was drowned, in the presence of many spectators on the beach, some of whom soon put off in a boat to his assistance, and in about half an hour recovered the body. On its being brought to shore, every means recommended by the Humane Society were tried to restore animation, but in vain, as the vital spark had totally left him. The fatality of the accident is attributed to his great coat having been blown over his head, as he was falling, which so entangled him that he was unable to exert his skill in swimming. —Verdict—Accidental death. The deceased was a descendant of the renowned capt. Nicholas Tatterfal, who, in the year 1651, favoured the escape of king Charles II. from these shores, by taking him privately on board his coal-brig in the night-time, and safely landed him at Fescamp, in Normandy.

22d. A melancholy accident occurred at Fern House, Wilts, the seat of Thomas Grove, esq. The muslin dress of Miss Mary Ann Grove, an amiable young lady, thirteen years of age, fourth daughter of Mr. Grove, by some accident caught fire, when there was no one in the apartment with her but a younger sister, who was incapable to assist her. Terrified by her alarming situation, Miss

Grove ran out of the house; but unfortunately no one was at that instant on the spot; and when she again entered, she flew to an apartment in which Mr. Henry Bankes of Salisbury happened to be on business; she was entirely enveloped in flames, and though Mr. Bankes used every possible exertion, with the assistance of two servants, to extinguish them, and was much burnt in those laudable efforts, they were unavailing, till the young lady's clothes were nearly consumed. Surgical assistance was immediately procured, but she survived the accident only till the morning of the 24th, when death relieved her from her sufferings.

*St. Peterburgh.*—Demetri Simonovitsch Sitnikoff, a merchant of Moscow, was for half a year deprived of the faculty of hearing, and all the remedies prescribed for that disease were used without effect. At last he had recourse to the following simple operation. After having filled his mouth with the smoke of tobacco, he closed it firmly, and also his nose, thereby forcing the smoke to find its way through the ears. The following morning he felt a crash, first in one ear, and then in the other, and from that moment his hearing has been completely restored.

SINGULAR BET.—Late- 26th.  
ly a bet of 5s. was decided in the Castle-yard, York, between Thomas Hodgson and Samuel Whitehead, both debtors; it was, which of them was to appear as the most *singular* and *original* character. The former was decorated with a ten-guinea bank-note on his waistcoat-breast, a number of five-guinea notes down the same, and

and on both sides of his coat-breast, with guinea-notes on his shoulders and arms of his coat; round his hat-band were a great number of five-guinea notes, and near the top of the hat-crown was fixed a purse of gold, which went round the same; on his back a paper with the words, "*John Bull.*"—White-head appeared in a woman's dress on one side, with a silk stocking, a neat slipper, and that side of his face painted. The other side of his face and body resembled a negro, with a man's dress, with a new boot and spur. The wager was given in favour of Hodgson, whose bills amounted to 375 guineas, independent of the gold. We are extremely sorry the whole of the money cannot be converted (as it certainly ought) to the use of his lawful creditors.—Fye, fye honesty! but probably thou wilt be remembered in the next insolvency act!

The storm was very violent at Liverpool on Friday se'night. It came on at N. about one *p. m.* preceded by the heaviest thunder, and the most vivid lightning ever seen. For upwards of one hour the whole of the northern hemisphere was in a complete blaze of the most forked, angry, and blue flashes of electrical matter that can be well conceived, attended with a strong sulphurous smell that was extremely offensive. The storm continued with nearly unabated violence for 36 hours, and closed with an electric discharge, similar to that of cannon. A fishing-boat, with six fishermen in it, belonging to North Meols was lost. One of the crew of the Sarah, Lightfoot, was struck on the back of the head by the electric fluid, which passed between his clothes and his body, and suf-

focated him instantly; no other damage was done the ship or crew. Several vessels were forced from their anchors and driven on shore, and it is greatly feared much shipwreck has happened on the western coasts of the kingdom.

On opening the vault belonging to the family of J. <sup>27th.</sup> Norris, esq. in the church of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich, a live bat was found therein, of a greyish colour, where it had probably lain in a torpid state, a solitary companion for the dead, more than 32 years, the distance of time since the vault was before opened.

COTTON.—In January, 1806, the stock of cotton, in Great Britain, exceeded that of the same period in 1805, 20 to 30,000 bags. Our informant adds, that the import will not be less from New Orleans this year, than from 50 to 60,000 bales, and the increase from Carolina and Georgia, at least one-third more than in 1805.

The following is taken from the New York Evening Post, of December 13:—"On Friday last the well-known Leib, one of the representatives of Pennsylvania, and the leader of the Duane party, and Joseph H. Nicholson, one of the representatives of Maryland, met in the congress lobby, about one o'clock, when Leib immediately called Nicholson a liar, and thereupon commenced one of the best fought battles recorded in the annals of congressional pugilism. The fight continued until the 64th round, when Leib had received such blows as deterred him from again facing his man. He protracted the fight, falling after making a feeble hit. In the round which ended the fight, those who backed him advised him

to resign, which he did, after a combat of one hour and seventeen minutes. The combatants were both very much beaten."—An admirable picture of American legislators!

29th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the earth from the roof of a coal-pit, at Horsforth, near Leeds, about twenty yards deep, fell in; two men and a boy were at work in the pit; the boy was killed by the earth falling upon him; the men lived some time after, and could plainly be heard by the people who flocked from every part to dig them out. One of them survived till four o'clock the next morning, at least he was never after heard. He had previously said, that both his fellow sufferers were dead. No labour was spared to get them out; but as the people increased their exertions, the earth fell in more and more, and at last completely buried the poor colliers in her bowels.

**RAIN GAUGE.**—It appears that the quantity of rain which fell during this month, was 3 inches 27-100ths. That of the corresponding month, in 1805, 2 inches 44-100ths; in 1804, 4 inches 18-100ths; and in 1803, 2 inches 29-100ths. The quantity of rain in the preceding month, exceeds that of any other during the last two years, excepting the month of November, 1804, when it measured 5 inches 44-100ths.

The freedom of the city of London, and a sword of the value of 100 guineas, have been voted by the common council, to captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, captain of the *Victory*, (the late lord Nelson's flag-ship.) The lord-mayor

delivered into the court his majesty's warrant, respecting his lordship's rank in the procession at lord Nelson's funeral. The court voted their unanimous thanks to the lord-mayor for his conduct on the occasion.

A court of directors, held at the East India House, came to an agreement to wear mourning for one month, in compliment to the memory of the deceased marquis Cornwallis.

The grand aqueduct, which has been, for some time past, constructing upon the Ellesmere Canal, and which passes over the river Dee, at or near a place called Pontegayle, has been lately completed. This very difficult and expensive work consists, in fact, of two large aqueducts, two tunnels, and a great extent of deep cutting; which, together with the iron railway, and the water line connected therewith, will bring the coals from the Ruabon collieries and Trevor limeworks, readily and fairly to proper markets; so that the county and the canal company will, by this mode of conveyance, reap the benefits resulting from a full competition, and, when the season of the year is favourable, it will not fail to display the beautiful scenery of the romantic vallies of Chirk and Llangollen. The canal in its progress works between the north bank of the river Dee and the south bank of the river Cerriog. It will have the effect to create and establish a commercial intercourse and union between England and North Wales, by forming a navigable communication of the three rivers, Severn, Dee, and Mersey.—The above stupendous aqueduct was opened on the 26th of November.

Its dimensions are stated to be as follows:—

	feet	
Length of the iron-work	1007	0
Height from the surface of the rock, on the south side of the river, to the top of the side plates	126	8
Breadth of water-way within the iron-work	11	10
Number of stone pillars, besides abutments	18	0
Distance of ditto from each other at top	43	0
Depth of the iron plates for canal posts	5	5
Length of the eastern embankment, on the south side of the river	1500	0
Height of ditto at the south abutment	76	0

At the New Town Hall, formerly called the Exchange, in the town of Liverpool, all the ranges of scaffolding in the great staircase have been taken down, and the inside of the grand dome which surmounts that grand pile, is now exposed to public view. When viewed from the floor of the staircase, it presents a truly beautiful *coup d'œil*; although the distance is rather too great for the eye to embrace a distinct and comprehensive view of the taste and richness with which the pannels in the soffit of the dome are decorated. The top of the staircase is the spot from which the whole of its more minute beauties and elegant proportions will be perspicuously discerned. The inside is wholly illuminated by lateral lights; a peculiarity, wherein it differs from the Pantheon at Rome, the dome of St. Paul's, and the generality of other similar buildings, of both ancient

and modern times. Hence, it results, that there is nothing in this building of that gloomy, sombrous appearance, which so frequently strikes the eye in other cupolas. The stucco-work is so well arranged, and so neatly coloured, that it produces all the same effect upon the eye as the finest stone could do. The entire height, from the pavement to the centre of the dome, is nearly 120 feet, and the whole erection is in the pure and simple style of Grecian architecture. Several of the rooms in this extensive building are already completed, and the rest are nearly so; the whole in a style of strength and magnificence, which reflects great credit on the munificence of the common council of the town, and of the taste and judgment of the different architects and artists employed under their direction.

DIED, 21.—At Lichfield, in an advanced age, Andrew Newton, esq. brother of the late learned and pious Dr. Thomas Newton, bishop of Bristol. The property of this gentleman, which was considerable, was employed, to a liberal extent, in private acts of charity and beneficence, known only to the immediate objects of his kindness. In a more public and lasting point of view, the noble institution which he founded some years ago at Lichfield, for the widows of clergymen, and for their unmarried daughters above the age of 50, will sufficiently distinguish his name and memory. He gave for the purpose abovementioned the sum of 20,000*l.* during his life.

At Naples, in his 85th year, Henry Ellis, esq. early in life distinguished by an attempt to discover a north-west passage; afterwards

wards, at different periods, governor of Georgia and Nova Scotia; and a member, perhaps the oldest, of the Royal Society.

29th. In the parish of Cotta-chy, in Scotland, James Gordon, a native of the north of Scotland, who had lived by begging for a number of years. On searching his house, there were found 18l. sterling in silver, and 1l. sterling in copper coin, wrapped up in old stockings, and hid in holes in the wall.

30th. At his house in Aldersgate-street, aged 69, Thomas Skinner, esq. alderman of Queen-lithe ward, to which office he was elected in 1785, on the decease of alderman Bates, who held the office for a short period after the death of alderman Bull. This very respectable citizen was born at Brentford, Jan. 14, 1737; received his education at Ealing, and served an apprenticeship to Mr. Williams, an upholster in Newgate-street. He used to seem happy when relating from what a small beginning he raised himself, by an honourable course of industry, to the splendid fortune of which he died possessed. In 1757 he began business for himself in Aldersgate-street, and married an amiable woman, Miss White, daughter of a gentleman in extensive business. Mr. S. served the office of sheriff in 1784, the commencement of Mr. Pitt's career. On that occasion, though the whig principles of Mr. Skinner were perfectly well known, and that his intimate friend Mr. Byng, candidate for the county, and Mr. Sawbridge for the city, were most violently opposed, Mr. Skinner conducted himself as sheriff with such clear

integrity as to draw from the enemies of his known opinions the most unequivocal approbation. He was elected lord mayor at Michaelmas 1794, and went through the mayoralty with much honour and reputation. Though warmly attached to the party at that time in opposition, he never suffered his political sentiments to interfere in the smallest degree with his duty as a magistrate, and purposely refrained from all attendance on public meetings connected with party, during his mayoralty. This also was a memorable year, on account of the state trials, when the ministry, from their apprehension of riots, were most earnest with the lord mayor to permit a body of regular troops into the city to assist the police. Mr. Skinner positively refused, and shewed them that a vigilant and constitutional first magistrate of the city could, in the most difficult times, preserve its peace by the civil power alone; and declared, that, whilst he sat in the chair, no military force should be employed. He fulfilled his promise of keeping the peace effectually. As a magistrate, he has been indefatigable in his services to the city, and at all times with the most disinterested spirit; for, though repeatedly urged to take the representation of the city, or to participate in some of their lucrative posts, he always rejected places as well as titles. He gave the corporation all the benefit of his able advice and assistance in the improvement of their estates, and particularly of those set apart for charitable purposes; and to him, more than any other member, are they indebted for the improvements that have taken place. His  
company



company (the haberdashers) particularly benefited by his sagacity, and their estates have accordingly been greatly advanced. In his own profession he has shewn what wonderful things may be done by ability and perseverance. When he began the business of an auctioneer, he was scarcely known. It was thought discreditable to bring estates or goods to sale in the country; but to such a height has it arisen under his auspices, that the auction-duty paid to government last year amounted to the sum of 300,000*l*. Mr. Dyke, who came to be with him in 1763, has for a long time discharged all the active parts of the business, which allowed him to spend much of his time at Collier's wood, a beautiful feat, which he purchased, near Merton, in Surrey, but which he has never truly enjoyed since the death of his wife, about five years ago. Alderman Skinner was a man of strong natural sense and considerable knowledge of the world. He conducted a large concern in business with much skill and credit; and has left two sons, one in the firm of Goodwyn, Skinner, and Thornton (formerly Parson's brewhouse,) and the other in the army; and five daughters, of whom only one was unmarried.

Aged 113, John Tucker, fisherman, at Itchin ferry, Southampton, who followed his usual occupation till within a few weeks of his death.

Aged 100, at Fenwick Hall, near Stamfordham, Mrs. Ann Dixon.

Aged 112, at Sunderland, in the poor house, Mary Farmer, spinster.

Aged 100, at Holkar, near Cartmel, Mrs. Margaret Barrow.

Aged 100, at Doynton, Mr. Tobias Fox.

Aged 100, at Hawstead, John Salisbury.

At the extraordinary age of 125. At Harlow, Mr. Creak, upwards of 83 years a schoolmaster at that place.

FEBRUARY.

At Sir Joseph Banks's *2d*. conversazione, Mr. Hawker, of Dudbridge, Gloucestershire, exhibited complete drawings, and several of the bones of a large fossil animal, similar to a crocodile, found in a solid stratum of lime-stone, 20 feet thick. It was imbedded 15 feet below the surface of the stratum. The skeleton measures  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, and all the other parts are wonderfully perfect. The jaws, which were exhibited, contained the teeth in high preservation, and still covered with the enamel. One of them which was broken, had so exactly the fracture of what is called petrified wood, that it would have deceived the most acute mineralogist, and furnishes a strong ground for suspicion that many fossils generally held to be of vegetable, are of animal origin. In the same stratum of lime-stone are found many cornuæ ammoniæ, mussels, and other shells.

A correspondent of the *Suffex Advertiser* states, that, by proper management, an excellent cheap wine, far superior to raisin, may be extracted from parsnips. The receipt is as follows: wash the parsnips clean, take off the rind,

cut

cut them in slices, boil four gallons so cut in 10 gallons of water, till they are perfectly soft; squeeze the liquor well out of them, and run it through a hair sieve, and to every gallon of liquor add three pounds of sugar, and boil it three quarters of an hour; when it is cool, put to it a little new yeast, let it stand ten days in an open vessel, stir it frequently, put it into a cask, and when it has done fermenting bung it up for use.

A beautiful sarcophagus has remained since the days of Henry VIII. in a building attached to St. George's chapel, at Windsor, built by cardinal Wolfey, as a mausoleum for himself; it is plainly formed out of a block of black marble, highly polished, but the entablature of it is enriched with the most exquisite sculpture, designed and executed by an Italian artist of the first eminence, whom this ambitious churchman brought over solely for this work. The building having recently been appropriated by his majesty to a chapter room for the knights of the garter, this curious sarcophagus has been removed.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cook, aged 64, wife of Mr. Thomas C. of Weobly, Herts, aged upwards of 70, was brought to bed of a daughter, being the only child they have had, after a marriage of more than 20 years.

In consequence of some repairs which the sewers were undergoing in the Strand, close to St. Clements' church, a hackney-coachman, unacquainted with the interruption, drove upon the railing by which the opening was sur-

rounded, and one of the horses was precipitated a depth of several feet, whilst the other lay over the mouth of it, apparently dead. The coachman was thrown from his box, and severely bruised. After much labour the horse was extricated, apparently not much hurt.

The lord chancellor addressed the court of chancery <sup>4th.</sup> to the following effect:

“ Before I take leave of this court, I wish to address a few words to you, gentlemen, expressive of the feelings I entertain for the respectful attention I have, on all occasions, experienced from you. I have doubted whether the more dignified manner of parting would not be simply to make my bow to you and retire; but, observing that I have been represented yesterday and the day before, to have addressed you on the subject, I shall not resist the impulse I feel to say a few words.

“ I quit the office I hold without one painful reflection. Called to it by the authority of those whom it was my duty to obey, I have executed it, not well, but to the extent of my humble abilities, and the time which I have been able to devote to it; and I enjoy the grateful feeling, that there is no suitor of this court who can say I have not executed it conscientiously. There is yet, however, one painful emotion, by which I am assailed—it is the taking leave of you. In retiring into private life, I am upheld by the hope that I shall carry with me the continued esteem of a profession, for which I feel an attachment that will descend with me to the grave.

“ For

“ For the great attention, respect, and kindness, I have always received from you, accept, gentlemen, my sincerest thanks, accompanied by my best wishes for your long continued health and happiness, and uninterrupted prosperity.”

Mr. Pigott, the new attorney-general, evidently affected, made a brief answer to the chancellor, in the name of the whole bar.

An account has been received of the capture of Medina by the Wahabees; whose army, having been reinforced from the desert, has overwhelmed the adjacent country, and taken the city by assault, with infinite bloodshed and devastation. They set fire to Medina in various places, destroyed the mosques, after having ransacked them of their valuable shrines and treasures, and completely demolished the tomb of the Prophet. Some thousands of females of the first rank were carried off by the besiegers into the desert, with a number of the principal male inhabitants. A troop of camels were also sent away with jewels and other treasure to an immense amount.

In the court of king's bench, an application was made on behalf of colonel Thornton, for leave to file a criminal information against Mr. Flint, for challenging him to fight a duel, and horsewhipping him on the race-ground at York, last summer, &c. The quarrel arose out of a bet of 1500 guineas, which Mr. Flint claims to have won of colonel Thornton, by the race he rode against Mrs. Thornton, whose bets were adopted by her husband. Whereas colonel Thornton maintains, that of the bet allowed to, 1000l. was a mere no-

minimal thing, intended to attract company to the race, and that nothing more than 500 guineas was seriously intended by the parties. After a full hearing of the whole case, lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that the case before the court was one in which their lordships ought not to interpose with its extraordinary power. On the contrary, he conceived that it would be degrading its process to interfere in favour of such parties in such a cause. Colonel Thornton had chosen to appeal to the Jockey Club, and should have abided by their decision. He had, however, not found them exactly fitting his notion of justice; and, therefore, for every thing that had happened since, he must have recourse to the ordinary mode of obtaining redress, namely, by preferring a bill of indictment at the sessions of the county. The other judges being of the same opinion, the rule was discharged.

As five boys were coming on shore at North Shields, from the ship Pomona, the boat unfortunately got upon a ship's hawser, and upset. Four of them got hold of the rope, but the fifth, who was a Scots lad, (to whom they had given a passage from Mona island, where he had been shipwrecked, and suffered many hardships) went to the bottom; and before assistance could be rendered the others, one of them, a boy belonging to London, let go his hold, and was likewise drowned. One of the bodies was found two days after.

The Cockburnspath agricultural society had their first annual ploughing match on the 20th ult. in a clover-lea field belonging to Mr. Wood, tenant in Path-head.

Twenty-one ploughs appeared on the field. The day was favourable. The ploughmen finished their respective tasks with great expedition, and in a masterly style. The work was, on the whole, so well executed, that the judges had the utmost difficulty to determine the prizes. The society gave each of the competitors a comfortable refreshment, and half-a-crown to drink. The good effects of this ploughing match are very conspicuous, as the greatest emulation now exists amongst the ploughmen in the neighbourhood.

Upon the motion of Mr. deputy Birch, at a court of common council, after much discussion, and several divisions, it was at length carried by 77 against 71, for a monument to be erected in the guildhall of the city of London, to the memory of Mr. Pitt.

8th. The court of king's bench, after the judicial business was over, being cleared of all but the counsel, the thanks of the bar to lord Erskine were moved by Mr. Dayrell, (senior of the outer barristers) and seconded by D. P. Coke, esq. M. P. The following are copies of the resolutions:—

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be presented to the right honourable lord T. Erskine, now lord high chancellor; and that Edward Dayrell, and Daniel Parker Coke, esqrs. being the senior barristers of this court, do present the same:—

“That we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of presenting our sincere congratulations to the right honourable Thomas lord Erskine, on his appointment to the office of lord high-chancellor of Great Britain, and of expressing the

deep impression made upon us by the uniform kindness and attention which we have at all times experienced from him during his long and extensive practice amongst us; and we further beg leave to assure his lordship, that in retiring from us he is accompanied by our best wishes for his health and happiness.”

The following is the reply of lord chancellor Erskine to the above address:

“Gentlemen,

“I cannot express what I felt upon receiving your address, and what I must ever feel upon the recollection of it.

“I came originally into the profession under great disadvantages—bred in military life, a total stranger to the whole bar, and not entitled to expect any favourable reception from similar habits or private friendships, my sudden advancement into great business, before I could rank, in study or in learning, with others, who were my seniors also, was calculated to have produced, *in common minds*, nothing but prejudice and disgust. How, then, can I look back without gratitude upon the unparalleled liberality and kindness, which, for seven-and-twenty years, I uniformly experienced among you, and which I feel a pride, as well as a duty, in acknowledging, alone enabled me to surmount many painful difficulties, and converted what would otherwise have been a condition of oppressive labour, into an uninterrupted enjoyment of ease and satisfaction.

“I am happy that your partiality has given me the occasion of putting upon record this just tribute

bute to the character and honour of the English bar.

“ My only merit has been, that I was not insensible to so much goodness; the perpetual and irresistible impulses of a mind deeply affected by innumerable obligations, could not but produce that behaviour which you have so kindly and so publicly rewarded. — I shall for ever remain, gentlemen, your affectionate and faithful humble servant,

“ ERSKINE.”

“ *Lincoln's-Inn Fields,*  
Feb. 9, 1806.”

8th. This morning the committee appointed to try the merits of the Middlesex election assembled, the right honourable I. Corry in the chair. No opposition was made by sir Francis Burdett to the petition of Mr. Mainwaring; and two of the votes of the former being disqualified, the latter has since been returned duly elected. The above was a matter that had been previously understood by both parties for some time past.

9th. “ Mr. Ryan, at whose house, in Marlborough-street, Dublin, the meetings of the Roman Catholic committee were held, wrote to Mr. Fox, congratulating him on his accession to political power, and hoped that he would not forget his friends the Irish Catholics, who had always supported him. Mr. Fox answered the letter rather in a *general* manner; thanked the gentleman for his congratulations; said, that, either in or out of office, he would not forget the Irish Catholics, and that Mr. Ryan might make what use he should think proper of his letter.”

Found dead, in a lane nearly adjoining the turn-<sup>10th.</sup> pike on the Acton road, James Winterburn. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased was a respectable and wealthy farmer in a village in Hertfordshire, and that he left his home, for town, on horseback this day. It could not be ascertained how the deceased met his death, for the only evidence respecting it was given by a waggoner of the name of Byng, who found the body. He stated, that the deceased was in a ditch, and the horse he had rode was standing by him, with the bridle broke, and the saddle, which was dirty, had only one stirrup. The deceased, it appeared, was a free drinker, and the jury concluded he had met his death by accident.

When the emperor Alexander returned to St. Petersburg, the knights of St. George, a military order which receives no member unless he has distinguished himself in the field, unanimously offered him their Great Ribband. But he declined it, saying, that he had not a just claim to it. He consented, however, to wear the Small Cross of their fourth class.

*Cork.* About one yef-<sup>12th.</sup> terday, the *Britannia*, of Liverpool, of near 600 tons, blew up at Cove, with a tremendous explosion; from the main mast aft was blown to pieces. Several ships lying near her fortunately escaped. Two of the crew were saved by the exertions of Mr. Raines, mate of the ship *Speedwell*, which lay near, as well as her papers, and other articles of value

A deputation from the university of Dublin wait:<sup>13th.</sup>

ed upon his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, at St. James's palace, with the grant of the office of chancellor of the university of Dublin.

Came on the election of a member of parliament for Westminster. After the usual proclamation, Mr. Fox appeared upon the hustings, supported by Mr. Byng. The latter gentleman addressed the electors, and congratulated them on the change that had taken place in his majesty's councils: he observed that Mr. Fox, in accepting a place of great public trust, was not actuated by personal or interested motives. In the present momentous crisis, his object was to serve, and, if possible, to save, his country. He was not a man who would deceive or desert them; and it was only by the firm support of the people, that his friend and his colleagues could hope to make this nation safe and happy at home, and glorious and respectable abroad. He then proposed the re-election of Mr. Fox, which motion was seconded by Mr. Wishart. Mr. Fox afterwards addressed the electors, and explained the meaning of the law which rendered a new election necessary for a man who had accepted a place in his majesty's councils. He declared that he could have but little inducement to accept such a situation, at a period when there was much more reason to fear disappointment than to expect success. "We can discern (said Mr. Fox) little consolation for the past, and but small hopes for the future. There is, undoubtedly, one splendid exception to the general gloomy state which we have to look to, I mean the very high re-

putation so justly earned by the British navy. Let us hope that the immortal day of Trafalgar, though so dearly purchased by the death of the great and heroic character who commanded on that occasion, will more than compensate for all that Britain has suffered in every other quarter. Under these circumstances it is that we have come into office. We have acted upon public grounds, uninfluenced by any motives of ambition or personal interest. We have undertaken an arduous duty in a perilous crisis, and without much prospect of succeeding as we could wish. But whatever may be the difficulties we have to encounter, your support will enable us to meet them with confidence, and to overcome them with effect. With regard to general politics, I feel that it would not be suitable, at my time of life, nor to the long connexion that has subsisted between us, to make professions. I am now what I always have been—a friend to liberty, an enemy to corruption, and a firm and decided supporter of that just weight which the people ought to have in the scale of the constitution."—After tumults of applause and acclamation, the high bailiff declared Mr. Fox duly elected. Mr. Fox then got into the chair prepared for him, which was crimson damask, richly gilt, and covered with laurels, and was chaired round Covent-Garden. The usual practice of pulling down the hustings commenced the instant Mr. Fox entered the chair. They began to demolish them from the foundation, when the roof came down with a crash, and buried near twenty under its ruins; some

of them were much hurt, but none dangerously.

As James Coleman, bricklayer, of Swardeston, Norfolk, was ringing a bell in Swardeston church, when half up, the crown and canons broke from the bell, and it came down through both floors, breaking the door that covered the well-hole on the lower floor, and killed him instantly on the spot.

Jean Maxwell was lately tried before the steward depute of Kirkcudbright, and a jury, for swindling Jeanie Davidson, a simple girl, who consulted her upon a *love* story, out of several sums of money, and other articles. She pretended she was educated at Oxford, and was acquainted with the occult sciences, and that the devil would appear to her in the shape of a sow or a bull, and money must be given to lay him. Upon these pretences, she nearly turned the poor girl's head (who was before that time far gone in love) and extorted her money. The jury found her guilty, and the steward depute sentenced the prisoner to be imprisoned for twelve months, in the jail of the Burgh, and to stand in the pillory for an hour once every three months during that period.

14th. A man named John Gowthorpe exposed his wife

for sale in the market, at Hull, about one o'clock, but owing to the crowd which such an extraordinary occurrence had gathered together, he was obliged to defer the sale, and take her away. About four o'clock, however, he again brought her out, and she was sold for 20 guineas, and delivered in a halter to a person named Houselman, who had lodged with them four or five years.

There is a person, one Lambert, now living at Leicester, who is supposed to be the heaviest man known in the kingdom. He weighs upwards of 46 stone, and is only 45 years of age.

A singular cheat was practised by a person at the Near Bank in Leeds. A hen laid eggs, on which were legible characters, announcing the *coming of Christ*. Great numbers of credulous people were attracted to the spot, and many of them, no doubt, departed with the idea that *the world would soon be at an end*. Some gentlemen, hearing of the matter, took great pains to discover the trick; and, it has been actually ascertained, that, after the characters had been badly scrawled on a common egg, it was cruelly forced again into the hen's body, and that she of course parted with it in the above-mentioned state.

February 14.

*The following is a List of the New Administration.*

DEPARTMENTS.	NEW ADMINISTRATION.	OLD ADMINISTRATION.
Treasury - - - -	Lord Grenville, Lord H. Petty, Lord Althorpe,	Mr. Pitt. Lord Louvaine. Lord Fitzharris.
	* C 3	Secre.

ANNUAL REGISTER, 1806.

	Mr. Wickham,	Mr. Long.
	Mr. Courtney,	Marq. Blandford.
Secretaries - - - -	Mr. Vanfittart,	Mr. Huskisson.
	Mr. King,	Mr. Bourne.
President of the council,	Earl Fitzwilliam,	Earl Camden.
Lord privy seal	Viscount Sidmouth,	Earl Westmoreland.
Sec. of state for foreign } department,	Mr. Fox,	Lord Mulgrave,
Sec. of state for home de- } partment,	Earl Spencer,	Lord Hawkesbury.
Sec. of state for colonial } department,	Mr. Windham,	Lord Castlereagh.
Lord chancellor,	Lord Erskine,	Lord Eldon.
Chancellor of the exchequer,	Lord H. Petty,	Mr. Pitt.
Admiralty - - - -	Mr. Grey,	Lord Barkham.
	Sir Philip Stephens,	Admiral Gambier.
	Admiral Markham,	Sir Philip Stephens.
	Sir C. Pole,	Admiral Patten.
	Sir H. B. Neale,	Sir E. Nepean.
	Lord W. Russell,	Mr. Dickenson, jun.
	Lord Kenfington,	Lord Garlies.
Master general of ordnance,	Earl of Moira,	Earl of Chatham.
Secretary at war, - -	Gen. Fitzpatrick,	Mr. W. Dundas.
Treasurer of the navy, -	Mr. Sheridan,	Mr. Canning.
Lord lieut. of Ireland, -	Duke of Bedford,	Earl of Hardwick.
Secretary, - - - -	Mr. Elliot,	Mr. Long.
Board of control, - -	Lord Minto,	Lord Castlereagh,
	Lord Spencer,	Lord Hawkesbury.
	Mr. Windham,	Lord Mulgrave.
	Mr. Fox,	Mr. Pitt.
	Lord Grenville,	Lord Glenbervie.
	Lord H. Petty,	Mr. Wallace.
	Lord Morpeth,	Lord Dunlo.
	Mr. H. Addington,	
	Mr. Sullivan,	
Joint postmasters,	{ Earl of Buckingham- shire,	{ Duke of Montrose.
	{ Earl of Carysfort,	{ Lord C. Spencer.
President of board of trade,	Lord Auckland,	Duke of Montrose.
Vice-president ditto -	Earl Temple,	Mr. Rose.
Joint paymasters, -	{ Earl Temple,	Mr. Rose.
	{ Lord J. Townshend,	Lord C. Somersfet,
Master of the horse, -	Earl of Carnarvon,	Marq. Hertford.
Master of the mint, - -	Lord C. Spencer,	Earl Bathurst.
Master of the staghounds,	Earl of Albemarle,	Earl Sandwich.
Treasurer of the household,	Lord Ossulston,	Visc. Stopford.
Chancellor of the D. of } Lancaster,	Earl of Derby,	Lord Harrowby.

Capt.



Capt. of band of gent. pensioners,	} Lord St. John,	Visc. Falmouth.
Surveyor of crown lands,		Lord Rt. Spencer,
Judge advocate, - - -	Mr. Bond,	Sir C. Morgan.
Attorney general, - - -	Mr. Pigott,	Mr. Percival.
Solicitor general, - - -	Mr. Romilly,	Sir V. Gibbs.
Chancellor of the D. of Cornwall,	} Mr. Adam,	Lord Erskine.
Attorney general to his R. H. the P. of Wales,		Mr. Garrow,

Lord Ellenborough has a feat in the cabinet.

15th. Last week two men were killed by an explosion of inflammable air in a coal-pit at Boyles-Hall colliery, near Audley, in Staffordshire; this is the second accident of a similar kind in a very few months, in the same pit; by the former, eight were the unfortunate sufferers.

16th. A male infant (newly born) was found in Bellham Dyke, next Uffington Ford, with a cord tied round its neck, and another round its body, to which a stone was attached, evidently, with an intention of sinking the same. The coroner's inquest sat on the body on Tuesday, and brought in a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

During the late tempestuous weather, the house of a farmer at Pennal, near Machynleth, was struck by lightning, which killed a dog lying close to a cradle in which was a sick child, shivered the bedstead in which were the farmer and his wife, killed three horses, four cows, and a pig in an adjoining building, and shattered the church considerably. At another place eight cows were struck dead. The river Dovey rose higher than was ever remembered; the old bridge was carried away,

and the new bridge was much damaged.

This day, Mr. Ackroyd, 17th. fugar-baker, in Miles's-lane, Cannon-street, accompanied by his wife, went to spend the day with a relation at Chelsea, where they staid till about ten at night, when they walked, on their way home, till they came to St. James's-street, where they took a coach. Mrs. A. was then perfectly well; but, as soon as they were seated in the coach, she was seized with an apoplectic fit, and appeared lifeless; she was taken to a surgeon's in the neighbourhood, who attempted to bleed her, but in vain.

At the village of Grescuthen, near Cockermonth, Cumberland, Miss Mary Ann Rofs, daughter of Mr. John R. when the family were about to retire to rest, suddenly fell from her chair, and instantly expired. She had been observed in the course of the day, and particularly towards the evening, to be more cheerful than usual; and, a few moments prior to the awfully-fatal stroke, she spoke to one of her sisters with a smiling countenance. She was in the 25th year of her age, graceful in her person, and amiable and engaging in her manners.

18th. A boy, son of Mr. Cuthbert, fisher, Newton, Ayr, was drowned in the dam at the head of that town. He was not missed till the miller observed that the water did not flow through the grate to his mill-wheel, and on examination, found the body of the child.

19th. The ponderous iron bridge that had been just erected over the new cut at Bristol, near the Bath road, fell down, with a tremendous crash, and was shivered and separated into thousands of pieces. Two men were killed upon the spot, and others severely injured.

Holywell, in Flintshire, has been the scene of several distressing accidents.—A boy had his thumb carried off by the explosion of a gun he was firing.—On the same day, a woman fell into St. Winifred's well, and, in spite of every exertion, was drowned.—A young man was drawn in amongst the cog-wheels in a corn-mill, had one hand split, one foot torn through the heel, and the other leg so crushed as to require immediate amputation.—A boy riding on a cart, drove against a turnpike-gate and broke his leg.—A boy and girl's clothes took fire, in consequence of which they languished but a few hours, and expired.—A poor woman, who had been in a state of derangement for some time, went into an out-building, and, by the use of a small cord, put an end to her existence.

An attempt was made, about four o'clock, to carry off several dead bodies from the church-yard of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, by three or four depraved

wretches, who, it is supposed, had got over the brick wall next Princes-street, Soho. In consequence of an alarm being given at the watch-house, the constable of the night, the watch-house-keeper, and as many assistants as could be procured on so sudden an emergency, repaired to the church-yard, and secured one of the men in his attempt to escape over the wall next Princes-street.

On examining the church-yard, it appeared that no less than five graves had been broken up, and the bodies of two persons were discovered lying on the ground, wholly without covering. The coffins in which the bodies had been deposited, were put in by the depredators about two feet beneath the level of the ground. But we have the satisfaction of informing the public, that the villains did not succeed in their design, it being ascertained that not a single body had been carried off, and those left above ground were buried in the same coffins in the presence of their friends.

The man who was apprehended states his name to be William Hillier, lodging at No. 5, King-street, Borough; that he is a married man, and has one child, and that he is a cabinet-maker by trade; but not giving a satisfactory account of himself to the Rev. Joseph Jefferson, the magistrate before whom he was examined, he was committed to the house of correction as a disorderly person; and some suspicions attaching to the grave-digger, he was immediately dismissed.

The sacks which had been brought for the purpose, as it is supposed, of carrying away the bodies,

bodies, were left behind, the men not choosing to take them in their hurry to avoid detection.

The following are the dimensions of the Makerstoun Ox, slaughtered at Kelso :

	Ft.	In.	Pt.
Girth before	9	9	6
Ditto behind	9	6	4
Length, from the point of the shoulder to the end of the buttock	6	10	0
Ditto, from head to rump	10	2	0
Standard height	6	3	0
Across the hucks	2	10	0

Lately was shot, in the parish of Holford, on the Quantock-hills, about 14 miles from Taunton, by Henry Sweeting, esq. a brown eagle, of the male kind, he measured seven feet four inches from the extremity of his wings, and three feet from head to tail; he was discovered whilst hovering over Mr. Sweeting's spaniel, and lived about ten hours after he was shot.

Mr. Thomas Griggs, senior, butcher, of Cowbit, near Spalding, killed a hog-pig, (which he purchased the 4th of June preceding for one guinea) which weighed as follows, viz. fat and offal, 9 stone, carcase, 40 stone.

20th. RIGHT HON. W. PITT'S LYING IN STATE. — At nine o'clock, a crowd began to assemble in New and Old Palace Yards, to see this distinguished statesman lying in state in the painted chamber. The crowd completely filled the avenues; and at ten o'clock the doors of the lobby of the house of commons were thrown open.

On passing the raised lobby of the house of commons, the spectators entered the long gallery, which

was hung with black, lighted up by seventy-one wax-lights in tin sconces, and attended by Bow-street officers. The spectators then proceeded to the painted chamber, the passage to and from which was in a horse-shoe form, and at the upper end of which was placed the coffin, on bearers, completely covered with a pall.

On the right of the latter was placed ten silver candlesticks, on pedestals, covered with black cloth and large wax tapers, interspersed with four elegant flags, with the various insignia of the several offices of the deceased, and his arms. At the foot of the coffin was placed the king's banner, with an admiral's streamer and jack rolled, with his shield and sword, and his arms embossed, on a raised platform; over which we observed his helmet and other insignia, surmounted by the anchor, supporting a crane, (the Chatham crest;) on the left of the coffin was placed the same number of wax lights and banners as on the right, with Mr. Thomas as principal. At the head of the coffin also, ten gentlemen of the wardrobe, attendants, in deep mourning cloaks and scarfs, with twelve other gentlemen porters, variously dispersed.

The whole of the painted chamber was also hung in black, the upper part of which displayed a deep silver border, about a foot deep, which greatly added to the sublimity of the scene.

All around the chamber were tin sconces; we noticed 132 wax lights; between each light was a banner, with the Chatham arms, elegantly painted.

At the head of the coffin, under the canopy, was placed the escutcheons

escutcheons and banners of the Chatham arms. The canopy was surmounted by plumes of black and white ostrich feathers, with a deep painted border, representing a viscount's coronet, and the Chatham crest, in drapery and wreaths. From thence the spectators retired through the new door of the house of lords into Old Palace Yard.

At four o'clock, the magnificent and mournful spectacle was closed, without any accident whatever; a fact which reflects the greatest praise on the police, as the crowd was at last very numerous. Some of the light-fingered tribe made their appearance, but they were easily dispersed.

The ceremony of lying in state continued till Friday evening, the 21st instant.

22d. This being the day appointed for the public interment of Mr. Pitt, at an early hour New Palace Yard, Union-street, King-street, and the Sanctuary, were covered with gravel. At ten o'clock a party of the third regiment of guards arrived, and were stationed inside of the railing, from Westminster-hall gate to the west door of Westminster Abbey. A number of the life guards were stationed at all the leading streets, to regulate the carriages on their way to the parliament-house. The tickets directed all those who were to walk in the procession to be set down with the greatest order at the doors of the house of commons and lords.

On their entrance, the heralds and proper officers from the college of arms were stationed to conduct them to their proper places in the procession. Sir Isaac Heard ar-

rived before twelve o'clock; and having inspected the arrangements made by his officers, the procession began to move. At half past twelve it came out of Westminster-Hall, which was announced by the drums and fifes playing the 104th psalm in a very solemn manner, and trumpets and kettle drums playing a dirge. The procession moved in the following order:—

- The lord's chamberlain's officers.
- The standard carried by general Lennox, supported by Mr. Steele and Mr. Long.
- The guidon carried by brigadier-general Hope, supported by Mr. Rider, and another gentleman.
- The deceased and earl Chatham's domestics.
- About one-hundred members of the house of commons.
- Twenty clergymen in their canonicals.
- Six trumpets.
- The banner and crest of Mr. Pitt, supported by Mr. Wilberforce and another gentleman.
- Fourteen officers who attended the deceased when lying in state.
- Eighteen knights and bachelors.
- Baron Sutton in his full robes.
- The lord mayor of London.
- The speaker of the house of commons.
- Ten bishops.
- Thirty-two peers, followed by their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Cumberland and Cambridge.
- Helm and crest, sword and target, surcoat, borne by Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester, heralds.
- THE BODY.
- Chief mourner earl Chatham, the brother of the deceased, supported by earls Westmoreland

land and Camden.

Sir Isaac Heard, Garter king at arms, carried the staff of office.

The banner of emblems, Carried by Mr. Percival, the late attorney-general, and supported by Mr. Canning and Mr. Rose. About 50 relations and friends of the deceased.

The Cinque Port volunteers, with crape on their hats and left arms.

The first of the procession entered Westminster Abbey at one o'clock, but it was above half an hour after, before the body entered. Dr. Vincent, the dean, the prebends, minor canons, and gentlemen of the choir, were ready to receive them; and on the entrance of the corpse, they began to sing Dr. Croft's funeral service, which they continued to do till the body was placed in the centre of the choir, when the regular burial service was read by one of the minor canons. The anthem, burial service, &c. was the same as that sung at the funeral of lord Nelson, at St. Paul's.

The burial service was read by the dean.

Till twelve o'clock there were but few more persons in the neighbourhood than when common business is proceeding. Palace Yard and the streets adjoining the Sanctuary were by no means crowded when the procession was moving. Several scaffolds and temporary seats were erected; some of them had a few persons, and others none.

Among the distinguished personages, besides the royal dukes, were the dukes of Montrose and Rutland—marquisses of Buckingham, Thomond, and Abercorn—earls Spencer, Temple, Romney, Win-

chelsea, and Camden—lords Sidmouth, Borringdon, Paget, M'Donald, Pomfret, Kelly, Rivers, Bulkeley, Hood, Hawkesbury, Elliot, Grantham, Castlereagh, Auckland, and Carrington—archbishop of Canterbury—bishops of Bath and Wells, Norwich, Bristol, London, Lincoln, Ely, Exeter and Chester.

After pronouncing his titles over his grave, the herald declared, *non sibi sed patriæ vixit.*

An ingenious mechanic, of Northampton, has invented and made a cannon, on an entire new construction, which will prime, load, and fire itself ten times in the short space of one minute.

The following experiment, which was lately made by a gentleman of Norfolk, is of the highest importance to all those concerned in breeding pigs. Six pigs, of the genuine Norfolk breed, and of very nearly equal weight, were put to keeping at the same time, and treated the same, as to food and litter, for the space of seven weeks. Three of them were left to shift for themselves as to cleanliness; the other three were kept as clean as possible, by a man employed for the purpose, with a curry-comb and brush. The last consumed in seven weeks fewer peas by *five bushels* than the other three, yet they weighed more when killed, by *two stone and four pounds*, upon an average, or six stone twelve pounds upon the whole.

MIDDLESEX SESSIONS.—Scipion Charles Victor Auguste Legarde Marquis De Chambonas, was convicted of defrauding Mon. Bertrand De Molleville, of different sums of money, under pretence

tence of establishing a certain business.

The prosecutor was the author of the history of the French Revolution, and the defendant was a French emigrant, and one of the noblesse. Our limits will not permit us to enter into particulars. The defendant was sentenced to six months imprisonment in Newgate.

23<sup>d</sup>. A few days ago the wife of Mr. Carter, cow-keeper, close to Oxford-street turnpike, went to feed an old blind hackney-coach horse, when he turned his head round, and seized the poor woman with his teeth by one of her breasts, and so held her for a second or two; she was got away, but has been dangerously ill ever since; the place immediately swelled as large as a peck loaf, which, in a few days after, was reduced by leeches, and it will yet be some time before she can attend to her business. This same horse has before tried several times to kick her, and squeeze her against the sides of the stall, and she has narrowly escaped.

24<sup>th</sup>. COURT OF KING'S BENCH. — The important case, which has been long depending, of *The King v. General Thomas Picton* came on this day. For an account of the trial see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

27<sup>th</sup>. Found drowned in Paddington Canal, Rachel Griffet, daughter of respectable parents in Hampshire, from whom she had fled, and had been married to a man who represented himself as a lieutenant of the navy, but turned out to be a very different person. For some time past she had led a wretched life, which

so convulsed her faculties that she was often lost to herself. She left her apartment, in Quebec-street, the preceding afternoon, as she said to take a walk, and was not heard of till found a corpse.

This afternoon, Mr. Barrett, rope-maker, of Poplar, took a boat for himself, his wife, two sons, and a daughter, to go to Woolwich. When near Greenwich Reach, a sudden squall of wind overset the boat, and Mr. B. the three children, and the waterman, were unfortunately drowned. Mrs. B. was saved, being picked up by a boat near the spot, but died the next night at her house at Poplar.

Mr. Pitt's will was this day proved by W. D. Adams, and W. Huskisson, esquires, and is as follows, in three separate schedules:

"I owe sir Walter Farquhar one thousand guineas, from October, 1805, as a professional debt.

"W. PITT."

"12,000l. with interest, from October, 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele, Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Camden, Mr. Joseph Smith, and I earnestly request their acceptance of it. I wish, if means can be found for it, of paying double the wages to all my servants who were with me at my decease.

"W. PITT."

"I wish my brother, with the bishop of Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to settle my affairs. I owe more than I can leave behind me."

"W. PITT."

The following uncommon instances of fecundity have this season occurred in the flock of John Wythe, esq. of Eye: Feb. 18, a Norfolk

Norfolk ewe yeaned three lambs.—20, another, three.—21, another, five—23, another, four.—Same day, another, three.—25, another, three.—27, another, four.—Thus seven ewes yeaned 25 lambs, all alive.

28th. About ten this night as Messrs. John and Alexander Robertson, two brothers, ship-chandlers, in St. Catherine's street, were packing up some gunpowder for exportation, assisted by Captain Halkett, master of the Fame West Indiaman, the hammering of a nail struck a small spark of fire, which communicated to some loose powder, and instantly the whole exploded. The crash was so tremendous that it shattered all the neighbouring windows, and drove the front of the shop into the street. The three persons mentioned were dreadfully wounded, as was also a labourer, who was working along with them. Captain Halkett died at three the next morning.

A fire broke out at three this morning, at Mr. Rosser's, a sack-making-manufacturer, at Wantage, Berks. The flames soon communicated to the adjoining houses; and before six Mr. Rosser's house, Mr. Belcher's, a maltster's; Mr. Whitfield, a currier's; Mr. Winterborne, a miller's; and Mr. Palmer's, were totally consumed. A labourer lost his life by the falling of a wall; and a child's life was lost in the endeavour to save it by throwing it out of a window.

DIED.—1. At Stoke Newington, at the very advanced age of nearly 98, by a placid expiration of the vital powers, without a single sigh or groan, Mrs. Sarah Wol-

laston, for more than 40 years the relict of Israel W. esq. Mrs. Wollaston was quite a character; but a respectable one, and respectably connected. She was remarkable in her person; rather short and thin, and by some accident had been deprived of one of her eyes; and was very long a frequenter of Lincoln's-Inn-gardens, with her lap-dog Psyche on her arm; and it was remarked by the young ladies of her acquaintance, that, having a succession of such pensioners, and having left Psyche a weekly pension for her life; when the first pensioner died, a new will was made, to establish the validity of that legacy, lest the executors should dispute, and question the identity of the legatee.

On Christmas day last, in prison, at the Havannah, Bowles, the Cherokee Chief. An apprehension of being poisoned prevented his using the food offered by the Spaniards, and, for forty days, he subsisted on oranges alone, and was in consequence reduced to a mere skeleton.

At Bologna, the celebrated Madame Banti. She caught cold on her return from the Carnival at Venice, which occasioned a fever, of which she died after a few days illness. Her death is sincerely lamented by the genuine amateurs of music in every country. Her talents were most uncommon; since, without the aid of science, she made an impression on her audience which it is the perfection, and ought to be the object, of science to attain. Her voice came purely from the breast; and, by the fullness, sweetness, and simplicity of the tone, excited the most powerful sympathy in the heart of the hearer. She had acquired a very competent fortune

tune

tune by her talents, and has left a considerable estate in the vicinity of Bologna to her children.

19. At her lodgings in Clarges-street, Piccadilly, in her 89th year, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Nicholas Carter, D.D. (rector of Woodchurch, 1755; rector of Ham, 1734; vicar of Tilmanstone, 1730—1755; curate of Deal Chapel, from 1718 to his death, Oct. 23, 1774;) a lady who has for a long time enjoyed a very distinguished pre-eminence in the literary world. She very early in life discovered the superior cultivation which her mind had received from the superintendance of her worthy parent. Her only brother, Henry, received his classical education from her before he went to Canterbury school, from which he was admitted of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1757; and proceeded B.A. 1760, and M.A. 1763; and was presented, by sir George Oxendon, to the rectory of Wrenham, Berks. She has published all the works of Epictetus, which are now extant; consisting of his discourses, preserved by Arrian, in four books, the *Enchiridion*, and fragments, translated from the original Greek, with an introduction and notes by the translator; one volume, quarto, 1758, by subscription, and it was honoured with a long list of very distinguished names. The learning and ability which the authoress displayed in the execution of her task are well known, and have received that high applause which is so justly their due; the work may with safety be pronounced to do honour to her sex and to her country. It was reprinted subsequently, in two volumes, duodecimo, and before

at Dublin, 1754, octavo. Poems on several occasions; one volume, octavo, 1762 (reprinted in duodecimo). The poems were published at the desire of the late earl of Bath; also in Dodsley's miscellanies, v. 309, vi. 227, and are celebrated among the verses of lord Lyttleton, who had read them in manuscript. The first of them was written before the authoress had completed her eighteenth year. As compositions, their merit and beauty cannot be too highly applauded. Sublime simplicity of sentiment, melodious sweetness of expression, and morality the most amiable, grace them in every page; while, notwithstanding her previous appearance as the translator of Epictetus, the fine sensibility, the serene dignity, and the lofty imagination, which she displayed on this occasion, proved her the genuine disciple of Plato. Mrs. Carter was also the contributor of two papers to "the Rambler," which, we are told by Mrs. Piozzi, had much of Dr. Johnson's esteem. They are, No. 44, which consists of an allegory, where religion and superstition are delineated in a masterly manner; and No. 100, which is an excellent letter on modish pleasures, bearing the signature of CHARIESSA.—In addition to the above account, we have received the following affectionate and sincere effusions of the heart from a respectable lady, whose correspondence would be an honour to any work: "My much honoured and very dear friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter has long been well known and highly respected for her superior understanding, extensive knowledge, scientific and familiar, from the highest researches in philosophy



osophy to the commonest useful acquirements. She was qualified for the society of the first scholars by her intimacy with the learned languages, as was evinced by her translation of Epictetus from the Greek original. She possessed a masculine understanding; while she was invested with such innate modesty, that her superior acquirements never intruded into company. Her heart was open to the keenest sensibility for all distresses of the afflicted; and her mind piously resigned to meet with fortitude the changes and chances of life; while her firm faith in the christian religion strengthened in her the performance of every duty; and it may be truly said, that, with all her very rare endowments, goodness of heart, mildness of temper, and suavity of manners, were predominant in all her conduct, as also in the placid serenity of her interesting countenance. Above half a century has elapsed since the happy commencement of my acquaintance with Mrs. C.; having early in life been indulged with the honour and pleasure of an intimacy with her; and a regular correspondence has subsisted between us ever since, much to my edification and delight, till her advanced life and interrupted health rendered writing painful to her."

22. At the house of Joseph Bonomi, esq. artist, in Tichfield-street, Mary-la-Bonne, in consequence of a paralytic stroke which he had experienced about ten days before, James Barry, esq. an eminent painter. He was born at Cork, and introduced to the notice of the world under the auspices and generous patronage of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. After an

education of considerable length in France and Italy, he returned to England. In 1772 he published, in reply to the celebrated Abbé Winkelman, "An Enquiry into the real and imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England." The Abbé followed Abbé Du Bos and President Montesquieu in giving limits to the genius of the English, and pretending to point out a certain appropriate character of heaviness and want of fancy, deduced from certain physical causes. It is a system of clear and manly argument, which ably confutes such ignorant and impotent observations of foreigners with respect to some essential parts of our National character. The principal monument of his fame is his series of six pictures, representing the progress of society and civilization among mankind, in the great room of the society for the Encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in the Adelphi. The occasion of painting these pictures was as follows: An offer had been made, in 1772, by Sir Joshua Reynolds and nine other eminent painters, including Mr. Barry, to adorn the cathedral of St. Paul with religious paintings, in the manner of the cathedrals of Italy. This proposition was rejected, on the ground that such ornaments were inconsistent with the genius of the Protestant religion. Disappointed in this, Mr. Barry offered, by himself, to adorn the great room of the Society of Arts with a series of allegorical paintings applicable to the purposes of that Society. The two largest pictures are 42 feet each in length; and the work is altogether, perhaps, the most considerable that ever

ever was undertaken by any single artist of his own motion, or without the hope of reward. The work was seven years in executing, and was exhibited at the room in the Adelphi in the years 1783 and 1784, for his benefit; and he published an octavo volume, explanatory of the series. He published, 1793, a Letter to the above Society, the object of which was, to publish a few personal explanations, to advertise engravings of the above-mentioned pictures, and to throw together some admirable thoughts on that branch of public instruction which regards the influence of religion and of the arts on human culture and national glory. Besides these, Mr. B. published a "Letter to the Dilettanti Society," printed in the Supplement to the new edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, 1798, chiefly on the subject of empiricism in picture-cleaning, and giving an account of an excellent practice, relative to the preservation of pictures, which he found in use at Rome. In Mr. B.'s productions, as well of the pencil as of the pen, there are generally to be found certain eccentricities, both in sentiment and expression; but he has long been known to the public, not only as a practical painter of the first merit, distinguished by the classical taste and antique purity of his designs, but also as a literary theorist, important for his profound knowledge of art, and respectable for the lofty merit which he ever laboured to inculcate as the severe duty of artists and the highest embellishment of their productions. Preferring independence with bread and water to the most splendid ap-

pointment associated with a controul of the will of its possessor, he so effectually circumscribed his wants that few men could support themselves on so little. A professed republican in principle, he felt no concern to disguise his sentiments; he is said, even in public lectures on a royal foundation, to have descanted frequently with admiration on the encouragement afforded the fine arts under a republican compared with a monarchical government. This licence frequently alarmed his brethren of the Royal Academy; nor did he stop here, but scrutinized, and often severely censured, their conduct in the affairs of the institution. Mr. Barry was some years professor of painting to the Royal Academy; and had very lately undertaken to paint a whole-length portrait of the late lamented Lord Nelson, for the Society of Arts.

In the gaol of Berwick-upon-Tweed, under confinement on mesne process for debt, Thomas Smith, esq. aged 66, husband of the celebrated Mrs. Charlotte Smith.

24. At Romely, in Derby, Dr. Thomas Gisborne, F. R. S. senior fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge; B. A. 1747, M. A. 1751, M. D. 1758; physician to the king; a fellow, and for some years president of the college of physicians.

27. After a short indisposition, aged 75, Henry Steward, gent. of Bury, who, in the year 1766, was, with Elizabeth Burroughs, tried for the murder of Mary Booty, his housekeeper. Mr. Steward was acquitted, but Elizabeth Burroughs was convicted and executed. About two hours previous

vious to Mr. Steward's dissolution, he made his will, in the presence of Dr. White, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Woodward. After giving the dividends arising from 2000l. stock, 3 per cent. consols, for the benefit of the poor of Lavenham, in Suffolk, and disposing of the remainder of his property chiefly to charitable uses, with great composure and firmness of mind, he desired the following declaration might be inserted in his will:—"I hereby solemnly declare, that, expecting in a very short time to appear before my Maker and Judge, I am innocent, and know nothing of how poor Molly Booty came by her untimely death."

Suddenly, at his house, the sign of the Load of Hay, near Hampstead, Middlesex, the eccentric Joe Davis, known by the appellation of "The Host of Haverstock-hill." The public are well acquainted with the character and eccentricities of this *huge* man, whose caricature has long figured in the windows of most of the print-shops in the metropolis. He used to offer copious libations to Bacchus early in the morning, and continue in a state of intoxication the whole of the day. It was in these happy moments that he amused his company by his eccentricities, clad in a gorgeous court-dress. His house was frequented by strangers of all descriptions, whom curiosity led thither; and it was not uncommon to see the carriages of noblemen and gentlemen drawn up at the door, for the visitants to gratify their curiosity with a view of the *celebrated* host. He died as he had lived, in the arms of the Jolly God; for, having spent another of his happy days, he at night

threw himself prostrate in the bar, and, this being no novelty, remained there, unnoticed, till bedtime, when he was found dead.

Lately, at Melmerby, in Cumberland, aged 84, Mr. John Slee, father of the Rev. Mr. Slee, of the same place. Mr. Slee was possessed of a most intrepid mind; and his exploits, though they will not, perhaps, be recorded in the page of history, yet, in his native place, have been long looked upon by the honest rustics with more admiration than the achievements of those in more exalted spheres. In the rebellion of 1745, our hero greatly distinguished himself. Being at that period one of the trainbands for the county, then lying at Carlisle, he volunteered to go and reconnoitre the rebels, who were approaching Carlisle; having discovered their advanced party below Longtown, he was the very person that took Quarter-Master Brand, and brought him prisoner to Carlisle. After the city was surrendered to the enemy, the trainbands were escorted by the rebels to Low Heskett, where Mr. Slee proposed to his companions unarmed, to fall upon the rebels, and take them prisoners; which proposition, however, they would not agree to. He therefore made his escape to Penrith, where he remained until the return of the rebels; and the morning after the action on Clifton Moor, he, with a party of thirteen, agreed to go and view the scene of action. On their way thither, they discovered three of the rebels wandering in the fields, whom they resolved to take; but on a nearer approach their courage failed them; in the meantime, the enemy had fled. Mr.

Slee immediately pursued them alone, with no other arms than an old sword. The rebels seeing whom they had to contend with, made a stand, and all of them snapped their pieces at him. Wonderful to relate! They all missed fire. Mr. Slee still advancing, rushed in amongst them, made them all prisoners, and brought them to the Moot hall at Penrith. But Mr. Slee's generosity was equal to his courage; he promised to protect them with his life, and actually fought three battles in their defence. The fame of this circumstance soon reached the ears of the brave Duke of Cumberland, who sent for him, and presented him with an appointment in the Duke of Montague's troopers, (a very valuable situation at that time) where he continued till the regiment was disbanded. While this corps was lying at York, the subject of our humble narrative frequently did duty over the rebel prisoners there. Amongst them was one of the men whom he took prisoner, as mentioned before;—this man was very remarkable for always crying out, when he saw our hero, "Oh! mon, if it had na been for you, I'd no' been here."

Aged 103, at Edlingham, John Potts.

Aged 96, at Claypole, Mr. John Parker, father of nine children, grandfather of 42, great grandfather of 21, and great great grandfather of two.

Aged 105, at Fareham, Elizabeth Spence; many years ago she lost her sight, but about her 100th year she recovered it.

## MARCH.

2d. A melancholy accident happened on the road between Exeter and Exmouth, at that part where the roads from Clyst and Newcourt, join that between Topsham and Topsham-bridge. As lieutenant-colonel Bagwell, of the 6th dragoon guards, was riding on a party of pleasure, with some officers of his acquaintance, his horse suddenly took fright, and after galloping off with great fury, threw his rider with such force, that it fractured his skull most dreadfully, and killed him on the spot. Medical assistance was procured in a few minutes, but it was too late to be of service. The body was removed to Topsham, where the coroner held an inquest, which returned a verdict of Accidental Death. The lieutenant-colonel was in the prime of life, and universally beloved and esteemed by the whole regiment, as well as by all who knew him. He was the son of John Bagwell, esq. member of parliament for the county of Tipperary, and brother to the representative in parliament for the borough of Clonmell in Ireland.

A letter from Goree, dated March the 3d, gives the following information respecting Mr. Park: "We have just received information from the interior, that Mungo Park has been for some time on the banks of the Niger, but could not build the boats as he intended, his carpenters being all dead, together with all the soldiers of our corps (35 in number) who went with him, except seven; who, with Mr. Park, lieutenant Martyn of our corps, and a Mr. Scott,

an artist, have proceeded in canoes down the Niger; a brother-in-law of Mr. Park, named Anderson, went with him as surgeon, but died on the banks. They all left Goree in April last. I saw the negro who brought the information, and have every reason to believe he is correct. Should you meet with any of Mr. Park's friends, this news may be acceptable to them. About seven weeks since he was seen in good health."

The reverend Rowland Hill has travelled through Kent; he preached on Sunday week to 700 of the children, who attend the Sunday schools; and on Wednesday morning following vaccinated as many as applied to him before nine o'clock, at Chatham.

4th. An accident of a serious nature happened last week, at Mrs. Ash's, of Linton, Kent.—The family had been somewhat alarmed by the appearance of persons lurking about the house for some nights, and there having been several robberies in the neighbourhood lately, they thought they would be prepared; accordingly, a brace of pistols was removed from a place where they had lain several years, and were supposed not to be loaded. The maid-servant accordingly snapped one of them, which did not flash, and afterwards snapped it several times; Miss Ash took the same pistol from the servant, and pointing it close to her sister, snapped it—when, to their utter astonishment, it went off, and the ball penetrated her chest, close to the collar-bone. The ball was not immediately extracted, but favourable hopes were entertained of her recovery. Yet, it must be

considered particularly fortunate, that the pistol did not go off in the servant's hand; for once, while she snapped it, she held it close to the man-servant's head.

An extraordinary change of fortune happened to a poor old woman, who resides at Rothsay, in Scotland. J. Mitchel, esq. who died at St. Vincent's, proved to be her only brother, of whom she had not heard for many years, and left her property to the amount of 50,000l.

The following melancholy circumstance happened lately in the north of Scotland:—A gentleman and his wife went to bed in perfect health, and were found quite dead in the morning, being suffocated by a fire of peats in the room in which they slept. There had been no fire in the room for some time, and it is supposed the chimney had been stopped up. Sleeping with fires in bed-chambers is a dangerous practice.

The following very singular circumstance took place at Hove, on Saturday last:—As Mr. Wichels, senior, a gentleman much and deservedly esteemed, and who was formerly a resident of Brighton, was entertaining a few select friends at his hospitable marine villa at Hove, a hare, *sans ceremonie*, paid them a visit, and instantly crouched down against one of the legs of the banquetting table. Poor puss was soon made a captive, which task was scarcely performed, when Mr. Bridger's pack of harriers, in full cry, surrounded the house. The hare, it seems, had afforded the pack an excellent chace; from the severity of which she had suddenly withdrawn as above described, and was now,

in better health than spirits, presented to Mr. Bridger, who accompanied his dogs, and by whose order the timid animal was ultimately permitted, without farther interruption, to range at large.

A woman of the name of Eliz. Brown, after travelling 13 miles, was delivered of a child at the Globe-inn, in Carlisle, though she had not arrived an hour before. And on Monday se'nnight, Jane Irving, about eleven at night, walked to the workhouse without assistance, and there, in less than an hour, was delivered of a fine boy, immediately after which, notwithstanding every persuasion, she walked to her lodgings in English-street, a quarter of a mile distant. This is her 6th birth.

In consequence of a butcher of Stretford, near Manchester, having disappeared from the period of the late flood, a report prevailed that an apparition had been frequently seen at midnight, near Cross Bridge, between Stretford and Cross-street, where there is generally a standing pool of water; a town-meeting was convened, which came to a resolution of having the place pumped dry. The business was accordingly undertaken, and, after several days' labour, completed on Thursday, when the body of the butcher was found. He was generally supposed to have been robbed and murdered; but on examining the body, money and other valuables were found in his pockets; a circumstance which evidently proves his death to have been accidental. The most ridiculous and unaccountable reports have been circulated on this subject. The cattle are said to have refused to drink the water, and horses, passing that way, to have shaken

and trembled under their riders. The ghost, it was said, was seen in the form of a dog, and at other times in that of a man, uttering dreadful yells of distress.

Yesterday the Royal Exchange and the whole neighbourhood of Cornhill were thrown into confusion, by an alarming fire, which broke out about twelve o'clock, at Gilham's chop-house, in Sweeting's-alley. The conflagration was occasioned by the chimney taking fire, the sparks of which fell on the roof and set it in a blaze. The engines arrived with promptitude, and by one o'clock the flames were extinguished. The damage is principally done to the upper part of the house. Shortly after the fire broke out, Mr. Gilham was impannelled with the jury, in the court of common pleas, and trying a cause, when one of his servants arrived to acquaint him with the misfortune of his family: he addressed the court, and was permitted to retire, after the parties in the cause had consented to abide by the verdict of the eleven jurors.

This day, about one, a fire broke out at the house of an organ-builder, in Southampton-street, Tottenham-court-road, which was occasioned by leaving a fire in the workshop when the men went to dinner. The engines did not arrive till some time after the fire began, but by five the flames were extinguished.

A fire broke out about ten this night, at the house of Mr. Field, corn-chandler, in Shoreditch, and communicated to a neighbouring house, occupied by a dyer. About twelve the flames were got under.

Two women, accompanied with two children, incautiously laid themselves down to sleep, near the furnace of an iron-foundry adjoining Dudley, by which means their clothes caught fire, and they were so dreadfully burnt as to occasion the death of both the children, and the woman is shockingly scorched.

9th. The wife of Mr. Crane, hatter, of Maidstone, was brought to bed of three sons.

10th. The frost in the neighbourhood of Kelso, in Scotland, was particularly severe. A hurricane, accompanied by a considerable fall of snow and hail, occurred on this day, and destroyed the famous elm-tree, which had existed for ages, on the banks of the Teviot, and was known by the name of the *Trysting Tree*.— On the succeeding Thursday, Fahrenheit's thermometer in that town was as low as nine degrees.

On Thursday se'nnight a blind man undertook, for a small wager, to run against a mail coach, between Halifax and Bradford, a distance of near eight miles: he arrived at Bradford twelve minutes before the coach, having been allowed to set off five minutes before it. On his arrival at Bradford, a bye-stander would have it that he could see. In order to convince him that he was totally blind, he gave leave for his eyes to be covered with a plaister, and said he would run the other man back again to Halifax, but he refused the blind man's challenge.

13th. The fall of snow was so heavy in Kent, that the Dover coach was yesterday greatly retarded in its progress to town. On its arrival at Barham Downs a complete stop took place, the snow being there of the amazing

depth of ten feet. The mail was taken out of the coach, and forwarded by a messenger, on horse-back, to town, where it did not arrive till two o'clock. A great number of men were collected on Barham Downs, who cut a passage through the snow for the coach, and enabled it to continue its journey. It did not arrive in London till six at night.

At a court of common council, 200l. was voted towards building the protestant church at Montreal, in Canada, and 500l. to the Deaf and Dumb charity.

At Maidstone assizes, captain Temple was arraigned upon the coroner's inquest, for the murder of one of his crew. Mr. Knowles, as counsel for the prosecution, stated, that there were certain objections to the inquisition, which must prove fatal; he therefore would not state any case against the prisoner, because, if he were to prove it, no verdict could be supported on the inquisition as it stood. He therefore would not offer any evidence, but permit the captain at once to take his acquittal.— The learned judge Heath observed, that the counsel had done perfectly right; he had himself carefully looked through all the depositions, and certainly there was not the least pretence to charge the gentleman at the bar with murder.

A poney, the property of Mr. J. Moore, of Mildenhall, in Suffolk, for a trifling wager galloped from the above place to Bury, and back again, (a distance of 25 miles,) in one hour and 29 minutes. He was allowed two hours, but performed it 31 minutes within the time. The weight of the poney is only 25 stone, its height

height under 13 hands, and the rider weighed 11 stone.

16th. The parish church of St. Peter, at St. Alban's, which had been a long time under repair, for the rebuilding the centre tower, and contracting the chancel, was opened with two appropriate sermons, by the vicar, Mr. Roberts; that in the morning from Eph. iv. 4. that in the evening from Matthew xxviii. 20.

19th. This morning between one and two, a large mass of the venerable remains of the ancient wall of Rochester castle gave way with a dreadful crash, and falling on a shed occupied by Mr. Butcher, coachmaker, entirely destroyed the same, and damaged several chaises, &c. which were standing under and near it. The mass which fell was 30 feet high, and above 20 in width, and it is supposed to have been occasioned by the moisture sapping the foundation of it.

At Dr. Watson's academy, Shooter's-hill, co. Kent, a young gentleman of the name of Harvey, aged 18, after having loaded a musket with which he had been accustomed to go through the manual exercise, left the house on pretence of going to shoot sparrows; but, instead thereof, went into an outhouse, and, the more effectually to complete his purpose, tied the trigger of the musket to his foot, then placing his head on the muzzle, instantly blew out his brains. No cause can be assigned for the rash action, having been liberally treated by his friends, and just received an appointment as a cadet to India.—Verdict—Lunacy.

A subscription has been opened

at Ratisbon, for a monument to the memory of Kepler, the astronomer. It is to consist of a doric temple 23 feet high, and is to be erected in the Sternbergian gardens.

A mechanic of Copenhagen has made a model of a praam intended to conduct, without danger, ships of the largest dimensions across the ice. His model has been examined by the most celebrated engineers on the continent, and promises to be of great service to the Danish marine.

*St. Petersburg.*—A letter from this city mentions the discovery of two great cities in the Russian empire, of which no traces can be discovered in history; one of them in the isle of Taman, in the Black Sea, the other in a district of Siberia.

For the three last summers, a hen, the property of Charles Ranken, at Auchinairn, parish of Cadder, has frequently laid eggs of an extraordinary size and weight. Within these few weeks she has laid three eggs, each of which measures in diameter  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and weighs fully  $3\frac{1}{2}$  oz. and generally on the day before she lays the large egg, she lays an egg of an ordinary size.

Joseph Gardam, an old man, aged 70 years, was, by a strong gust of wind, blown into a tub of boiling glue, at Hull, by which he was so severely scalded that he died.

A brawn (a cross of the Berkshire and Hampshire breed) was killed a few days since by Mr. Jones, of Brymbo, near Wrexham, which weighed, after cleaning, 760 pounds, and the fat on the back was five inches thick. The  
fire



fire of this animal was killed about two years ago, which weighed 21 score.

21st. A person who worked at the brewery in East-Smithfield, late the king's brewhouse, having come into the possession of some property, a friend called on him to congratulate him, and they adjourned to a public house in the neighbourhood. Shortly after, Lee, a night constable, came in with his truncheon in his hand. The deceased jocosely asked him, whether he ever struck any body with that stick? He with good humour replied, he did sometimes; and raising it, as if to flourish it over his own head, it unfortunately alighted on the other's head, where, injuring a vital part, almost instant death was the consequence.

The same day, at Charing-cross, as the mother of an infant, about nine months old, was handing it out of a stage-coach to another person, it dropped between them, the horses at the instant moving, the near hind wheel went over the child's head, and killed it on the spot.

A second Roman pavement has lately been discovered in the metropolis, of which a coloured print will be published.

22d. A duel was fought on Galleywood Common, near Chelmsford, Essex, between lieutenant Turrens and Mr. Fisher, surgeon, both of the 6th regiment of foot, in barracks there. The parties, with their seconds, arrived on the spot appointed for the encounter, at daybreak, when the preliminaries having been settled, they took a short distance, and turning round, fired at the same instant. The lieutenant received

his antagonist's ball in the groin, and immediately fell; on which Mr. Fisher went up and took him by the hand, expressing much regret at the lamentable consequence that had ensued; as, from the nature of the wound, he was apprehensive it would prove mortal. Assistance having been procured, the wounded gentleman was removed to a windmill, at a short distance, and as soon as possible conveyed from thence to his apartments in the barracks, where every attention was rendered that his unfortunate situation could require. The ball having lodged on the side opposite to which it entered, was extracted by Dr. Welch, at four o'clock the same afternoon, but he expired between nine and ten o'clock on Sunday morning. An inquisition was taken before J. O. Parker, junior, esq. coroner, on view of the body, on Monday, and verdict returned of *wilful murder* against Mr. Fisher and the two seconds, one of whom is under arrest: Mr. Fisher and the other have absconded.

There is a custom, which most likely is peculiar to a small district in the western part of Cumberland. A few days ago, a gentleman, from the neighbourhood of Whitehaven, calling upon a person at his house in Ulpha, was informed that he was not within; he was gone to church; there was "*a woman to let!*" On enquiry as to the meaning of this singular expression, it was thus explained:—When any *single woman*, belonging to the parish, has the misfortune to prove *with child*, a meeting of the parishioners is called for the purpose of providing her a maintenance in some family, at so much

per week, from that time to a limited time after delivery; and this meeting (to give it the greater sanction) is uniformly holden in the church, where the *lowest* bidder has the *bargain!* And on such occasions, previous notice is given, that on such a day there will be "*a woman to let!*"

Dick Jarrett, called the miser, at Rye, lately died possessed of property to the amount of nine or ten thousand pounds; he was never married, but lived by himself, performing all the business of the house, &c. and his dress corresponded with his disposition. Not long since, he complained of the hardness of the times. Formerly it cost him to live on, only 5l. or 6l. per annum, but his last year's expenditure was 13l. He would lend his money out where he could get good security. Under a brick, since taken up, in the premises where he resided, have been found near 300 guineas. This eccentric character had beer by him, which had been brewed forty years ago, and some had been kept ever since his christening (but by whom first provided, for the purpose, we cannot say,) to be drank at his funeral, above seventy years old. How he has disposed of his money we have not heard.

CORONER'S-INQUEST.—An inquest was held on the body of Elizabeth Trout, a young woman of Little Sheffield, Yorkshire, who, in a fit of despair, drowned herself in a pond on Sunday week. The deliberate manner in which she put an end to her existence is somewhat extraordinary; the pond being frozen over, she broke a hole in the ice, just to admit her head,

which she put into the water, and her body remained quite dry.

Letters from the meddling Society for the Suppression of Vice to the ladies who patronize the Sunday concerts under the direction of Salomon, after an apology for their interference with what was done in the private houses of the persons of the exalted rank of those ladies, expatiate against the impious conduct of the ladies who patronize the playing of music in their own houses on the Lord's Day. They complain of the exorbitant salaries paid to the Italians for their entertainments, and rail severely at the rude conduct of the servants about the doors of persons of distinction.

The French *Charlatan* of a certain venerable duke was most awkwardly treated a few evenings since by some ladies of pleasure, in the neighbourhood of St. James's, for keeping too large a poundage out of his master's bounty. Two of them tore the skirts off his coat, pretending to contend for the possession of his person, while a third had nearly poisoned him by emptying the contents of his own phials upon his head. In this plight he was turned into the street, and compelled to seek refuge in a hackney coach that was previously waiting for him.

BOW STREET.—An information against — Ruf- fell came on, to recover the penalty of 200l. under an act of parliament, for keeping a house where an unlawful game of chance was played, formerly known by the name of the *Little Go*, but now distinguished, to avoid the penalty, by the name of *Ivory*.

Mr.

Mr. Const appeared as counsel on the part of the defendant, and pleaded not guilty to the charge.

Mr. H——, the informant, stated to the sitting magistrates the mode of practising this system of robbery. The game was a species of lottery; several tickets, made of ivory, with numbers upon them, were put into a box by the master of the table, and the poor persons fixed on the numbers they were to insure. It was usual for the common people to fix on low numbers, always under 100, not to overburthen their minds with a complication of figures; this was well known by the persons who kept the game, and they took care never to put any, or at least very few numbers under 100, into the box; of course, it was seldom or never that any of the poor wretches gained a prize. Against the present defendant, he said, he did not intend to produce any evidence, as he was not the object that he wished the arm of justice to be raised against. There was a man of the name of H—— whom he wished to fasten himself on; this man was the main spring by which the defendant and many others were set in motion. They acted as his servants, and he received the greater part of the profits. By these means, this Mr. H—— had squeezed from the pockets of the lower order of the people in the city of Westminster, in the course of a very short time, no less a sum than 50,000*l*. At present, he had evidence against him which must convict him; and, by having the present defendant acquitted, he meant to bring him forward as a witness, to supply a link in

the chain, which he thought was wanting.

As there was no evidence produced, the present defendant was acquitted.

26th. George Edward Ma-  
docks, esq. of Piccadilly, put a period to his existence. The deceased was a gentleman of fortune, who resided at No. 21, Piccadilly, and at North Cray, Kent. The following is the substance of the evidence adduced on the melancholy occasion. The deceased for some time had experienced very severe attacks of the gout, inso-  
much that the disease affected the brain, and at times totally deprived him of his senses. His brother paid him a visit on Wednesday morning, and at that time the deceased was very delirious, and talked incoherently. A lady was in company with the brothers in the drawing-room, and, while in conversation, the deceased begged to withdraw a few minutes, and went down stairs: his brother heard him open the parlour-door; and the deceased having been absent about two minutes, Mr. M. followed, and knocked at it. On no one answering, he forced it open and beheld the deceased weltering in blood, with his head reclining on a couch, he having nearly divided his windpipe with a case-knife. Surgeon Keate was instantly sent for, who sewed up the wound, and remained with the unfortunate gentleman six hours, when he expired. Other gentlemen were called to prove that the deceased was subject to fits of delirium, amongst whom was Surgeon Birch, of New-street, Spring-gardens, who deposed, that he had  
attended

attended him during his confinement, and he had no hesitation in stating, that the deceased was reduced to a delirious state, in consequence of the disease of the body affecting the brain. Verdict—Delirious from bodily disease.

30th. At a police office, last week, a clergyman summoned the churchwarden of the parish, before the sitting magistrate, for having sworn one profane oath; of which offence he was convicted, and being proved to be a gentleman, was fined in the highest penalty, which is five shillings. The churchwarden, in retaliation, summoned the clergyman before the same magistrate, for having neglected to read the Act of Parliament against profane cursing and swearing, in the parish church on the preceding Sunday, being the next after Lady Day. This business came on immediately after the former; and the Rev. Gentleman, was convicted in the penalty of five pounds for the omission, which goes to the poor of the parish.

DIED, 2.—Mr. Marlow, many years a basket-maker at Maidstone, Kent. He possessed some very singular habits: in the coldest winter days he would be walking in the streets without hat, coat, or waistcoat, his shirt-bosom open, and a short round frock his only covering over his shirt. Very few of the inhabitants ever saw this eccentric character with either hat, coat, waistcoat, or neckkerchief on.

3d. At his house at Greenwich, aged 81, Isaiah Millington, esq. The spacious iron wharf, with the ancient mansion, now belonging to the earl of Ashburnham, and in the occupation of Mr. M.

were purchased, in 1704, of sir Ambrose Crowley, alderman of London, and was for some time the residence of that family. Their great iron-works are at Newcastle, where sir Ambrose had a colony of 1000 men, to make all the anchors for the use of government, who allowed him to pay them in a coin of his own; and he died worth 300,000*l.* leaving a sum of money to put out apprentices to his trade. This factory, under the name of Abraham Crowley, occurs in the common-council books of Newcastle, at Swallowwell, in the vicinity of Newcastle, 1694, which must have begun at least three years before. (Brand's Newcastle, II. 501.) Mr. Lysons (Environs, III. 493,) refers, for an authentic account of it, to Hutchinson's history of Durham.

At Paris, M. Tronchet, 10th. the last surviving counsellor of the ill-fated Louis XVI. king of France. He was a member of the senate, and had a great share in the formation of the new civil code.

At his house in Saville-row, William Rowley, M.D. 17th. an eminent physician and medical writer. He died of a typhus fever, a sacrifice to the anxious performance of his professional duties: and was attended in his last moments by his friends Drs. Kennedy and Moseley.

Mr. Dale, at Glasgow. He was born Jan. 6, 1739, in the town of Stewarton in Ayrshire, where his father was a shopkeeper, who dealt in groceries, yarn, &c. His remote ancestors, however, had been farmers, according to a family tradition, importing that, till about 100 years before his time, a particular farm in the neighbourhood of Stewarton

Stewarton had been in their possession for 300 years. He received that education which is usually given in the small towns of Scotland; and his first employment was the herding of cattle; after which he was sent to Paisley, to serve his apprenticeship to the weaving business. Perhaps owing to the roving nature of his former employment, he was not very fond of that sedentary occupation, and even, on one occasion, left it abruptly. From Paisley he went to the neighbourhood of Hamilton, in the capacity of a journeyman weaver. Afterwards he removed to Glasgow, and was a clerk for some time to a silk-mercant. With the assistance of some friends, he began; and carried on business for many years, in the linen yarn branch. In this situation, he imported French yarn from Flanders, and sold it with great advantage to the manufacturers. This laid the foundation of his fortune.—Sir Richard Arkwright having successfully put in practice his great improvement of cotton-spinning machinery, an agreement was made between him and Mr. Dale to erect works adapted to it on the Clyde; and mechanics were sent to England, and there instructed in the business. Thus originated the well-known Lanark Mills. But Sir Richard having lost the monopoly of that business, the connexion was dissolved; and Mr. Dale erected and carried on the business of the mills entirely on his own account. The first mill was accidentally burnt soon after it was built; but he heard the intelligence with the greatest composure, and persevered in his design, till, mill after mill arising, a cluster of

these wonders of art adorned a most romantic situation, greatly improving the country around, and giving employment to thousands. In consequence of the success of these works, and their obvious advantage to the landed property, many land-holders applied to Mr. Dale to erect such works on their estates; and some were accordingly erected. Of these, the most successful were those established in the valley of Catrine, on the banks of the river of Ayr, upon the estate of Claude Alexander, esq. of Balamyle. Besides these cotton-spinning concerns, Mr. Dale manufactured large quantities of cotton cloth—in concert with another gentleman, he established the first works in Scotland for dyeing cotton Turkey red—was a partner also in a manufactory of inkles or tapes (which still has in its possession the original loom that was brought from Holland,) and imported cotton wool from abroad. By these means, with great natural sagacity, and an enlarged benevolent mind, the little herd-boy came in course of time to ride in his own carriage, was visited by the great, and extolled by the learned. At the mills which Mr. Dale had erected on the banks of the Clyde, great numbers of destitute children were engaged for certain terms of years, for their board, cloathing, and lodging; besides which, by employing a number of teachers, he carefully attended to their education and religious instruction. In viewing the mills no particular was more pleasing to a stranger than the excellent order in which the boarders were kept. A vessel, freighted with Highland families from the Hebrides, emigrating to America,

America, being driven by foul weather into Greenock, Mr. Dale sent agents there, and engaged the most of them to settle at his mills; where they were comfortably provided for. And he built a great number of houses, to accommodate such Highland families as could not find employment in their own country. His exertions in behalf of the Highlanders were not confined to the sphere of the Lanark Mills—for he made various attempts to introduce the cotton manufacture in the Highlands—particularly, in concert with some other patriotic gentlemen, by erecting a mill at Spinningdale, on the Firth of Dornoch, in Sutherlandshire. At an early period of life, he was religiously disposed, attended prayer-meetings, and went to Cambuslang, at the time of the striking revival of religion there. Dissatisfied with the Established Church, a few friends united with him in founding a church on the Independent plan; and he became one of the preachers. In this capacity he continued to officiate steadily till his last illness. With no fluency of eloquence, he was a plain, serious, and very scriptural preacher. To enable him the better to expound the Bible, he received some instructions in the Hebrew and Greek languages. In his own temper and conduct, appeared much of the humble, meek, and forgiving spirit of Christianity. When only a journeyman weaver, it has been said, that he appropriated a part of his earnings to the poor. When his resources were greater, during a time of scarcity, he imported a large quantity of meal, and sold it to the poor at a low rate. That he was the general

patron of generous and laudable undertakings, the Glasgow Infirmary, and Missionary and Bible Societies, among many other public institutions, can thankfully bear testimony. We have much pleasure in adding, that Mr. Dale has left at least 100,000*l* to his family, after having appropriated, in his life-time, more than twice that sum to purposes of the purest benevolence.

A few days ago, at Northwood, in the parish of Prees, in the county of Salop, Mr. John Benbow, clock and watch maker, at the advanced age of 107. He was of the same family as the famous Admiral Benbow: was universally esteemed for his integrity and ingenuity; and, what is very surprising, he executed the most intricate branches of his profession till within a few years of his death, and retained his mental faculties, unimpaired, to his latest moments. He lived in three centuries, and a son, a grandson, and several great-grand-children, resided with him at the time of his decease. He was remarkable for sobriety, early rising, and retiring soon to rest; the liquor to which he was most partial was treacle beer. About three years ago, his tailor brought him a new coat, which he examined, and perceiving a velvet collar had been forgotten, was so irritated, that he walked to Whitchurch, the distance of seven miles, to buy one, and returned home in a very few hours, to the great astonishment of his family.

At Gilmorton Common, 27th. Leicester, aged 85, Anne Wood; widow of the late William Wood; mother, grand-mother, and great-grand-mother of 116 children;

children; and who had practised midwifery upwards of 50 years.

At his house at Islington, at the advanced age of 75, *Mr. Peter King*. For some years previous to his death, Mr. King displayed numerous peculiarities in his manner of living, which, while they were perfectly innocent, served by the occupation they afforded his mind, to smooth the path he was travelling on to eternity. Mr. K. was born of poor, but very respectable parents, at Hammersmith, and was very early placed out by them as shop-boy to a hatter and hosier in the Strand. After having served his master, who was a kind and very indulgent man, for several years, with great diligence, credit, and honesty; and having on all occasions proved himself most perfectly trust-worthy, he with his master's consent, married a very respectable young woman who lived in the neighbourhood, and had gained his affections. He very soon after, with his master's assistance, and by the help of the small fortune he had obtained with his wife, set up in business for himself in Holborn, where by his modest deportment, frugality, and unremitting attention to his business, in which he was amply seconded by his worthy spouse, he in process of time acquired a very comfortable competency, which, together with purchase money for the good-will of his shop, enabled him to quit his business, and to live at ease, in decent respectability, for the remainder of his days. He retired to Islington, where he hired a small house for himself and wife, never having had any children. Not having the usual avocations to fill up his time, and the number of

his acquaintance being rather scanty, he found this new mode of life, though more dignified, not altogether so consistent with his happiness as he expected it would have been. Other amusements failing him, he began, soon after his retirement, to bestow unusual care upon his dress. In his youth, when it was the fashion to wear laced clothes, he had frequently betrayed strong marks of admiration at the happiness that he conceived must accompany the being so finely dressed; but the indulging himself in this way was effectually checked by the narrow state of his finances. In old age, this passion for dress, as early recollections in other people, returned upon him with redoubled vigour; and he began, soon after his retirement from business, to indulge himself in fine clothes to a most immoderate extent. At first he used to walk out in the town in his laced clothes. But this attracted the attention of idle boys, who upon his appearance, gathered in crowds about him, to admire what the being without would, not many years ago, have been almost equally an object of singularity—his laced clothes. He at length found it necessary to confine himself to his own territories; preferring to deprive himself of his accustomed perambulations, to the parting, for a moment, with any of his finery. He was now almost unceasingly occupied in devising new modes of adorning his person; his worthy wife never attempted to check this propensity, but rather encouraging him in it, seeing how great was the satisfaction he derived from it, and that their finances could bear it without inconvenience.

convenience. Decked in his gold-laced clothes, flashed sleeves, and highly powdered perriwig, he walked about his house, changing his dress several times in the course of the day. While not occupied with his dress, two favourite Tom cats were a grand source of amusement to him, these had been his constant and faithful companions for several years, and were rather looked upon by him as friends and equals than as brutes, and had regularly assigned them every day their places at table. Finding so much satisfaction from dress himself, he was disposed to extend this source of amusement to his friends the cats, and laced habits were accordingly provided for them; and the poor pusses generously bore the incumbrance they were loaded with, as if to make some atonement to their kind master; for the care he bestowed upon them. Thus almost totally secluded from the world, Mr. King lived for several years happy in the society of his own adored person, his now almost superannuated wife, and his cats, and admitting but two or three friends, of whom the writer of this article was one, now and then to see him; and as he was kindly indulged in his peculiarities, he was always affable and obliging to them. The death of his wife was so severe a shock to him, that he the day after, took to his bed, and survived her not more than a week. His passion, however, for fine clothes forsook him not on his death-bed; for such part of the day as he could sit up, he was regularly attired in them. His *exit*, a piece with the rest of his life, was performed with perfect calmness and serenity, and has left a chasm in society that

will be known and felt but by two or three intimate friends. Having no relations living, Mr. King has left the whole of his property to an old servant, who had been his careful and constant nurse, accompanied, however, with the most earnest injunctions to support, in a manner suitable to the friendship he entertained for them, his old friends the pusses.

Aged 101, at Kirkby, near Ulverstone, Margaret Sherwins.

Aged 101, at Leominster, Mr. Edward James.

Aged 113, at Thorpston, Mrs. Roope. She lived to see her fifth generation.

Aged 101, at Buckland, St. Mary, Mr. Thomas Willey.

At Dummer, near Basingstoke, of the dropsy, Mary Holmes, who had been tapped 60 times, from July, 1799, to January 11, 1806, and from whom had been drawn off 4,153 pints of water.

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#### APRIL.

1st. While two constables were conducting a man to Hereford, from near Fawnhope, he suddenly plunged from the road into the river, near Mordiford, and, after wishing his conductors *a good night*, was drowned! Much blame is said to attach to the people who had the care of this unfortunate man, as they did not make the smallest effort to save him.

At Lancaster assizes, Edward Barlow, aged 69, (who has been the executioner for the county for twenty years, during which time he has officiated upon 84 criminals.)



nals,) was tried for horse stealing. —Guilty death.

Last week T. Barns and J. Sinott were executed near Winchester. At the place of execution, Sinott contrived to slip back the string by which his hands were pinioned, and when the rope and cap were fixed, he took both off, and resisted their being replaced, and the javelin-men were called to hold him, before the rope and cap could be again adjusted. Barns waited his fate with the greatest resignation.—Sinott was a seaman, and was convicted of cruelly cutting and maiming John Bell, a seaman.

The Danish government is occupied in the amelioration of the lot of the inhabitants of Iceland, a people removed to the confines of the polar circle, but interesting on account of the zeal with which they cultivated the sciences of the 10th and 11th centuries, and on account of the voyages which they made to America. Iceland, almost ruined by various physical and political misfortunes, is about to be restored; a regular city is building, to be called, *Reykjavig*; and it is already peopled by colonies of natives as well as strangers; a free port invites the vessels of commerce; and a college, where even the ancient languages and natural history are taught, is in the full exercise of its functions.

3rd. One day last week, as a waggon belonging to Mr. Turner, at the White Lion-inn, at Wragby, near Lincoln, was passing over Langworth Bridge, loaded with two chaldron of coals, the south side of the bridge gave way, and the waggon and horses were pre-

cipitated into the river. The shaft horse was drowned.

The brandy merchants have been great sufferers by 4th. an unlucky speculation on the budget. An opinion, generally prevailed, that a new duty was about to be laid on brandy, and the dealers in that article, in order to escape the expected impost, cleared off the old tax; thus paying, during the last week, upwards of 300,000l. The stock in consequence thrown into the market, is infinitely greater than the demand, and the prices must of course fall.

A remarkable phenomenon has excited the curiosity of the inhabitants of the vicinity of Como, in Italy. In the commune of Laorca, in the territory of Alleco, a subterraneous spring all at once burst forth, which immediately overthrew two houses, and in the course of fifteen or twenty hours, a forge which stood in its way. This spring is loaded with a thick chalky matter, which mixing with the water, has rendered the lake into which it falls entirely turbid. M. La Carte, an officer of engineers, who visited the spot, attributes the accidents which have happened to a subterraneous excavation made by the water, and he judges that the extent of further damage will depend on the actual magnitude of the cavity.

Richard Patch, was tried 5th. in Surry, at Horsemouger-lane, for the murder of Isaac Blight. For an account of the trial, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

This day a duel was fought in Foster Avenue, Dublin, between two young gentlemen of the Barrack

rack-office there, and intimate friends, upon occasion of a tavern-quarrel the preceding evening. On the first fire, at the distance of 11 paces, both parties fell: the one, Mr. Rogers, received a ball through his heart, and of course died instantly; the other, Mr. Long, was shot through both his thighs, and is also since dead.

A gold coin of the Emperor Vespasian, was lately found, in the highest state of preservation, at Water Crook, near Kendal; the ancient *Concagium*. This specimen of antiquity was coined in the year 70, of the Christian æra, and has probably been in the ground the greater part of the intermediate time. One side of this coin represents the head of the emperor, encircled with *Imp. Cæsar Vespasian Aug.* on the reverse is a figure, supposed to be an emblem of plenty, holding a cornucopia in the left hand.

A very valuable copper mine has been discovered on the banks of the river Tamer, which divides the counties of Cornwall and Devon. The vein now working, is about four feet wide: the cut is about 50 fathoms from the river, in a steep mountain: and such is the facility of working it, a wheelbarrow alone being necessary to bring out the ore, that the expences did not exceed thirty pounds. This promises to be the richest mine in Cornwall, both on account of quantity, and the value of the ore, which nearly resembles that of the Anglesea mine.

Mr. Smith, of Upton Magna, Salop, killed a pig last week, of which, when slaughtered, the two sides weighed 678lbs. the two leaves 75lbs. head 65lbs. making

in the whole, with the midgen, which weighed 50lbs. 868lbs. This astonishing animal was out of one of the finest sows in that part of the kingdom. When alive she measured 9 feet 8 inches long, and 1 yard 6 inches high.

On Wednesday evening an alarming fire broke out in one of the stables belonging to the Talbot inn, Malton, by which seven or eight horses were burnt to death. The fire was fortunately got under before any other particular damage was done.

A melancholy accident happened at a cottage adjoining the city walls in St. Stephen's, Norwich, on Saturday last, by the occupier mistaking a paper of gunpowder for black lead, which she used in cleaning a stove, when it suddenly exploded, and herself with three children were so dreadfully burnt as to endanger their lives. They were all conveyed to the county hospital.

Last week, a horse was killed in the New Inn Entry, Dundee, by a large hoghead of sugar, while carting, occasioned by the horse and cart standing facing the foot of the entry (instead of across,) which having a declivity, the hoghead, when put in, rolled over the cart and the body of the horse, the head of which was instantly crushed.

A melancholy catastrophe happened at the mouth of the harbour of Padstow.—T. Rawlins, esq. of that port, having a ship in readiness to set sail on that day, gave an invitation to the captain, Mr. T. Filkins, Mr. Hitchins, and some other gentlemen, to dine with him; when, after dinner, Mr. F. with five others, determined on accompanying

panying the captain on board ; after which, the evening coming on, they resolved to return, and having a small boat provided, the company got into it, with the exception of one young man, who remonstrated against proceeding on shore without a larger boat. However, the rest of the company laughed at him, and, at last, prevailed on him to get in. No sooner had they put off from the ship, than a heavy surf completely swamped them, and every soul disappeared before assistance could be rendered, with the exception of Mr. F., who was rendered breathless by being dreadfully jammed between the boat and the ship ; and although taken up soon after, every exertion to save his life proved unavailing.

There is now living at Constantinople, a very extraordinary character, known throughout that city by the name of "Solyman, the eater of corrosive sublimate." He is now 106 years old, and has seen the Sultans Achmet III. Osman Mahmoud, Mustapha III. Abdul Hamid, and Selim III. the present sovereign. In his youth, he accustomed himself, like other Turks, to take opium ; but after increasing the dose to a great extent, without the wished effect, he adopted the use of sublimate ; and has taken daily for upwards of thirty years, a drachm, or 60 grains ! He some time since went into the shop of a Turkish Jew, to whom he was unknown, and asked for a drachm of sublimate, which he diluted in a glass of water, and swallowed in an instant. The apothecary became greatly alarmed, lest he should be accused of poisoning the Turk ; but his astonish-

ment may be conceived when the next day the man came again, and asked for a similar dose. Lord Elgin, Mr. S. Smith, and several gentlemen now in England, have conversed with this extraordinary character, and have heard him declare, that the pleasure he derives from swallowing that active poison, is greater than he ever experienced by any other means.

5th, 6th, and 7th. The wife of Mr. Joseph Nicholson, of Pennington, near Ulverston, farmer, was brought to bed of two sons and a daughter.

There was only one prisoner tried at Cardiff Af- 7th. fizes, viz. Morgan William, charged with the wilful murder of Margaret William, his servant. The prisoner's servant had been committed on the same charge, but the grand jury did not find the bill against him.

In support of the prosecution it appeared, by the examination of the evidence, that one evening in October last, the prisoner, on returning home to supper, desired the deceased to get him some bread and butter ; but that, not being satisfied as to the quantity, some words arose ; and the deceased observing that the ghost of his brother had appeared to her, and that she had been informed by other persons that they had seen the same, he got up and laid hold of her, and shook her violently, struck her with his fist on the side, threw her on the ground and dragged her about, and gave her some blows with his hands and knees on the thighs and lower part of her belly. While the deceased was down she requested the witness, who was a servant of the prisoner, to assist

her; but Morgan William, the son, desired him not to interfere, for the deceased had caused much mischief in the family. Soon after the woman appeared to be dead, and was lifted into a chair. Whilst she was in the chair the prisoner appeared to be in a distraction of grief, called her his dear Peggy, begged she would speak to him, and kissed her on the cheek. Some spirits were then put into her mouth, which the witnesses could not tell whether she swallowed or not, and she was afterwards taken up stairs on the shoulder of Morgan William, the son.

A boy, fifteen years old, stated that the prisoner desired him to say, that the deceased had died in a fit, if any one asked him.

The funeral took place about the usual time after a natural death, at ten o'clock in the day-time, and was attended by the friends of the deceased.

Richard Griffith, esq. the coroner, deposed, that about ten days after the death an inquest was demanded, and that he had directed the body to be taken up. Upon examination there appeared many marks of violence on the thighs and lower part of the belly, evidently made by an obtuse instrument, and which he was convinced could not be the effect of natural corruption, nor the marks of any previous eruptive disease: that, being satisfied as to the cause of her death, he did not open the body. He admitted, however, that there might be some cases of sudden death which could only be discovered by a dissection of the parts. Upon being asked by the court what was his belief of the cause of the death of the deceased, he was

decidedly of opinion, that she died in consequence of the bruises she had received.

Dr. Turton, on behalf of the prisoner, said he was a physician residing at Swansea, and had sometimes seen cases of sudden death. Being desired to give his opinion as to the probability of discolourations of the skin appearing after death, in a very clear and scientific manner he informed the court, that the circulation of the blood is the last effort of existence; that, after the body is to outward appearance dead, circulation may be for some time going on, though in an imperceptible degree; that while circulation goes on, the vessels must be necessarily in action, and more or less full of blood; and that during this time, even after the appearance of dissolution, they may be broken by any violence or rough handling, and discharging their contents, occasion discolourations of the skin. He likewise observed, that there were various internal disorders and malformations of the organs, which might be exasperated by violent agitations of the passions or feelings, so as to cause sudden death; that even the passions themselves, by an excess of exertion, might produce immediate death, by spasm, rupture of an artery, &c.; and that these various internal causes of sudden death can only be discovered by dissection.

The learned judge, in a speech of much energy and eloquence, recapitulated the evidence to the jury; and the latter, after retiring a few moments, brought in their verdict—Guilty of manslaughter.

On the following morning the judge passed sentence on the prisoner

soner in the following impressive address :

“ Morgan William, you are convicted of manslaughter alone, upon a charge of murder, which it was the express opinion of the court that your guilt had incurred, if the facts in evidence were believed. The jury, therefore, must either have set up their judgment of the law against ours, or have misunderstood the law as delivered by me, or have disbelieved the witnesses, or have been misled by the effect of your character as a peaceable and good-natured man. As to their preference of their own law in direct and wilful opposition to that of the court, I cannot and will not believe it ; in other words, I must not believe them to have abused their power and violated their duty. If I was misunderstood, it was not for want of all the efforts in my power to impress the rule and principle upon their minds with all the accuracy and precision which I could stamp upon them. As to the discredit of the witnesses, it happens that not one of them was impeached by yourself. No witnesses in my judicial experience ever delivered their testimonies with more delicacy or caution ; one of them, unsolicited, marked in his evidence, that when you kicked this woman you had no shoes on. The difference in effect was trivial, but in his mind it occurred as a feature softening the outrage. The son of that father, a boy to whom you recommended a false account of the death in confidence, apart, and with him alone, is confirmed by the woman who laid out the deceased, and who represents that you told the same fiction to her. The evidence of the

coroner and surgeon, Mr. Griffiths, to the cause of the death as occasioned by your violence, must have convinced the jury when they found you guilty of manslaughter. They must, therefore, have thought (with me) the evidence of Dr. Turton wasted and thrown away. He enlightened us with certain other causes of death, reconcilable to similar appearances, but which had no ground for them in the fact. His evidence, therefore, might have been spared. As to your character, if it were true, (and I will assume its truth,) it would prove that you have deceived your neighbours, and that you have deserved a character the reverse of that which has been given. Had a thousand witnesses called you “ peaceable and good-natured,” this one transaction of pride and revenge would outweigh them all. The jury may have thought you did not mean to kill, and therefore, could not be guilty of murder ; in other words, may have thought you intended cruelty and mischief in the extreme to this defenceless woman, but short of death. If the fact here supposed were true, the opinion that it was therefore no murder would have been false ; and it was reprobated by me with all the energy which, armed by the law, I could give to the opinions I delivered. But could they believe the fact, that you did not mean to kill ; you that said the very minute before you made the first attack, “ it was in your hands to kill her ? ” Perhaps they believe you were not master of your own reason, but were heated by passion from the moment of your first anger up to the very instant of this poor crea-

ture's death. Could they believe it? Could they believe you heated, when, after such a feather of provocation, you fell upon a defenceless person who did not raise her hand against you, beat her with your fist upon the bosom and thighs, kicked her, and when she was down pressed your knees upon several parts of her body, inflicting blows and contusions even upon her waist? Could they believe you were heated, when, upon her affecting appeal to her fellow-servant, you commanded him to desist from any help to her? Could they believe that you had no deliberate hatred in your mind, when there is not one mark of your penitence and remorse? Your "distraction" was the horror of momentary panic, and it came too late. But it was followed up, in a very short period, by the command of a most wicked falsehood, in cold blood, impressed upon one of your servants,—a falsehood asserted the very next morning by yourself. Hundreds have been executed for murders less aggravated and less cruel. It is the second instance in the county of Glamorgan, since my judicial intercourse with it, (and I shall, after this acquittal, fear that it will not be the last,) of a master's tyranny to a servant ending in death and in murder. Whatever motives of judgment or of conscience induced the jury to deliver this verdict, it will be long felt as a deep stain upon the county, "that such guilt as your's could escape," though I impute no blame to the mercy which I cannot understand.

"You have taught your son to resemble you. He did venture to entreat, that you would arrest your murdering hand; but when? After

the victim had expired. He had previously fomented your bitterness against this wretched creature by telling that idle story of the ghost, which you resented by killing her. When he addressed himself to her, supposing her to be alive, it was in terms of unfeeling insult: "You have done (said he) mischief enough, go to bed." God of mercy! are servants to be thus treated? Is it in this generous island that we can hear of such tyrannies? Had the jury convicted you of the murder, not all your opulence, or the interest it could make, would have given to the short interval between your sentence and your death one additional hour. Who would imagine that I am talking all this time of manslaughter, which is, in its legal acceptance, heated passion, or a wanton act with no peril of life, but ending, by accident unforeseen, in death? The jury would themselves ignorantly tell us, that if it be not murder it is very near it, and is the most aggravated of manslaughter, which, of course, would call upon us to inflict an exemplary punishment upon such an offender. In truth, it is a murder; it is nothing else. Not one feature of the mitigated crime appears. It is at the best a depraved and cruel outrage, endangering life, and ending in the death for which it was calculated; but at the worst it is also deliberation in cold blood, and with a decided purpose to kill; in both of these views it is equally a murder. Yet how to punish it under its name of manslaughter is a difficulty. We are crippled, and yet it is no dishonour to the law that we are, for it never supposed that a case like this could have the name of manslaughter.

slaughter stamped upon it by a verdict. We cannot imprison for the offence to which your guilt has been softened by the verdict, for more than one year. The additional punishment of burning in the hand for manslaughter, (properly understood) was absurd and cruel, or both. But in a case like this, one half laments that it has been superseded. Branded, however, you are still to be—conscience will inflict that penalty; the abhorrence of your character in every feeling heart will pollute your path and your bed. The day will come when this murder, as I call it still, (and by its true name,) will sit heavily upon your soul, unless the guilt is deeply repented before that hour shall come. The only punishment which is now to be added by the court, instead of burning in the hand, is fine. As your fortune is ample, and as we are desirous to mark our sense of your guilt, we should make that fine exemplary as well as penal. But here again we are crippled; for the law, contemplating what is manslaughter, (not a case like your's,) has told us that it must be a moderate fine. Upon what principle I cannot imagine, but the court has in general considered the word moderate as intending a nominal fine, and has deemed it satisfied in aggravated manslaughter by a shilling. We have upon former occasions broke in upon that judicial habit elsewhere, and are willing to embrace the odium of the singularity. In your case we impose 50l. as the fine, the most ample that was perhaps ever inflicted upon a manslaughter, but still, if compared with your guilt, moderate in our view of it, and reconcilable to a sound exercise of discretion,—so

moderate, that if it was not for that word we should have made it four times heavier. Your sentence therefore is, that you be imprisoned for one year in the county gaol, that you pay 50l. as a fine, and be imprisoned until that fine is paid.

About two o'clock this 8th. morning the neighbourhood of East Smithfield was alarmed by a dreadful crash, like the rolling of thunder, when it was immediately discovered that a stack of chimnies, in the centre of two very old houses, in Back-lane, near the extremity of Rosemary-lane, had fallen in, carrying along with it the houses themselves, down to the ground-floor, and overwhelming the unfortunate inhabitants in one common ruin. Every assistance was instantly procured, but not less than fifteen persons, male and female, suffered more or less. It is supposed that there were not less than fifty or sixty persons within the walls at the time. One woman was dug out of the rubbish quite dead; another so much bruised that she has since died.

This day, a sudden and terrible fire broke out at 9th. Wood House farm, in the parish of Knowle, near Chard, which soon burnt down the same, together with the furniture, dairy-utensils, stock, &c. The farm-house was part of an antient abbey, and amongst the ruins were discovered several human bones.

*Lisle.* The ninth aerial ascension announced by M. Mosment, took place last Monday (the 7th instant) in the elegant rotunda of the circus of this city, in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. From day-break the aeronaut was busily occupied in the production of hydrogen gas; the sky was fe-

rene, and at mid-day the operation of filling the balloon was completed, and every thing was ready. M. Mofment leaped into the car; and upon a signal being given, the balloon was set at liberty, and ascended very rapidly into the air amidst the shouts of the spectators. M. Mofment repeatedly waved his flag as he ascended, which was adorned with the imperial eagle. The wind was northerly, and the balloon was carried gently before it. At a certain height the aëronaut let go a parachute, to which an animal was attached, and the experiment succeeded admirably. In the mean time the balloon continued to ascend, and appeared as if exactly above the town. At one o'clock it seemed to have encountered some adverse winds. Something red was then seen slowly descending, which was picked up, and found to be the flag which the aëronaut carried with him. This, however, excited no disagreeable emotions, and all eyes were turned to the balloon, which soon rose to such a height as to become invisible. The crowd then began to disperse, perfectly satisfied with the success of the experiment; but a rumour ran through the populace that the dead body of a man had been found, dreadfully mangled in one of the fosses of the town. This excited some inquiry; and upon inspecting the body, it was found to be that of the unfortunate aëronaut, but so covered with blood that it was with difficulty he was recognized.

The balloon came to the ground on the same day of the accident, 25 leagues distant from Lisle, the place of its ascension. An unloaded pistol, a little bread, and a piece

of flesh were in the car of the balloon.

The death of M. Mofment has produced the following observations from M. Garnerin, the aëronaut. "It seems that the misfortune which happened to M. Mofment did not result from any of the inconveniencies which are connected with aërostatic ascensions, but merely from want of prudence. The car in which he ascended was too shallow; the cords by which it was attached to the balloon were too far apart; and it is probable, when M. Mofment was leaning over to let an animal drop in a parachute, that he lost his balance, and was precipitated to the earth. If the accidents which have happened from balloons are investigated, it will be seen that they have in general proceeded from the imprudence of the aëronauts themselves. Every one foresaw, when the Montgolfier was attached to a balloon filled with inflammable gas, the danger to which Pilatre de Rosier was exposed. Besides, those balloons were gilt; which might attract the electricity of the clouds. Balloons, gilt or silvered over, are very dangerous. Zambeccari, who employed those means, sustained several accidents, and it is only surprising that he escaped at last.

A legacy left for adorning St. James's-square. The following is an extract from the will and testament of the donor, dated the 6th of July, 1724:

"I will and bequeath a sufficient sum of money to purchase and erect, in St. James's-square, an equestrian statue in brass to the glorious memory of my master, king William the Third. (Signed)

SAMUEL TRAVERS."

In



In the subsequent year (1725) an act of parliament was passed for adorning the said square. The bequest appears to have been totally forgotten, until the money was found in the list of unclaimed dividends. The matter has been seriously taken in hand since this discovery, and the noble square will receive its ornament from the hands of Mr. Bacon.

The following is the return just made to the house of commons, of the importation of Spanish wool into Great Britain, in the course of the last ten years, viz.

Yrs.	lbs.	Yrs.	lbs.
1796,	3,439,242	1801,	6,538,674
1797,	4,609,759	1802,	6,510,869
1798,	2,609,268	1803,	4,773,522
1799,	5,027,836	1804,	7,340,886
1800,	8,395,528	1805,	7,160,537

MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

13th. —A nest of swindlers, consisting of four persons in one family, viz. the father, mother, son, and daughter, has been found out, and the father, who acted as valet to the daughter, who called herself a Mrs. Wakefield, has been taken into custody by Levett. Since the apprehension of the father, whose name is M'Eavy, alias M'Kay, &c. &c. the brother, Henry M'Eavy, has been secured by Craig, one of the constables of St. Anne's. Mrs. Wakefield is now in the king's bench, and her mother, who acted as her housekeeper, is since in custody. The father and son underwent a long examination at Marlborough-street, and such was the anxiety of tradespeople to view them, and others to prefer charges, that the avenues of the office were filled at an early hour. The depredations committed on the public by this family, exceed any thing of the kind we have heard of

in a similar way. There were about forty persons ready to prefer charges against the prisoners and their colleagues. A jeweller, at No. 145, Piccadilly, had let out apartments to Mrs. Wakefield, at 15 guineas per month. She represented herself as the wife of a gentleman of fortune in Essex, and her family consisted of two maid-servants, a valet, and a footman; the two last of which were the prisoners. They were attired in livery, and the jeweller was informed by them, that Mr. Wakefield kept his horses, curricule, &c. but he would not bring them to London, as he preferred a country life. These, and numberless other impositions, have been practised by Mrs. W. and her father and brother; she was fortunate enough to obtain from the jeweller's shop jewellery to the amount of about 26l. the day after she had entered her apartments, which she desired immediately to pay for. A bill was delivered, when she recollected she had not sufficient money to spare until the arrival of her husband in a day or two, and she paid 10l. in part. The next day she looked out a gold watch, value 20 guineas, and appendages, and other jewellery, to go to the ball of a lady of distinction. Many artifices were resorted to, which would be too voluminous for detail, to cover the frauds; but the jeweller at length suspecting his customer, and finding that Mr. Wakefield did not appear, sought means to recover the debt, which was nearly 100l. and put an execution into the house. Mrs. Wakefield was arrested at this moment, and on searching her apartments, the property had been removed. She, convulsed with

laughter, was surpris'd that the jeweller should be such a fool as to expect to recover the property, and she informed her mother, her housekeeper, that had it not been for her meanness in attempting to save a few shillings, she should have left the apartments before she was arrested. Mr. Wakefield was a student at law, and separated from Mrs. W. By extraordinary artifices, she procured him to marry her under a false name, which renders the marriage void. It was stated by one of the witnesses, that in one instance a tradesman in Mortimer-street was referred to by the prisoner, and he represented her to be the wife of a man of 5000l. per annum. He would have been glad to have let his first floor to her, had it been unoccupied. Mr. Layton, a milliner, in Berkeley-square, had supplied Mrs. W. with goods to the amount of 40l. He gave her credit from her appearance and equipage. Her valet and footman wore liveries, with a silver band to their hats, and they represented her husband as a man of considerable fortune. Mrs. W. when she got the goods, at different times spoke of many ladies of distinction, some of whom Mr. L. supplied, and the lady expressed her satisfaction at getting to a fashionable shop. Mrs. W. ordered her bill, and on its being delivered, she had fled. It would be impossible to enumerate the various artifices resorted to by this family to carry on their frauds. The two prisoners were proved to have been in the coalition by various circumstances, and they were remanded, whilst methods should be used to bring up Mrs. Wakefield.

After the examination of M'Eavy, and Henry, his son, on

Wednesday, the mother, Ann M'Eavy, and William, another son, the footboy to Mrs. Wakefield, were apprehended. The mother, who, it has been stated, acted as housekeeper to Mrs. W., represented herself to have been merely a companion to Mrs. Wakefield at 16l. per annum. On being questioned whether she was not the mother as well as the housekeeper of Mrs. W, she said relationship had certainly tied her to her. The son was examined apart from his mother, but he refused to answer questions without consulting her. He did not know what relationship Henry, the footman, was to him. On being asked if M'Eavy was not his father, he said, "he was his mother's husband," and he believed Mrs. Wakefield was his cousin. The two prisoners were committed, and to be brought up again with their relations on the following day.

At Dorchester, a soldier's wife was brought to bed of three sons, two of whom are since dead.

An accident happened at the Park Foundry, near 14th. Sheffield. Eight men were employed in the furnace, by the road side, to cast a large roller; unfortunately the sand at the bottom of the mould contained moisture, which the instant the metal was poured in, exploded it, scattering the melted iron above and around, by which the roof of the building was fired, and all the eight men were more or less burned; five of them, in particular, were much hurt, but we understand that all are recovering from the injury they sustained.

William Tyrrel was indicted for an assault on Ma- 15th. ry Mills. The prosecutrix stated, that

that she was married, but had been separated from her husband. She had an allowance of half-a-guinea a-week, from a Mr. Moore, of Suffolk-street, St. Luke's. She was going to the house of her benefactor, on the 2d of January, when the defendant, in company with another person, seized her at Islington, hurried her into a hackney-coach, and took her to a mad-house at Hoxton, where they left her. She was confined there three weeks, the first few days of which she was accommodated with people of the better order; but her money being exhausted, she was turned into another ward amongst mad people, and her situation was so dreadful, that she was nearly deprived of her faculties. After having been three weeks in this situation, she solicited some Jew boys, who were allowed to vend their commodities through a little hole in the door of her apartment, to convey a letter to Mr. Moore. This was refused. She at length found in her apartment an old dry inkstand, and having procured the feather of a chicken, she, with a little water, was enabled to commit her distresses to a piece of paper she accidentally found, and threw it out of the window, which was fortunately picked up by some person in the street, by which it found its way to Mr. Moore, who, on receiving the letter, repaired to the mad-house, and with considerable difficulty was admitted, when he conveyed her to his house. She knew the defendant, and she believed the other man, belonged to the mad-house. She at that time suspected Mr. Mills had been the author of her misery.

Mr. Nares, the magistrate,

stated, that he understood the prosecutrix had been taken up by an order, signed by the apothecary of the mad-house; he had investigated that fact, and he could say that the man alluded to had never seen the prosecutrix.

The chairman was amazed at such conduct, which had seldom been heard of.

Mr. Alley stated, that he, and other gentlemen at the bar, would at any time conduct a prosecution against the husband, the mad-house keeper, and the defendant, for a conspiracy; and advised the prosecutrix to lose no time in indicting the whole of them.

The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner guilty.—Judgment respited.

Gen. Menou, commander of the Transalpine departments, has transmitted a report to Paris, dated Turin, April 15, in which he mentions the death of a brigand, who styled himself Emperor of the Alps, and King of Marengo. He was killed by a party of the Gendarmerie, after one of the party sent against him had fallen. The General concludes his report, by congratulating the inhabitants of the departments upon their deliverance from *one* of the greatest thieves and scoundrels in the empire.

The lady of Mr. Spencer Smith (Baroness Herbert) who resided at Venice, and thought herself in perfect security there, has been, by order of Buonaparte, arrested, and conducted, with her children, to Milan. Of this fresh and unmanly outrage, we find the circumstances to be nearly as follows:—Mrs. Spencer Smith (sister-in-law of Sir Sidney Smith) had been some months in Italy, for her health; when

When the war broke out, she was at the baths of Valdagno, near Vicenza; whence she retired to Venice, since surrendered to the French, whose conduct at first toward the English fugitives was very moderate. Mrs. S. Smith, who was confined to her bed, received permission to remain till the recovery of her health, with the promise of being then allowed to retire wherever she chose. Thus this lady remained unmolested till the 18th of April, waiting for a passage to Malta and England; when she was, in custody of four men, removed that day to Padua, thence to Milan, and expects to be marched to Verdun or Valenciennes, a distance of at least 500 miles, and under treatment which we shudder to think of an amiable and unprotected countrywoman being exposed to. There can be no heart so base or so depraved as to engender hostility against this lady individually; neither has there been an action of her life that can furnish the slightest apology for the shameful conduct observed towards her. We must, therefore, consider it as a punishment for her alliance with the Hero of Acre, and for the patriotic zeal displayed by her husband on his mission in the Levant, during the late war.

The following horrid murder is stated in the *New York Gazette* of the 18th of April, to have been perpetrated in America the beginning of that month:—A man who lived near the Dry-Lands, having to pay the sum of 800l. called on a neighbour who kept a public-house, and mentioned the circumstance, observing, that he had the whole amount at home, except 15l. which he wished to borrow. The land-

lord agreed to lend it him; but said he could not give it till the next day, when he should go out to collect some debts, and his neighbour might then call and receive what he wanted. He came at the appointed time, and, having waited the whole evening, was prevailed on by the landlord's wife to retire to bed in her house, she promising to call him on the return of her husband. He fell asleep, but was soon disturbed by terrifying dreams; on which he awoke his bed-fellow, a pedlar who had taken up his residence there for the night, and informed him of the circumstance. The latter endeavoured to pacify him; but he informed him that he dreamed his house was on fire, and his wife and children enveloped in the flames. He therefore determined on going home immediately; and the pedlar, feeling interested in the dream, agreed to accompany him, taking with him a pair of excellent pistols, well loaded. The night being dark, they were alarmed, on approaching the house, by a bright light in the lower apartment; and, on approaching the window, they beheld three men, with blackened faces, counting out money on the table. Each of the spectators then singled out his man, and shot two of the plunderers dead; the third was met at the door; but being overcome by conscious guilt, he made no resistance, and was dispatched. The husband then went into his bed-chamber, and found his wife and three young children weltering in their blood, having apparently been murdered in their sleep. On washing the faces of the robbers, they proved to be near neighbours of the owner of the house,

house, and were intimately connected with his family.

17th. The wife of John Fox, of Norton Malerward, Somersetshire, was brought to bed of two sons and a daughter; being the third time she has had three children.

21st. Murdered at Alphington, near Exeter, Mrs. Rowe, a widow lady. R. Wright, a labouring tanner, knocked at her door, and rushed up stairs to the lodging-room, where, taking a blunderbuss, he went to the bedside, and beat her so dreadfully with the butt end of the piece, that her skull was fractured, and she expired the same night. The servant followed him to the room, but, fearful of the same fate, she ran to the door for assistance, and he was secured. He appeared deranged, and the only reason he assigned was that "he had been commissioned by a superior Power to destroy all the old women in the place, as there would never be a peace till that was accomplished." Verdict—Wilful Murder, committed by the hands of R. Wright, supposed Insane!

22d. A very uncommon phenomenon was observed at Arbroath, between the hours of two and four P. M. A bright halo appeared round the sun of a very uncommon magnitude, the diameter being  $54^{\circ}$ , also a large luminous circle parallel to the horizon, diameter about  $98^{\circ}$ , its altitude equal to that of the sun. Its centre nearly in the zenith of Arbroath. The periphery of this circle passed directly through the centre of the sun: on the eastern part of this circle two beautiful parhelia were distinctly visible, as also two much

more resplendent on the western part.

A cart, standing at the front of Lewes barracks, on the top of a hill; some children got into it and began to dance, which caused the cart to roll down the hill, and upset on the Brighton road. One was killed, and another had its arm so fractured, that amputation became necessary; its head was also bruised, yet hopes are entertained of its recovery. They were both children to a serjeant of the 6th Dragoon-guards.

This day commenced the trial of lord Melville, for an account of which see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

DIED.—2. Aged 103, Mrs. Lawrence, well known in Lincoln, by the name of Nurse Lawrence.

8. At his house in West-square, Surrey, aged 67, Robert Barker, esq the ingenious inventor of the Panorama, and proprietor of that in Leicester-square.

15. In his 71st year, J. Turton, M.D. in the university of Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1759, and that of doctor in 1767, for which last he went out grand compounder. He was formerly one of the travelling fellows on Dr. Radcliffe's foundation; and for many years before his death had been physician to the king, to the queen, and to the prince of Wales. The bulk of his great fortune, upwards of 8000l. a-year (a great part of it landed property in Yorkshire) he has bequeathed, after the death of his wife, to her royal highness the princess Mary, their majesties' fourth daughter.

18. At Birmingham, aged 104, Mrs. Maria Theresa Twiss, who retained her faculties to the last.

At

At the age of 80 she took to wearing spectacles, and wore them nearly 20 years, when she left them off, and at the age of 102 could read a newspaper without glasses.

25. Interred together this day, aged about 90 years each, Joseph and Jane Martin, of Ardbirn, near Banbridge, in the north of Ireland. They were born in one year, had lived together 62 years, were each distinguishable for a good share of natural understanding, have left their family in respectable circumstances, by their industry, and will be long remembered as peaceable and kind neighbours.

At the hotel de la Patrie, at Rennes, in France, on his way to Paris, admiral Villeneuve, commander of the French fleet in the battle off Trafalgar. He is known to have been landed at Morlaix, in the night between the 22d and 23d, from a small boat, which our port-admiral would have dissuaded him from taking; but his reason was, that a large vessel could not be admitted into that port, which therefore followed, and kept him in sight till he landed. It is said he stabbed himself; but the motive that induced him to commit an act of suicide is unknown. He was found in his chamber, quite undressed, and with five wounds, given by a knife, in his left side. According to the position of his body at the time, it is supposed that, after he had stabbed himself, he threw himself upon the bed, pressing himself upon the handle of the knife, which still remained in his body, to hasten his dissolution. History will record, that the three admirals, English, Spanish, and French, engaged in that glorious and ever-memorable battle, have

all lost their lives. The English admiral was killed outright; admiral Gravina died of the wounds he had received in the battle; and admiral Villeneuve finished his mortal career with his own hand. We believe this to be a true state of the case; it having been so stated by an English gentleman, one of a small number lately returned from Verdun, and who is now in London, who was at Rennes, and at the same hotel, the day after the death of admiral V. He saw the admiral's servant, and others who knew the whole of the melancholy transaction, and there is no doubt that the admiral killed himself in a fit of derangement, of which he had exhibited symptoms for some days before. Pistols, &c. had been carefully kept out of his way, but he contrived to secrete a knife; and on breaking open his chamber-door he was found dead, with the handle of the knife in his hand, and the point of it in his heart. It may be proper, however, to state, that it has been suggested that he, like Pichegru and Wright, fell by foul means. A circumstance which is considered as expressive of Buonaparte's knowledge of this transaction, and of his wish to remove suspicion from himself, is, that on the evening after the murder, a letter reached Rennes, from the minister of marine, addressed to admiral Villeneuve, and announcing to him, that although Napoleon, deceived by false reports, had entertained displeasure towards him, yet that he was now ready to do every possible justice to his bravery and talents. It is also said, that, being refused the audience which he solicited from Buonaparte, he foresaw the consequences, which

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he chose to prevent by this desperate proceeding. The different reception given to two of his captains who were in the same engagement, will justify this conjecture.

Aged 106, at Hereford, in Weaver's hospital, Ann Griffiths, a native of Dilwyn, in this county, and has a brother older than herself.

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MAY.

2d. A circumstance took place at the house of a gentleman of fortune in the neighbourhood of Chelsea, which for a while caused considerable uneasiness in the family. An elderly woman, of shabby appearance, knocked at the door of the house in question, and requested to have an interview with the lady of the house on an affair of considerable importance. She was refused admittance by the servant, when she insisted on her right of access to the house, being nearly related to the family by marriage. The gentleman was not at home, and the intruder was shewn into a back room, where she had an interview with one of the daughters. She represented herself as being the wife of her father, to whom she had been united in wedlock as long since as 1772. This assertion caused great uneasiness in the family, as the intruder mentioned the place where the gentleman of the house resided, and with hearty tears she insisted on protection under the roof. She was suffered to remain in the house until the return of the alleged husband, whom she seized with apparent anguish and

fondness. He, however, knew nothing of her, and her subsequent conduct was such as to require her detention. Her name, it appears, is King.

The following extraordinary event took place at Affman-<sup>4th</sup>.shausen, in the electorate of Mentz. About three o'clock in the morning the earth was heard to crack with a most dreadful noise: every body was alarmed, but nobody knew the cause. At day-light it was perceived that the high mountain near the village had opened about the breadth of a hand, and about eight o'clock it extended to about seven or eight inches. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon a considerable part of the mountain fell down and covered four houses, the inhabitants of which had fortunately escaped.

The abuses committed in the West Indies, are said to exceed every thing that was ever stated in romance. The commissioners are stated to have discovered that forged bills and receipts, for articles never purchased, and bills drawn on government indorsed under forged and fictitious names, were common and notorious. They found a most base collusion between the officers of government, and the merchants and contractors, by which the latter were allowed to charge stores at a much higher rate than they might have been obtained for in the market. In one instance it was discovered, that to conceal this iniquity, a bribe of 87,000l. had been given: in another a bribe of 35,000l. Vessels, houses, stores, &c. were usually hired at most extravagant rates, in consequence of fraudulent contracts, where others might have been obtained much cheaper.

cheaper. But worse than either of these iniquities was the diabolical fraud of suffering the merchants and contractors to furnish his majesty's troops with inferior and bad rum, and other articles, at an extravagant rate, by which the lives of the troops were endangered, as well as the country defrauded. And, for the purpose of committing these practices, all free competition for the supply of articles was prevented; and every obstacle was put in the way, even of the purchase of bills on the treasury. They were dated in one island and negotiated in another; and they were sold at a much more advantageous exchange than that at which the officers debited themselves in their accounts.

In the list of persons who died in the year 1805, in the heptarchy of Pinfask, in Russia, five of them were 110 years of age; one of 113; four of 120; one of 128; one of 130; and one of the uncommon age of 150 years.

The following instance of cold-blooded economy, in Buonaparte, is mentioned as a fact:

When the English force, under sir J. B. Warren, had put into St. Jago, after the capture of the Marengo and Belle Poule, admiral Linois requested of sir John permission to assemble the French officers, for the purpose of reading to them an imperial edict, which he had had by him for some time, and which materially affected his and their interests. The English admiral having accordingly assented to this demand, with all that urbanity and politeness which distinguish him, the French officers were got together, to the amount of nearly 70, when the instrument in question

was read them by admiral Linois. It began by reciting, that his imperial majesty, Buonaparte, having had serious cause of chagrin and displeasure, at the repeated checks and disasters his naval force had hitherto experienced in the contest with England, was determined that it should undergo a thorough reform. Then, after many regulations for the better ordering and conducting his navy in time of hostility with other powers, and for the excitement of his sailors to heroic deeds, it concluded by stating, that in future all officers of his navy, who were captured by the enemy, should be from that moment reduced to one-fourth of their actual pay: "And you, gentlemen, therefore," continued, Linois, "with myself, are hereby so reduced, and we must shift, as well as we can, with the little that remains!"

At Pontefract Quarter Sessions, returns up to the 21st of April, of which the following are the aggregates, were made by the cloth searchers:

<i>Broad cloths</i>	<i>Pieces.</i>	<i>Yards.</i>
milled		
this year,	300,237,	making 10,097,256
last year,	298,178,	6,987,255
Increase -	2,059	- - - 90,001
<i>Narrow cloths</i>	<i>Pieces.</i>	<i>Yards.</i>
milled		
this year,	165,487,	making 6,193,317
last year,	150,010,	5,440,179
Increase -	15,477	- - - 753,138

Total increase this year, 17,536 pieces, making 843,139 yards.

In the above statement, the articles of bear skins, swandowns, toilinetts, and kerseymeres, are not included.

SHOCKING MASSACRE.—*Account of the Massacre of the Officers and*



and Crew of the Ship *Atahualpa*, communicated by Capt. Isaacs of the *Montezuma*.—"The ship, *Atahualpa*, had been lying at anchor in Sturgis cove, up Mill-bank Sound, three days. The natives had, during that time, been remarkably civil. On the 12th of June, 1805, they came off in several canoes, and desired captain Porter to purchase their skins; and about ten o'clock, Calete, the chief of one of their tribes, desired captain Porter to look over the side, and see the number of skins in his canoe. Capt. P. was complying, but was obliged to bend over the rail, when the chief threw his coat over his head, stabbed him twice between his shoulders, threw him overboard, and gave the signal for a general attack.

"Mr. John Hill, the chief mate, was shot through the body, but ran below, got his musket, returned on deck, shot the chief, and gave him his mortal wound.

"John Goodwin, the second mate, shot dead.

"John G. Rackstraw, was daggered, and died immediately.

"Lyman Plummer was daggered, and lived until the ship was got out, when he requested the surviving crew to take care of the ship, and find captain Brown.

"Isaac Summers, cooper, Luther and Samuel Lapham, Peter Spooner, seamen, and John Williams, cook, were all killed. The cook defended himself bravely, as long as his hot water lasted, but that being expended they cut him down with an axe. Three seamen, one Sandwich islander, and a Kodiak Indian, were dangerously wounded. Five more of the crew were slightly wounded; and

three men and a Sandwich islander were all that escaped unhurt.

"These four at length bravely rushed through the crowd of Indians, got below and finding a few muskets loaded, fired them through the loopholes, in the break of the fore-castle, which terrified the natives, and many jumped overboard. The four men then regained the deck, and after fighting some time with a few Indians, who seemed determined to hold their prize, killed or drove all overboard. One canoe was now seen under the bows, endeavouring to cut the cable; but a swivel was brought from the after part of the ship, and discharged at them; ten were killed by the swivel, and one by a musket-shot, so only one was left alive in the canoe.

"The crew lost their jacket knives, by plunging them into the skulls of the Indians; from whence they were unable to draw them out. After the decks were cleared, the top-sails were loosened, when the ship swung her head off shore, the cable was cut, and after some time beating, was able to get out of the Sound. Two days after were off Newatta; the wind coming a-head, shaped a course northward."

This evening, about nine o'clock, an alarming fire <sup>10th.</sup> broke out in Bear-alley, Fleet-market, at the house of Mr. Step-toe, a butcher, who has likewise a shop in the market. The accident happened in consequence of a maid-servant imprudently leaving the candle with the children after she had put them to bed; which practice is, unfortunately, too prevalent. The girl went out for some porter, and on her return found that

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the flames had not only consumed the bed-curtains, but had reached the bed-room door; she made every effort to gain admission, but finding it impracticable, immediately gave the alarm, when every one became anxious for the safety of the children. All endeavours, however, to save them unfortunately proved fruitless, and the children, three of them, the eldest eleven years of age, were burnt to death. A fourth child, an infant of nine months old, was preserved by the mother, who ran up from the market and saved her child's life at the imminent risk of her own. The appearance of the fire at the early part of its career was extremely awful, and seemed to threaten the adjoining houses with destruction; but from the timely assistance of the firemen, who exerted themselves in a becoming manner, it soon began to lose its alarming aspect. The houses on each side were much damaged, particularly Mr. Lines's, who has lost a considerable quantity of his furniture. Parties of the 3d London, and other volunteers, attended with the greatest promptitude, and were extremely useful to the distressed inhabitants.

As a young girl, named Anderson, of Deeping St. James, Lincolnshire, was returning from school, she was struck by a fire-ball, which caused her instant death.

Christopher Simpson, lately executed at Lancaster, for highway robbery, confessed he had broken open above eighty houses, stolen thirty horses, and committed more highway robberies than he could remember!

The Gazette of this night contained his majesty's proclamation for a new copper coinage, of 150 tons of penny-pieces, 427 tons and a half of half-penny pieces, and 22 and a half tons of farthings. The penny-pieces are in the proportion of 24 to the pound avoirdupois of copper, and so on with the others.

The Vigilant, of 74 guns, in ordinary at Portsmouth, which sunk in January, is raised. It appears that her sinking was not occasioned by any leak; but it is supposed the water, at various times, came in at the scuppers, and from the inattention of some persons on board her, she was neglected to be occasionally pumped.

A few days ago, at a sale of old furniture at Wolverhampton, a poor woman bought an arm chair for a few shillings; and shortly afterwards, on attempting to repair it, she found, in the stuffing of the back and bottom, gold and silver coins of George I. to the amount of 100*l*. The broker, on hearing of the circumstance, applied for legal aid to recover the property, but without effect.

It does not appear to be yet determined how far the plan of drilling and dibbling wheat answers the purposes of the farmer; but the following experiment, by Mr. Charles Miller, of Cambridge, shows to what an astonishing extent the increase of wheat may be carried with care:—

On the 8th of August, he took up a plant of wheat, which had been sown in the beginning of June, and divided it into 18 parts, each of which was transplanted separately; about the latter end of September, they were again re-

moved.

moved, and divided into 67 roots; in the end of March following, and beginning of April, they were separated into 500 plants, which yielded 21,109 ears; and the single grain thus yielded 570,000 fold! the produce measuring three pecks and three quarters, and weighing 47lb.

As two sawyers, in the boat-building yard of Mr. Masterman, on the south shore, Newcastle, were lately sawing a well-grown elm-tree, they were suddenly stopped in the middle of their work by a harder body than the wood, which, on farther examination, proved to be a horse-shoe, in good preservation, and which there is no reason to doubt, had been there since the growth of the timber. It was found in the very core of the tree, where a fine impression of the shoe was made on the surrounding surface. No visible injury appeared to have been sustained by the timber.

12th. The college committee met at the India-house; after which Charles Grant, esq. the late chairman; the honourable William F. Elphinstone, the present chairman; Mr. Parry, the deputy; the secretary; Mr. Wilkins, the librarian, and the rest of the members of the committee, proceeded from the house in two carriages, for Hailybury, near Hertford, in order to assist at the ceremony of laying the first stone of the college, to be erected there for the students, intended for the company's civil service in India.

Last week Matthew Mark Watson, a youth about 16 years of age, was found hanging in a cellar at Huntingdon; on being taken down, various experiments were

tried to bring him to life, but to no purpose. A spirit of inquiry led this youth to hang himself, in order to ascertain what sensations it would produce!

A short time since, a woodcock's nest was found by some children gathering fuel in Calvin's wood, in the parish of Bucklebury, Berks; the rarity of this excited a great deal of curiosity in the neighbourhood, and drew numbers to the spot: the bird was daily flushed from the nest by her unwelcome visitors, who had thus repeated proofs that the eggs did not belong to one of any other genus, nor to another of the numerous species of the snipe; they are considerably larger than the partridge's, nearer the size of the Guinea-hen's, and speckled with a darker brown; the nest, placed on the ground, consists of dry leaves and feathers, which the hen apparently has plucked from her body.

Mr. Elkington, the celebrated drainer, got last year from some boggy land which he hired of lord Crew, the amazing produce of 174 bushels of good oats, from five bushels and eleven quarters of seed, sown broad-cast. This extraordinary return has been made from land which a few years ago was not worth one shilling per acre, but is now actually worked to profit by exhausting crops without manure.

Earl Nelson, and his heirs, by a message from the crown, since confirmed by parliament, is to have a grant of 5000l. per annum, and 120,000l. to purchase a family estate.

A most daring attempt was on Sunday made to 13th. break open the shop of Mr. Priestman, jeweller and silversmith, in

Princes-street, Soho. Mr. Priestman and the whole of his family left the house to go a little way out of town. From two o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening a number of men were observed by the neighbours lurking about the shop-door, and endeavouring to break it open; but the door was so properly secured that all their exertions were baffled. Information was at length sent to the public-office, in Bow-street, when Blackman, Lavender, and Leigh, went in pursuit of the robbers. A little before nine o'clock they found the shop surrounded by five notorious housebreakers. The villains made a desperate resistance to the officers taking them into custody; but they at length succeeded in securing Edward Egerton, John Clemence, and Thomas Whitfield, three well-known characters. Yesterday they were brought to Bow-street, and underwent an examination before James Read, esq. The officers produced a bottle of phosphorus and matches, which they found upon Clemence; likewise two iron crows and a number of pick-lock keys found near the prisoners.— They were committed for further examination.

14th. A ball of fire fell on a cottage, at Claverandgreen, in the forest of Dean, and forced its way through the roof into the kitchen, where T. Davies, the owner, and his wife and child, were sitting, but happily without doing any damage, although a cask of gunpowder was in the same room, where it was kept for the use of the mine works in the forest.

Owing to the cold of last night, several hundreds of <sup>15th.</sup> the swallow tribe, called Martins, had clung to the toll-table, against the turnpike house, at Whalley, in Yorkshire; those again had others covering them, four or five in thickness, all of whom seemed quite in a torpid state; several dozens were stroked off the board, and those taken up appeared completely lifeless, until about seven this morning, when the sun's warmth caused re-animation, and they gradually moved off to the water-side, a distance of about 30 yards; in a short time afterwards they began to skim the surface of the water, and fly with the usual vigour of those birds.

This morning, about one o'clock, a dreadful fire <sup>17th.</sup> broke out at Hungerford, Berks, and before assistance could be procured, ten houses were completely destroyed.

A singular swan was lately shot by John Kirkup, groom to sir Wilfred Lawson, bart. of Brayton house, which weighed eighteen pounds and a half. It measured across the wings eight feet two inches, and in height six feet one inch. It is of a remarkable colour, and is supposed to be the largest ever seen in Cumberland.

This being the anniversary of Dr. Jenner's birth-day, the friends of the Royal Jennerian society held their annual festival at the London tavern, at which were present about 300 persons, including the duke of York, the earls of Westmoreland and Egremont, prince Castalcicala, doctor Jenner, and many of the most eminent of the medical profession. After a variety

of loyal and appropriate toasts, the health of the illustrious chairman, the duke of York, was given; when his royal highness was pleased to say, "Gentlemen, I have, from the first institution of the society, been a warm friend to it, from a conviction that it must be of unspeakable benefit to mankind. I am sorry to learn that some misrepresentations, from interested and sceptical individuals, have thrown a temporary damp upon it, and in some measure retarded its well-intended exertions; but, I have no doubt, it will soon evince to the world, that the advantages resulting from it, are above all opposition, and that its good effects will speedily be extended to every quarter of the globe. No man can more completely wish its success than I do; I request you will accept my thanks for the very flattering manner in which you have proposed my health, and give me leave to drink your's in return." This short address was received with rapturous applause.

Dr. Lettsom, in an animated speech, observed, "As the small-pox is the most loathsome and fatal disease that afflicts the human race, it might have been supposed that, when inoculation was first introduced into this country, it would have been adopted with general consent; but unfortunately it was but partially encouraged; in consequence of which, it increased the fatality of the small pox, by increasing infection; insomuch that, during the 42 years after the introduction of inoculation, the deaths in London by the small pox were upwards of 1700 more than in the 42 preceding years. At length, however, the discovery of the cow

pock by Dr. Jenner, has put it into our power completely to exterminate the small pox; and, from its safety and security, it was natural to conclude, that all parents would feel an ardour to save their children, by gratefully accepting a blessing, which would for ever protect them from the worst species of pestilence.

"That this sentiment did very generally prevail, was obvious from the decrease of deaths in the metropolis; for, from the average number of 2500, it gradually fell to 1200, to 1000, and in 1804 to little above 500 in the year by the small pox.

"To the honour of the medical profession, this new discovery, which was calculated to annihilate their greatest pecuniary source of emolument, was very generally encouraged by them. Unfortunately, however, for these kingdoms, two professional gentlemen in this city, the only physicians I believe in the world, not only opposed vaccination, but widely circulated unfounded assertions against it, and even advertised gratuitous inoculation for the small pox. These occurrences took place early in 1805; and the deaths by the small pox hence rapidly increased, and a greater number of infants perished in 40 days, than during the whole preceding year, insomuch that for many successive months there died one infant by the small pox in every two hours, including both night and day. Lamentable is it to add, that the governors of the hospital for inoculation adopted the same practice; and in one year this infectious pestilence was communicated to 2300 persons, and in the vicinity of the most populous city;

in Europe; thus generating a pestilence, the extent and fatality of which cannot be ascertained; for this pestilence, whilst apparently dormant, retains its active malignancy for a series of years.

“ At the moment of adopting this baneful practice, the governors circulated the following resolution of a general court, ‘ that vaccination might, under divine Providence, have prevented the calamity of the increased fatality of the small pox.’ After this avowal of a truth, they recommended the inoculation of the small pox, in consequence ‘ of the prejudices and ill-founded objections against inoculation.’ These are their own words and mode of reasoning; and every person would be indulgent to prejudices that do not militate against the safety and happiness of the community. Like the amiable Fontenelle, I would say, ‘ if both my hands were filled with truths,’ under such circumstances, ‘ I would open but one at a time.’ But this does not apply to prejudices, the indulgence of which is productive of public injury; for, if reason were always subservient to prejudice, neither improvement nor reformation would ever have enlightened the world. When Constantine the great overcame the prejudices of paganism, and embraced christianity, the Romans pleaded their prejudices in favour of combats by gladiators; but the emperor immediately interdicted them, although they were infinitely less fatal than the small pox. It is indeed a strange climax in our policy, that, whilst we incur a considerable expence in maintaining the laws of quarantine against the infections of the plague and yellow fever, we

are at a considerable expence in supporting a public institution for keeping up a pestilence more dangerous and fatal than the plague and yellow fever combined. What should we think of the Egyptians, should they publicly support a pest-house for generating the plague; or the Americans for disseminating the yellow fever? We may hope, however, that the governors of the hospital for inoculation, who are persons of the highest respectability, will ultimately discourage prejudices inimical to the community; for, as long as they continue to inoculate the small pox, and give a sanction to the practice, the extermination of this pestilence will never be effected: but, with their support, and our exertions, with those of other similar institutions, we may ultimately witness this happy consummation. This society alone has vaccinated 20,000 persons, and distributed upwards of 20,000 charges of the vaccine fluid, since the last report only. Thus, by its efforts, not only these kingdoms, but nearly all parts of the world, have been supplied with this salutiferous dew of heaven, the good effects of which will, I hope, be related by some person more competent to its history. We are thus become the centre of communication; and all nations look up to us for instruction. With these brilliant prospects before us, like a skilful general, who, in order to ensure success, increases his exertions the nearer he approaches to victory; so it becomes us to persevere in the glorious cause we have espoused. And although our expenditure has necessarily exceeded our income, the liberal support and donations we

we now hope for will enable us to triumph over the most insidious and malignant enemy of the human race."

The Rev. Rowland Hill then addressed the company, with regard to the salutary effects of vaccination; and to offer a few striking facts that had taken place under his own immediate observation. He then said, "I have myself inoculated upwards of 5000 subjects; and I have not failed in a single instance. I have also made every inquiry in all those parts of the country which I have occasionally visited, and I have uniformly received the most favourable and flattering accounts of the good effects resulting from it wherever it has been introduced. It is calculated that not less than 40,000 persons die yearly of that pestilential disease, the small pox; and I think it will well become the legislature to inquire how far men ought to be suffered to be thus the means of killing themselves. It is one of the primary blessings of this island that it is a land of liberty; but it is at the same time a great pity that we should thus have liberty to kill one another. I have felt this sentiment most sensibly; and, in addition to the number I have myself inoculated, I have so warmly recommended the practice in the chapel I possess on the other side of the water, that upwards of 4000 more have been inoculated, who have all done well; and thus I may say, I have been the means of inoculating 10,000; so that, on the average of one in six dying, I have had the happiness to preserve the lives of about 1600 of his majesty's subjects. Strange to tell, there are persons, and those too men of breed-

ing and education, which ought to have taught them better things; medical men, who, to raise themselves from oblivion, would wish to rise to fame on the ruins of this benevolent institution, and by the continuance of one of the greatest scourges with which human nature was ever afflicted. These men, I am sorry to say, circulate the grossest misrepresentations and falsehoods against vaccination, through the medium of low and illiberal pamphlets. One of these redoubtable authors has told us, in the effervescence of his wisdom, 'that vaccination may be performed as well by a fool as a philosopher.' The number of men who die annually of the small pox in this kingdom would man three ships of the line, form three regiments, or turn into the fields so many hundreds of stout labourers. What a consideration!"

The health of Dr. Jenner having been enthusiastically given; he thus addressed the company: "Gentlemen, I beg leave to offer you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in drinking my health, and for the very flattering manner in which that honour has been conferred. After the very animated speech of his royal highness the duke of York, our illustrious chairman, on the subject of vaccination, and the very important information conveyed to us in the admirable oration of my worthy friend Dr. Lettsom, but little remains for me to say on the subject. I cannot, however, sit down without informing you, that I continue to receive from every quarter of the globe the most agreeable information respecting the progress of vaccination; and these accounts

have been equally satisfactory from whatever quarter they have arrived. I can safely aver, it would be difficult to point out a spot, however remote, where its influence has not been felt. It has pervaded all parts of the civilized world, from the north to the south; from the Ganges to the Mississippi. But gentlemen, while I exultingly communicate this intelligence, equally flattering to your feelings as to mine, it is a matter of great regret to me, that here, in this metropolis, in the very centre of the British empire, vaccination proceeds with a comparatively languid and tardy step. To what cause, gentlemen, can this be ascribed? You will ascribe it to no other than the insidious effects of a few interested individuals, who, by distributing their delusive papers, have too well succeeded in contaminating the minds of the lower orders of society. I will not suffer myself to believe that these effects have been extended beyond this class; and to those who know something of the nature of the human mind, how poor must their triumph appear!—Hitherto I have avoided taking any public notice of the publications alluded to: I have no reason to regret it, as the task of refutation has been so ably performed by many enlightened and philanthropic individuals, both in and out of the profession. But, gentlemen, a charge of a specific nature having been brought forth in one of these productions, wherein I am named as having failed in a series of vaccinations in the West of England, I think it a duty incumbent on me now to declare to you, that not a single individual there mentioned, and who is subsequently said to

have had the small pox, was ever vaccinated by me. After this declaration, I leave you to make your own comments on the whole of this very extraordinary publication.” This unaffected and interesting address was received with loud and reiterated plaudits.

Mr. Murray the secretary, according to the usual custom, read the report of the annual general court, which stated, that the number of persons inoculated at the central house, and other stations in the metropolis, since the last annual report, is 6,560, making the total, since the commencement of the institution in 1803, 19,471 persons; and that 19,182 charges of vaccine matter had been supplied, free of expence from the central house alone, since the period of the last report; which great supply of vaccine virus much exceeding that of former years, affords a strong presumption that the Jennerian inoculation has considerably increased.

The secretary also read a communication from T. Parry, esq. an East-India director, informing the society, that the practice of vaccine inoculation had been introduced at Macao and Canton in China, under the auspices of an English Mandarin, sir George Staunton, with such success, as to promise to save the lives of millions of people in that extensive empire.

Mr. Ring read an English translation of a Latin letter from Dr. John Reys, of Mackow, in Poland, addressed to “Dr. Jenner, the illustrious exterminator of that pestilential disorder the small pox;” in which he compliments the doctor highly for his discovery; wishes that joy and festivity may prevail on his birth-day; requests to be enrolled



enrolled among the honorary members of the society; and "to be favoured with a portrait of Dr. Jenner, and a small slip of cloth of the colour he most delights in, that Dr. Reynolds and his friends might be able to wear coats of that same colour on the 17th of May, the birthday of Dr. Jenner."

The earl of Egremont, one of the earliest and most ardent supporters of vaccination, bore testimony to various misrepresentations and falsehoods circulated in his neighbourhood respecting the practice.

The increase of the population of Newfoundland has been so great within these few years past, and that population consisting principally of Irish Catholics, it has been deemed necessary that the president of the missionaries in that part of his majesty's dominions, should be raised to the episcopal dignity. The first who enjoyed that high station is the venerable and Right Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, whose exertions have been so great, that his majesty has been induced to settle on him a pension for life. This gentleman having arrived at a very advanced age, and anxious to spend his last days in tranquillity and ease, determined to return to his native country; and Dr. Lambert, for many years an exemplary and useful resident in the convent at Wexford, was consecrated to the episcopal office, and is shortly to proceed to that distant colony, to superintend the mission there. The ceremony of consecration was extremely solemn, and well calculated to inspire awe and veneration.

18th. WEYMOUTH.—Last night was landed at the Custom-house the last chest of dollars from the

wreck of the Abergavenny which completed the 62 chests recovered by Mr. Braithwaite, who, with much perseverance and ingenuity, has succeeded. The total of the 62 chests is about 70,000*l.* value. He is going to proceed immediately on the cargo.

This morning, about ten o'clock, a boy named Francis was drowned off Strand-lane. He was cleaning the top of the cabin of a barge, and fell over-board.

A court of directors of the East-India company was held 20th. at three o'clock, which continued to sit until nine in the evening, to deliberate on the propriety of recalling sir G. Barlow from the seat of government in India, and the appointment of lord Lauderdale in his stead; when a division took place, and there appeared, for the recal of sir G. Barlow and the appointment of lord Lauderdale, *four*,—Against it, *eighteen*.

The wet dock at Leith was opened for the admission of vessels, on the 20th of May, with great pomp. This dock, the first of the kind in North Britain, has been wholly executed within high-water mark, which added greatly to the difficulty and expense of the undertaking. The space occupied by the dock is above five acres, but including the ground on its sides and ends, upwards of fifteen acres have been taken from the sea; on these parts it is proposed to construct graving docks, building slips, sheds, and warehouses.

The sea wall of this dock being exposed to the accumulated swell from the German ocean, required to be very strong; it is accordingly one of the strongest pieces of masonry we have seen, and is wholly

wholly composed of large Ashler stones, from a quarry at Rosyth, belonging to the Earl of Hopetoun, laid in a mortar of pozzolano. The stones on the outside of the wall are bound together by chain-bars of iron, inserted in the different courses horizontally, and connected by vertical bars of the same metal; thus uniting the whole in one common mass. The binding the work in this manner with iron was a very necessary measure, as during the building of the wall, it frequently happened, that stones of several tons weight were displaced by the heavy eastern swell. The quay walls, and those of the entrance lock, are also fine masonry pieces of masonry, and the whole are so constructed, that every stone forms part of an arch.

This dock is only the first part of a most magnificent plan, extending to Newhaven, where the principal entrance is intended to be made to the largest dock, which will have depth of water sufficient to contain frigates of the first size; and the whole, when completed, will form one of the finest ranges of docks in the world.

The present dock, and other works connected with it, have occupied five years in the execution, the first stone having been laid on the 14th of May, 1801, under the magistracy of Sir William Fettes, who has also had the singular good fortune to see the work finished, and to preside on the present occasion.

The plans of this work are the production of Mr. John Rennie, of London, civil engineer, and they have been executed under the superintendance of Mr. John Patterson.

A guard of the Argyleshire, Aberdeenshire, and Galloway mi-

litas, lined the streets, and kept the quays of the docks; and it gives us much pleasure to add, that no accident happened on the occasion.

A few days ago, the dairy-<sup>21ft.</sup>maid at Bayham Abbey, in Suffex, the seat of lord Camden, threw herself into the moat, and was drowned. Verdict, lunacy.

PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.—As capt. Jones, of the royal Flintshire militia, quartered at Hythe, who had that morning accompanied the regiment to field-exercise, on the heights near Folkestone, was standing with several officers, near the edge of the cliffs, the earth suddenly gave way under him; in consequence of which he was instantly precipitated to the distance of 28 yards, in an oblique direction from the top; but was most providentially stopped in his fall, by a small abutment on the surface of the rock, against which his foot accidentally struck. In this dreadful situation he lay suspended near a quarter of an hour, without daring to move, before any effectual assistance could be rendered him. Scarcely, however, had this distressing circumstance occurred, when Thomas Roberts, a private in the regiment, alarmed at the truly perilous condition of his officer, endeavoured, at the obvious risk of his own life, to extricate him; but, unfortunately, in the attempt, literally fell from the top to the bottom of this tremendous precipice, being a distance of 549 feet (of which 261 feet were quite perpendicular.) Providentially, the latter in his fall did not touch the captain, who, anxious to save him, had already extended his hand to him for that purpose. During this interval, a rope

rope was expeditiously procured from the signal-house ; and a noose being made at one end, it was lowered to the foot where captain J. lay ; when he, with much difficulty, succeeded in fastening it round his body ; and was thus gradually drawn up by the spectators, who still for some time doubted the possibility of rescuing him ; however, at length he happily escaped without having sustained any material injury. The soldier, (though terribly cut and bruised in the head and various parts of the body) was taken up alive, and without a single bone being fractured, on the beach, near a stone-quarry, and immediately conveyed to the regimental hospital at Hythe ; where, to the utter astonishment of every one, he is now able to walk about, and is declared by the surgeon of the regiment out of all immediate danger. The height of the cliff, having since been accurately taken by an officer of the regiment, is found by actual admeasurement as follows:

	Yards.	Feet.
Oblique distance of cap.		
Jones's fall	— 28	or 84
Perpendicular height		
from the above point		
downwards	— 87	or 261
Remainder (again oblique)		
to the base	— 63	or 204
	—————	
	183	or 549

Relative to the human phenomenon, Mr. Daniel Lambert, of Leicester, now exhibiting himself in Piccadilly, we have been favoured with the following correct particulars. This extraordinary man is about 36 years of age ; five feet eleven inches high ; and his weight is upwards of fifty stone, fourteen pounds

to the stone. He enjoys perfect health and vigour ; his breathing is free and easy ; his sleep undisturbed, to which he has no extraordinary propensity ; and he eats common food, and drinks water only. His immense bulk arises from a vast accumulation of fat within the abdomen, and in the adipose membrane under the skin. The tumefaction of the thighs, legs, and feet, is enormous. The arms and hands do not much exceed the usual proportion in fat persons. All the functions of the body are in good order. He never felt pain or uneasiness from the stretching of the skin. In the progress of its distension, however, he has four or five times had an erysipelatous inflammation of the legs, which in a week or two was removed by proper treatment, but has been succeeded by a scaldiness and thickening of the skin. His bulk has increased gradually from twenty years of age. His father and uncle were both large men ; but the weight of either did not exceed thirty stone.

A boat belonging to the grand junction company arrived at Mr. Homer's Paddington wharf, which has been fitted up in Northamptonshire, for the purpose of bringing, at once, near 100 live fat sheep to the London market. This being the first attempt of the kind, it excited considerable curiosity. It consisted of a common canal boat, that had, by way of ballast, a lading of ten tons of lime-stone ; on this there were two slight decks, at a proper distance above each other, and a roof of thin boards above, to shoot off the rain : the space between each of the decks was divided by sliding boards into near

near fifty separate pens, so that each sheep had a distinct one to itself, in which he could either stand or lie down at pleasure. On the arrival of the barge alongside the wharf, the sliding boards at the side of the boat, and between the pens, were taken out, and the sheep jumped on the wharf in a few minutes. The boat left Braunston on the 20th, at three o'clock, and in 53 hours arrived, after a journey of upwards of 95 miles. It is expected that a boat laden with sheep will weekly arrive in future.

24th. A dreadful fire happened in Langford this day, which consumed in its progress two breweries, and above fifty dwelling-houses.

Two children, brother and sister, the boy about ten, the girl seven years of age, while playing a few evenings ago, near the new dock at Leith, both fell in. There was eight feet water in the dock at the time; when captain Nash, of the impress service, and a private of the Argyleshire militia, named Frow, were let down with ropes round their bodies, and succeeded in preserving the sufferers, after they had both disappeared.

This morning, a pleasure-boat was nearly upset in Blackwall reach, by tacking about; and a lad, named Smith, being struck by the main-sail, was forced overboard, and drowned. A similar accident happened on Thursday at Bugby's hole, in the same neighbourhood.

The same day, a man who attempted to undress the body of a labourer, who died by suffocation a few days since, in consequence of sleeping by a brick-kiln near town, in order to put it in a shell, was so

overcome by the effluvia, that he was deprived of his senses, and soon expired.

An accident happened this day to Mr. Charles Buxton, on his return from Epsom. Mr. B. in his phaeton and four, overtook a friend in a barouche, drawn by the same number of horses; and a determination being manifested to try the speed of the horses and the skill of the drivers, a race was the consequence. At Ewel, on turning a corner, Mr Buxton's phaeton was upset, and he and Mr. Hugh Atkins, a Russia broker, were thrown out with such violence, that each gentleman, strange to say, had a thigh broken and three ribs.

This morning, about two or three o'clock, a man and 25th. woman were seen walking, arm in arm, deliberately down Bridge-street, Blackfriars, and separated at the stairs of the bridge. The woman soon after, walked on the projection under the coping of the bridge, as far as the third lamp, and then threw herself on the bed of the river; and it being low water, she was killed on the spot.

An unfortunate affair happened in Falmouth this day. As some men attempted to escape from the hired armed ship Humber, in contempt of the threats of the lieutenant of that ship, who repeatedly declared he would fire upon them if they did not return, that officer discharged a musket, and shot one of them through the heart. The coroner's jury who investigated the affair returned a verdict of *accidental death*.

Government have given directions for the application of a part of Haul-Bowling Island, Cork, to naval purposes. Several acres of  
the

the island are appropriated to the erection of naval store-houses, and the work will be speedily undertaken. This project, which will afford such facilities of repair to his Majesty's ships upon this station, or such as may by adverse weather or other circumstances be driven into this harbour, originated with admiral lord Gardner, and will be completed principally, or perhaps altogether, by his direction. The undertaking is of infinite utility: it secures king's ships from the casualties incident to a voyage in a disabled state to Plymouth or Portsmouth, or from a dependence on the naval depot at Kinsale, whence a ship in blowing or stormy weather could derive little assistance, as the service of supplying her was generally effected by failing boats. The establishment of a naval store in Hawl-Bowling Island, will always, under any circumstances, or disadvantages of weather, insure speedy and efficient aid to his Majesty's ships. The depth of water will permit ships to approach to within a very short distance of the island, where they can lie in perfect security.

27th. Last week a dreadful hurricane occurred at Sunderland, accompanied with thunder and hail. The shipping in the harbour, which amounted to near 500 sail, were thrown into extreme danger and confusion; many were damaged, and several driven ashore and shipwrecked, as were a number of boats.

This day, at a bear-baiting in Tothill-fields, one of the bears having broke loose, fastened upon a person of the name of Shawe, whom he tore very much with his paws, and would have destroyed

him, but for the assistance of the people.

MR. ELWYN'S PICTURES.—A selection of the choicest pictures of this celebrated collector was brought on Friday to the hammer; annexed are the prices of the principal pictures:—

	<i>Guineas.</i>
<i>Teniers</i> —A landscape, with the Chateau of the painter, to Mr. Slater, for . . .	450
<i>Wouverman</i> —A grand Hawking, to Mr. Duncombe . . .	900
<i>P. Veronese</i> —Mars and Venus united by Love, to Lord Breadalbane . . .	320
<i>L. Da Vinci</i> —Madona and Child, to ditto . . .	670
<i>N. Poussin</i> —A Landscape . . .	430
<i>Rubens</i> —His old Nurse by Candlelight, to Mr. Beckford . . . . .	2200
<i>Ditto</i> — Conversion of St. Paul, to Mr. Beckford . . .	4000

On board the Union East India-man, lately arrived in the London docks, is a dog from St Helena with two noses; and on board the Eolus, lying along side her, are a beautiful young lions and tigress, the latter is fastened by a rope on the quarter deck, and is so tame, that a stranger may with safety handle it. There are also on board the same vessel, a black sheep with six horns, and a great variety of birds, all from the river Plata.

The late tempest was in many parts of Wales particularly violent and extensive. At Monmouth, the elements seemed to be in a perfect blaze; though the claps of thunder, which followed the lightning, were not so loud as might have been expected.—At Landoga on the Wye, near Monmouth, a piece of meadow ground

was

was covered over with loose stones, which the convulsion brought down from the surrounding heights, amounting in weight to nearly 1000 tons.

Last Wednesday night, about a quarter past ten, the long coach which conveys passengers from the Mail-coach Office, Dawson-street, Dublin, to the packets at the Pigeon-house, was stopped by ten or more persons, armed with blunderbusses, pistols, and swords, at the other side of the Canal Bridge, near a lime-kiln at the Low Ground, who robbed all the passengers, about seven or eight. The villains obliged the passengers to come from the carriage, and rifled them as they came out, commanding them to turn their faces to a wall that was near, immediately after plundering them, that they should not have an opportunity of observing their persons. Lord Cahir and Mr. George Latouche were two of the passengers: from his lordship they took about 400*l.* and it is said 70 guineas from Mr. Latouche. They robbed the other passengers of money, and also carried off some light packages from them. A small box, which contained some of their articles, was found next morning at the common of Kilmainham, to which place it is supposed they retired after the robbery to divide the spoil.

A soldier lately returned from the Indies is now at Tuddenham, who says, he was present at the death of Joseph Clark, whilst abroad; and that he confessed to him that he committed the robbery and set fire to the house of Mrs. Syer, at Hadleigh, for which Sarah Lloyd, the servant maid, with whom he intrigued, and who ad-

mitted him into the house, was executed.

Seven waggons loaded with casks of specie have arrived at the bank of England, under the escort of a party of light horse. The casks contain the 400,000*l.* in dollars, sent since from the bank to Hanover, and which was luckily got away before the Prussians took possession of that place.

The directors of the East India company took the sense of a general court of proprietors upon their late proceedings, which decided, by 18 against 4, for the continuance of sir George Barlow, and of course the rejection of the earl of Lauderdale. At the general court for this purpose, the following resolution was taken by ballot:—

“That this court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approves of the zeal manifested, and the conduct pursued, by the court of directors; and regards a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the court of directors to be indispensibly necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the court of directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of the public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion; measures which the legislature has declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy, of the nation. And this court doth assure the court of directors of its most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East-India company.”

At

At six o'clock, the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who reported the numbers to be,

For the question . . . 928  
 Against it . . . 195  
 Majority . . . ———733

EVREUX.—Last Sunday a tragical event happened in this town, which caused a great sensation. Captain Combet, aid de camp to general Laroche, was killed by a jealous husband, who surprized him with his wife. The lady had been charged with, and at length confessed an intimacy with the adulterer; a last interview was suggested by the husband himself for his wife to acquaint Combet of her penitence and future fidelity to her husband. The parties met in an apartment, where the husband, unknown to either of them, had concealed himself, and where a repetition of guilt, instead of penitence, ensued; which so enraged the husband, that, bursting from his hiding place, he seized a large knife, and stabbed Combet to the heart.

DIED.—At Brompton, after a short illness, aged 44 years, Mr. Palmer. He was a man of uncommon corpulency, and was induced, about three weeks since, to go to London, in order to see that prodigy of bulk and fatness, Mr. Lambert. Mr. Palmer weighed about twenty-five stone, or 350 pounds; and although five men, of moderate size, have been buttoned in his waistcoat, he was comparatively of diminutive size when placed by the side of Mr. Lambert. The windows of the tap-room were obliged to be taken out on Sunday, to admit of the corpse being taken from the house; from which to the place of interment it was

carried in a waggon, as no hearse could be procured which would have been sufficiently capacious to admit the coffin into it.

3d. At his house in Sloane-street, Chelsea, after a few days illness, in his 48th year, sir Richard Ford, knt. chief magistrate of the Bow-street Police-office, also of the Police of the county of Middlesex, and acting magistrate for the secretary of state's office.

8th. At Melksham, Wilts, where she had for some time resided, Mrs. Anne Yearly, well known in the poetical world as a self-instructed votary of the muses, under the name of "The milk woman of Bristol." She possessed an extraordinary degree of genius, and an extensive and rare information and abilities, seldom found in the obscure path of life in which she originally moved.

11th. At Enfield Chace Side, aged 73, John Buckley, formerly a watch-maker in London. He was the last of the sect of the Muggletonians.

23th. At South Shields, aged 103, Margaret Tate, who could see to read a newspaper to within two days of her death.

At Lightcliffe, near Halifax, Mr. W. Tate, gardener, aged 93. He was attended to his grave by upwards of 70 children, grand, and great grand children. His wife, who is now living, is in her 92d year, and has been married upwards of 67 years.

At Knutsford, aged 104, Mrs. Sarah Fisher.

At Modcombe, Mrs. Frances Broadway. She died, as she lived, with an undaunted courage, and a firm confidence, grounded on the principles of christianity. She was certainly a most singular character; a lawyer, a divine, and a judge in her

her family ; all submitted to her superior judgment, all appeared to fear and love her to the last, even to the third and fourth generations. She had 300 in her family ; her children, grand children, great grand children, and great great grand children, with their wives and husbands. About 30 died before her : and there are left 270. She was near 95, and she retained her senses to the last.

At Newington-house, Benjamin Bell, esq. a writer of distinguished eminence on the art of surgery.

At Maglafs, county of Kerry, at the great age of 120 years, Sarah O'Leary.

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## JUNE.

1st. LYONS. — The following occurrence is mentioned in the French papers. Two women who arrived at Lyons from St. Lambert on the 28th of April, passed the night there. On the following morning they pursued their journey, over mountains covered with snow. After having walked a long way, they perceived they had gone astray. They wandered for upwards of three hours over rocks and brambles. Having reached the summit of the mountain, they were descending to the other side, which was a perfect precipice, and becoming entangled among the rocks which overhung the precipice, were within two yards of destruction, when they halted, either through fatigue, or a forewarning of their danger, and exclaimed, "O God ! help, help !" A man of the name of Rosslet, who lived at the other side of the precipice, cried out to them, " Stir

not a step, or you are dead." By a bye path, he soon reached the top of the rock, and there found the women speechless through terror. He instantly endeavoured to place one of them out of danger ; but as he was assisting her, she fainted away. Rosslet recovered her, and instantly proceeded to help the other woman ; but he had scarcely advanced three steps, when the ice which had collected under his wooden shoes caused him to slip ; he immediately disappeared, and was found dead at the bottom of the precipice.

Mr. T. Lloyd, second lieutenant of the Dreadnought 4th man of war, lying at Portsmouth, accompanied some brother officers to Kingston, where, after taking a few glasses of wine, the joke went merrily round, and Mr. L. in the height of good humour, wished his companions to go with him to the church yard, as he had a particular desire to fix on a spot where he should like his body to be buried. His wish was complied with ; and after having pointed out a spot of ground, all the officers returned on board : soon after which, Mr. L. was taken ill of a pain in his bowels, and went to bed, having taken some warm nourishment. The next morning he was found dead in his bed ; and the body was this day interred in Kingston churchyard, agreeably to his wishes when alive.

This morning, about three o'clock, a fire broke out at 5th the Key hotel, Chandos-street, Covent-garden, which in a short time was burnt to the ground. The house was a bagnio of the first description, and the most frequented of any in the metropolis. The following circumstances came out before



fore the coroner's jury, sitting on the body of a gentleman who perished in the flames. The inquisition was taken on the 6th, at the White Lion, Hemming's-row, St. Martin's-lane, before Anthony Gell, esq. coroner for Westminster.

George Thorpe, waiter at the Key bagnio, stated that the deceased, with a lady, came to the house (which was kept for the present by a Mr. Hamerton) at twelve at night, on the 4th of June; the gentleman appeared to be very much inebriated; and, after having been a short time in the house, supper was served up in a bed-room. After the cloth had been cleared, the gentleman said he should go, but the bell rung soon after, for the chamber-maid to assist in undressing the lady. The deceased, on the maid's entering the room, was lying prostrate on the floor, by the bed-side. The chamber-maid left the room at a quarter before three o'clock, and a quarter after three witness heard a violent screaming. He repaired to the landing-place on the first floor, where the lady, in her *chemise* only, was standing with a candle, the bed-room being in one entire blaze. She begged of the witness to save the gentleman; but the flames issued so rapidly from the room, that he durst not attempt to enter. The house was divided, and in that part where the fire broke out, none but the deceased and his companion slept, except a domestic in the attic story. It was some time before the other part of the house caught fire; and consequently by the alarm which the witness and the chamber-maid kept up, the other companies had time for flight.

Jane Devaynes, (who stated her

name to be so, but who has for several years been known about the theatres by the names of Kemble and Stirling) stated, that she was in company with the deceased at the Key. Her first acquaintance with him was accidental, on Whitmonday last; since which time he had almost daily visited her, at her apartments in York-street, Mary-le-bone. He came to her residence at ten o'clock at night, on the 4th inst. and was then inebriated. He insisted on sending for three bottles of wine, one of which was drunk; witness had put the other two on her side-board, thinking her companion had had enough. In the evening they took a coach, and repaired to the Key, which house, the deceased said, he was well acquainted with. She then related the circumstances of her going to bed, and being alarmed, as described by the waiter. Witness said she knew nothing of the deceased's name, nor where he lived. He had a great deal of paper property about him, which he had shewn to her in the evening. She always considered him to be a clergyman.

Elizabeth Hannam, chamber-maid at the Key, corroborated what had fallen from the preceding witnesses.

Mrs. Clark, (the late hostess at the Key) only knew the deceased personally.

A Miss Llewellyn gave an account of the deceased visiting her; but she knew not his name. He was a man of low stature, sometimes dressed meanly, and wore his hair curled in one curl, with powder.

There being no further evidence to throw any light upon the subject,

ject, the jury returned a verdict of  
—*Accidental death.*

It has been since stated, and it is feared with too much truth, that the gentleman who was thus burnt to death, was a Mr. Garner, who kept an academy in Brompton-row, on the high road leading to Fulham. Mr. Garner was a widower, and it is said, a few months since paid his addresses to a young lady of considerable pecuniary expectations; but meeting with a repulse, it is supposed that the disappointment affected his intellects, as his subsequent conduct evinced strong symptoms of derangement.

6th. As Thomas Velley, esq. F.L.S. late lieut. col. of the Oxfordshire militia, and long a resident in Bath, was travelling in a double bodied stage coach this evening, it stopped at the Castle Inn, Reading, and while the coachman was going in to refresh himself the horses set off without him. Mr. Velley, alarmed at his situation, jumped out, and fell with the back part of his head so violently against the ground, as to occasion a concussion of the brain. He languished in a state of insensibility for two days, when he expired. Mrs. V. on her way from Bath, with medical assistance for her unfortunate husband, was stopped by three footpads, on her entrance into Reading in a post chaise, between 11 and 12 the next night; but just as she was about to deliver her money, a coach came up and the villains made off over the fields without effecting their purpose.

An extract of a private letter from Naples, of this date, says, "On the 31st of last month we enjoyed the spectacle of an eruption

of Vesuvius. A column of very black smoke rose from the crater about ten o'clock; flashes now and then burst from this column; at length the eruption appeared in a mass of flame of immense diameter, and occupying the whole vast extent of the crater. This mass was kept up by successive emissions of whitish flame, which, as it rose into the air, assumed a more intense red colour. Ignited or melted substances were projected with violence above this body of fire, and often fell beyond the circumference of the crater. At midnight there was not as yet any current of lava, but frequent rumblings were heard. —On the 1st of June the eruption continued the whole morning, and we resolved to visit the mountain the following night.—We set out at eight in the evening. We took horse at Resina, near the descent to Herculaneum, and proceeded towards the residence of the hermit. The house in which he lives is situated near the southern peak of Mount Somma, being an easy ride of an hour and a half from Resina. —On leaving the hermitage, we proceeded across the valley which separates Somma from Vesuvius, and is known by the appellation of Atrio del Cavallo. It is of no great depth, being almost entirely filled with the lavas of successive eruptions, piled one above another. At length we reached the foot of Vesuvius, where we left our horses, and began to ascend on foot.—The declivity is very steep, and difficult of ascent, on account of the moveable nature of the ground on which you walk, being nothing but a mixture of ashes and fragments of lava, without consistency. At length we reached the summit, and arrived

arrived at one of the edges of the crater.—We had been lighted the whole way by eruptions of the mountain, which were projected to a very great height. Violent rumblings, that were continually heard, added to the grandeur and awfulness of the spectacle, which appeared much more beautiful and majestic from the point to which we had climbed with so much difficulty.—Suspended as it were on the brink of the crater, nothing interposed to prevent our view of the eruptions. We beheld immense masses of flame issuing almost from under our feet, rising above the clouds, and carrying with them, to the same height, showers of ignited stones which generally descended, nearly in a perpendicular direction, into the very mouth of the crater; but sometimes falling beyond its brink, rebounded around us, and rolled, red hot, down the declivity which we had climbed. Columns of fire, clouds of smoke, and showers of stones, succeeded each other without interruption, accompanied by continual subterraneous noises; the bowels of the mountain seemed convulsed; the ground on which we stood shook, and threatened to sink beneath our feet. Never had we beheld a more melancholy image of the convulsions of nature; and notwithstanding the risk we incurred from the continual falling of the stones, we could scarcely be prevailed on to leave it.—Our guides, who were better judges of the danger than ourselves, now became alarmed, and urged us to descend. The violence of the volcano had increased since we reached the summit; and the power that presides over the place seemed inclined to punish us for

our audacity, and for having presumed to violate his tremendous abode. We accordingly descended, and in a few minutes arrived at the *Arrio del Cavallo*. We were out of the reach of danger, and were enabled to contemplate, without apprehension, the objects by which we were surrounded. What an admirable spectacle! Over our head, the volcano, with its smoking lava rushing down the sides of the mountain; before us the sea smooth and calm; the full moon with her mild beams at the extremity of the horizon; the clouds and the smoke wafted around the summit of the mountain, and concealing, for a few moments, the vast conflagration, which appeared again more lively and more brilliant: this succession of lights and shades, this contrast of turbulence and tranquillity, this solitude in the midst of such a vast convulsion, produced a multitude of contrary impressions that cannot be described, but the recollection of which will never be erased. We returned about four in the morning to Naples, having spent eight hours in the excursion. On the second, the eruption continued the whole day with much greater violence than before; two currents of lava were formed; one of these stopped in the morning; the other, taking an eastern course, spread with great rapidity, and deluged the plain. As our excursion of the preceding night had not enabled us to form any idea concerning the progress of the lava, we set out again to observe this extraordinary phenomenon. Passing through the villages of *Portici*, *Resina*, and *Torre del Greco*, we entered inclosures, consisting of vineyards, and cornfields, into which the lava

lava had penetrated : we approached the current, and I was astonished to find the progress of the lava so different from the conception I had formed of it. I had always imagined that the substance of the lava, resembling melted glass, ran in the same manner, and advanced uniformly like a river of fire ; and indeed it is extremely probable that in a great number of eruptions it actually exhibits this appearance. On the present occasion, I saw nothing but an accumulation of stones, some of which were of prodigious magnitude, heaped one upon another, to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and about half a mile in breadth. This formidable mass advanced slowly, following a progression produced solely by the falling of the different bodies, between which there was no adhesion, and which, in obedience to the impulsion they had received on issuing from the crater, rolled from the most elevated point, and covered the surface of another stratum. In this manner the stones rolled over, one upon another, till the front rank having attained the same height as that which produced it, began in its turn to pour down the ignited bodies that came tumbling upon it. All this intestine motion was accompanied with a noise resembling the decrepitation of salts, but much more loud and brisk. The fire was fed by various combustible matters, as sulphur, bitumen, and metals, which might be known by their flames ; but there was no appearance of complete fusion or of the commencement of it. The stones resisted the pressure of a stick, which I several times endeavoured, but in vain, to thrust into them. Meanwhile the

devastation occasioned by the progress of this torrent presented a horrid spectacle. The trees which supported the vines, and the vines themselves, were burned by the extreme heat of this mass of matter, even before it reached them ; and the bright clear light produced by their combustion, indicated the exact contour of the progress of the lava. The walls of inclosures, and of houses, calcined by the heat, crumbled to pieces before this moving mountain, or were thrown down by the force of the impulsion. Sometimes, however, instead of overturning an obstacle, the lava turned aside, and left it standing ; for this variety of action it is impossible to assign any reason. After we had contemplated this dismal and astonishing sight, we went up to the convent of the Camaldulenses, situated on a kind of peak, of considerable height, that overlooks the whole plain, which extends from the south to the west, from the foot of Mount Vesuvius to the sea. This building has hitherto been spared, as well as the thick wood in which it is embosomed. It is one of the nearest points to Vesuvius, and that from which you are best able to discover and trace the progress of the lava. It is the asylum to which the wretched inhabitants of the desolated plain have often fled with their most valuable effects ; to which they have driven their flocks, and conveyed their wives and children. Here we staid a considerable time ; our view extended over the declivity of Vesuvius, from which ran several currents of lava, that issued from the sides of the mountain ; while enormous flames of fire, of which we

had

had a nearer prospect the night before, darted continually from its summit. We had likewise a view of the plain, in which appeared the long windings of the rivers of fire. The reddish reverberation of the lava, and the conflagration in the plain, illumined the landscape. On every side appeared the image of desolation; but yet it exhibited a picture so splendid, a scene so magnificent, that the ravages with which it was attended were entirely forgotten in the contemplation of its picturesque and poetic beauty. In short, when any mind figures to itself those fiery torrents, the motion of the lava, the subterraneous thunders, those continual hissings, so many wonders, so many subjects of grief and admiration, I should think that a dream had deceived me, if the imagination, which produces such dreams, were capable of creating images so awful and so grand. On the 3d, the eruption continued, and the lava still advanced; the thunder was louder and more frequent than the preceding day. In the evening the flames shot to a still greater height, attracting the electricity of the air, and of the clouds, which emitted splendid flashes. On the fourth the eruption was less violent. On the fifth, Vesuvius began to throw out ashes; which, we are assured, announces the conclusion of the eruption.

ARCHANGEL.—Information was received here some time ago, that a ship, which, from the description, we supposed to be the Argo, Captain Kidson, had been seen by some Laplanders, on the rocks, in the White Sea, covered with ice; and that, attracted by a light so unusual at that season, they approach-

ed the vessel, and with difficulty got into the cabin, but found no soul on board. The cargo consisted of wheat in bags. These natives, on their arrival at Kola, made a report of what they had seen, and proper persons were sent from thence to learn further particulars. We have now received a letter from a person, written on the spot, giving a detailed account of this melancholy affair.

This vessel, which, from part of a journal found on board, proves to be the Argo, Thomas Kidson, late master, is lying on shore near a place called the Three Islands, the keel and stern post are gone, and the wheat is going out through the bottom, being entirely spoiled and good for nothing, and the wreck only in a state to be burned for what iron may be saved from it.

Some of the inhabitants from the nearest settlement being employed in getting anchors, ropes, and any other stores they could find, on shore, observed, at a little distance, a pole standing in the snow, which they removed, and the following day a dog came out of the hole, which, on seeing strangers, immediately returned. Curiosity induced them to clear away the snow, and, at the depth of two fathoms and a half, they discovered the dog, and the remains of four human bodies. The animal had eaten most of the flesh of three of them for its subsistence during the winter; one was entire.

It appears that the unfortunate crew having quitted the ship, and got safe on land, were unable to find any habitation, and thus perished from the inclemency of the season.

METHVEN, PERTHSHIRE. — This day an awful phenomenon took place near Logie Almond peat mofs. The day was so squally, accompanied with rain and thunder, that 16 people were obliged to give over their work in the mofs: they carried away with them their spades, iron pails, &c. Thirteen were walking together, and 3 about six yards behind. A person who was about forty yards still further behind, saw the whole 16 struck to the ground by a flash of lightning; one of whom, the last of the three, John Sidie, was killed on the spot; his clothes were all torn off, (except a small fragment of a stocking, another of his shirt below his arm, and the shoe on his left foot) and found scattered in different directions; a part of his heel was found in the shoe that was torn off; there was a small hole in his skull, and another in his body. A woman was thrown about four yards, and the others were all in a state of stupefaction. They are, however, all recovered, except that their legs are a little swelled. In the same storm a man was killed by the lightning near Alyth.

The same day, a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, occurred at Kelso. A horse belonging to a Mr. Bruce, of that town, was so much alarmed at the lightning, that he actually strangled himself in the halter, by endeavouring to get loose. The above thunder storm was, it appears, severely felt in most of the northern and western parts of England. At Liverpool it was particularly severe, as well as at Doncaster. It began at two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued seve-

ral hours, but no material damage ensued.

An alarming fire broke out this morning, between twelve 9th. and one, at the house of a baker, in William-street, Pimlico. The house was entirely consumed, and a child in it was burnt to death.

A tremendous thunder- 10th. storm spread over all the northern counties of England. In the parish of St. Bees, two heifers were killed; thirteen others close by received no injury. Several ash trees were much damaged. Five sheep were killed on Castle-rigg fall, near Kefwick. One of them had the wool stripped off one side, from the head to the tail. The electric matter had taken a circular direction, and turned up the soil as with a spade. At Alnwick, all the houses and shops in the lower part of the town were filled with water.

By the Leopard of 50 11th. guns, arrived at Portsmouth this day, intelligence was received of the total loss of the Lady Burgess, outward-bound East Indiaman, commanded by captain Swinton. She sailed in company with the fleet, on the 31st of March, from Portsmouth, and continued with them till the day she was lost, which happened on the 20th of April, when she struck on a sunken rock, between St. Jago and Bonavista, at two in the morning, and went entirely to pieces. The number of persons on board the Lady Burgess, was 184; 34 out of this number perished. Among the latter are, Mr. Cock, the chief mate, and Mr. Dick, the purser; as also, Messrs. Monk, Binny, and Kidd, cadets. All the rest of the passengers, officers, &c. were saved.

At

At the suit of lord Cloncurry, a *fiat* for 10,000*l.* was lately marked in Dublin, against sir John Piggott Piers, for *crim. con.* with lady C. Sir J. P. P. was, as generally happens in such cases, an old friend of the husband, and was an inmate in the house at the time of the alleged seduction. Lady C. is a beautiful woman, the daughter of an officer. His lordship met her at Rome, where he fell in love with, and married her. Sir J. P. P. is a widower. The lady is not permitted, as in England, to range at large with her paramour, but is confined in the castle of Lyons, in the county of Kildare, long-famed for its beautiful scenery, placed on an hill, and overlooking the grand canal from Dublin to Kildare, Queen's county, &c. It was the hospitable and princely abode, for ages, of the Aylmer family, the ancestors of the countess of Kenmare.

18th. This afternoon, about four, a boy crossing Fleet-street, was knocked down by the pole of a gentleman's carriage. The coach-man endeavoured to stop; but the horses kicked the child on the head, and immediately drew the carriage over its neck, which killed it on the spot; no blame is imputed to the coachman, who used every exertion to prevent the accident.

22d. At sir Joseph Banks's *Conversazione*; a very curious and perfect fossil tooth, belonging to an elephant, or to some other huge animal of a former period, was exhibited. It is twelve inches long, near six broad, and of a proportionate thickness. This surprizing tooth seems to have belonged to a young animal, as less than one-

third of its length projected beyond the jaw. Sir Joseph has had the tooth sawed in two lengths and polished, by which its internal organization is finely shewn. It was stated that this tooth was found lately on the surface of the great clay stratum near Ealing, or Acton, in Middlesex, about 16 feet below a bed of gravel.

This evening a scaffold gave way at the Mint, in the 23d. Tower, where they were making some repairs, by which accident three men were unfortunately killed on the spot, and many others severely wounded.

At Oddingly, county of Worcester, of which he was 24th. rector, was murdered, the Rev. George Parker. He was in the habit of going daily to the field where he was inhumanly murdered, at five in the evening, and driving home his cows to be milked; and the perpetrator of the wicked deed appears to have for some days meditated his diabolical purpose, by repeatedly going there to watch a favourable opportunity, as the ground behind the hedge, whence the fatal shot was fired, was exceedingly beaten down, particularly opposite a stile. It appears, however, that after the unfortunate gentleman received the contents of the murderer's gun, he had resolution enough to pursue the wretch over the hedge into the field whence he fired, when the inhuman monster, with the butt-end of his musket, completed the murder. The marks on the ground are still visible in two places, where the skull, by the force of the blows, had indented the earth. The wadding of the piece had set fire to the

poor gentleman's clothes, and there remained on the spot singed remnants of them. On the culprit's running away, he was observed to be in great haste by a man who knew him well, who interrogating him as to the cause of his speed (as he was a remarkable fast runner) and whether he was then running a race, was answered, "there are two men in pursuit of me, but you must not say which way I am gone." The person, concluding he was pursued by bailiffs, suffered him to pass. The suspected murderer, for whose apprehension a reward of 100 guineas is offered, has hitherto eluded the vigilance of the police, though it is conjectured he is still in the neighbourhood.

This afternoon, a pair of spirited horses ran away with a curricule from Hatchett's, Piccadilly, down Dover street, threw down Dr. Reynold's coachman, who was passing at the time, and wounded him dangerously. Two other men were thrown down, and slightly injured.

25th. In the court of exchequer, at Dublin, major Bland, of the 47th foot, laid his action against captain King, of the commissariat department, for criminal intercourse with his wife. The former had been absent from Europe for a length of time, during which the lady had not heard from him. At length, concluding he was dead, she listened to the addresses of the defendant, and married him. These accounts were contradicted by the certainty of the lady having received remittances from her husband. On the plaintiff's coming home, the circumstances of the case were developed—an action was commenced, and damages were

laid at 10,000l. but the jury gave a verdict for only 300l.

The inhabitants of An- 26th.  
dover were much alarmed by a whirlwind, which from the description, nearly resembled a West India tornado. It carried up three hay-cocks in a field near the town, belonging to Mr. T. Heath, to a height past calculation, as a great part of the hay was literally carried beyond the reach of the human eye. When seen again, the estimated height was upwards of 800 feet. It fell in different parts of the town and neighbourhood, a portion of it full half a mile from the spot whence it was carried up. The consternation of the labourers in the fields was very great, but can more easily be conceived than described.

A verdict, with 300l. da- 27th.  
mages, went against Mr. Briggs, son of sir J. Briggs, in the court of king's bench, for the seduction of Betsy Harris, the daughter of a farmer and butcher, in Monmouthshire.

Mr. R. L.——— decided a celebrated match at whist, by which he has won 6000 guineas. The match occupied no less than six days in playing out; during which time the parties took very little rest.

Alarming ravages have been committed in North America by a species of caterpillar. It is mentioned from the Head Waters of the southern branches of Potamac, from the borders of James's River, Culpepper, and Orange counties, in Virginia, and in the state of South Carolina, that these vermin attack only particular spots of earth, and confine their ravages principally to wheat and grass; but  
for



For many miles in the vicinity of New York, they strip the leaves entirely from the wheat, eat the lower grains from the ear, and seem to absorb the milky substance from those exposed to the sun. Plaster of Paris has been found to be the most efficacious in destroying them, and stopping their progress; those whom the powder was put upon died, and others who were surrounded by it fought every where for a passage, rather than pass over it. The same animal made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Elk Ridge. These insects are represented as being so numerous that in many places it is impossible to walk without crushing thousands of them. The ground is literally covered.

28th. Mr. Moulton, horse-dealer, of Kensington, being in a single-horse chaise, in Hyde-park, attempted to drive the horse into the Serpentine river, to give him water; the horse plunged, sunk, and threw out Moulton, and a boy with him, when Moulton, the boy, and horse, were all drowned. — Same afternoon, a Newfoundland dog, in plunging for a stone thrown into the above river, brought up the body of a young woman by the hair of her head: she was genteelly dressed, and appeared to have lain some time. The deceased proved to be a servant, of the name of Collins, about twenty years of age, who lived last with a family in Kensington-square, and had been missing near a week.

Last week a ewe sheep, belonging to Mr. Dannerly, of Dinthill, was killed, on account of a preternatural conception. It appears that the sheep, after having been cautiously opened, had four lambs,

which were extracted from the body alive; one of them is since dead, but the other three are all likely to do well.

The archbishop of Canterbury being engaged on his quadrennial visitation, a few days ago went to Hythe, in Kent, in his coach and six. Stopping there that night, by some accident the stable into which his grace's horses were put, caught fire; and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions were made to save the horses, three of the poor animals perished in the flames.

Egremont-house has just experienced the sad vicissitudes of fortune, to which fashion has of late so wantonly reduced so many "principalities and powers." After descending from a noble earl to an opulent woolstapler, it was knocked down the other day by the hammer of the auctioneer, to Thomas Bernard, esq. the late benevolent treasurer of the foundling hospital, for 16,000*l.* including the furniture.

Early this morning a party of friends, consisting 29th. of Mrs. Van Butchel, the wife of Dr. Martin Van Butchel, of Mount-street; her second son, Mr. Isaac Van Butchel; three misses Aston, daughters of Mr. Aston, gun-lock-smith, of Robinson's lane, Chelsea, and nine others, went up the river in a four-oared cutter, belonging to Godfrey, of Lambeth, to Richmond, where they dined and spent the day. On their return in the evening, they hoisted a sail. About half past nine o'clock, as they were sailing through Fulham-gut, they ran athwart a sailing barge, lying at anchor, which stove in the side of the boat, and she upset, in consequence

quence of which the whole of the company were plunged into the river. Some of them clung to the cable of the barge, and some to the sides. Mr. J. Van Butchel, striking his head against the barge, sunk never to rise again. The three misses Aston, held by the side of the barge for a considerable time. Two of them, Ann and Hannah, sunk, their strength being exhausted; the ebb tide sucked them under the barge, and they rose no more. The remainder were saved by boats passing by at the time.

Preparations are at length making for the erection of *Downing College* at Cambridge, on the ground which lies opposite to the front of Emmanuel, and on the left of the street which leads from that College to Pembroke. The architect is Mr. Wilkins, whose knowledge of Grecian models gives reason to hope that the edifice will be worthy of the university which it is intended to adorn. The establishment is to consist of a master, a professor of the laws of England, a professor of medicine, sixteen fellows, and six scholars. Two of the fellows are to be in holy orders, and the rest after the usual standing are to become barristers at law; or doctors of physic. The master, the two professors, and three of the fellows, have been named in the charter; and are Dr. Francis Annesly, *Master*; sir Busick Harwood, *Professor of Medicine*; Mr. Christian, *Professor of Law*; and Messrs. Lens, Frere, and Meek, *Fellows*. It is understood that medicine is the branch of science which will be chiefly cultivated in this institution; and that an en-

deavour will be made by the means of it to rescue our English universities from the opprobrium under which they have laboured owing to neglect of this most useful of human arts.

DIED.—13th. At Bristol, Mr. Gregory, aged 100.

14th. At Newcastle, aged 81, Ninian Walker, who had visited most parts of the globe, and had been engaged in many perilous adventures. He was a native of Fifeshire, was pressed in 1745; and, on board the *Happy Jennet*, of 20 guns, was in pursuit of the pretender in most of the creeks of Scotland. He afterwards served on board the Cambridge man of war eight years, without ever being on-shore; was at the capture of Guadaloupe, in 1758, and at the memorable siege of the Havannah, in 1761, when the Cambridge lost 125 men in 20 minutes, before the Morro castle. He had the yellow fever, with several others of his ship, and was the only one that recovered. At the peace he entered into the merchant's service, in which he at length got lamed; and then maintained himself and his second wife, who was bed-ridden for 12 years, by selling small wares about the country, refusing relief from the parish, although offered it; till at last being unable to travel, and reduced to a mere skeleton, he was obliged to receive some small assistance.

16th. At Newcastle, in the 99th year of her age, Elizabeth Roberts, relict of the late Hugh Roberts, of Chester, who served many years in the third regiment of foot. She was an eye witness to five different engagements in which

which her husband had been. Her strength did not fail her to the last, for she was able to walk out on the Saturday before her death. She had thirteen children and has left behind two children, thirty three grand children, and thirteen great grand children.

At Butterland, Mrs. Mary Barber, and the following day her husband, Mr. Sampson B. Their ages together amounted to 203 years.

In the parish of Hollwell, Leicestershire, Mrs. Richardson, aged 97. She had kept a school in the same place for 75 years; could till within a few days of her death read the smallest print, and thread the smallest needle, without spectacles, and paid every attention to her scholars, twenty in number, in regard to their education. She was never out of the parish since she was born, and last winter spun two pair of sheets.

At Colehill, Mr. Samuel Anstey, aged 103.

24th. At Tunbridge-wells, Charles Francis Sheridan, esq. elder brother of the right honourable R. B. Sheridan. His illness had been of some duration, and was borne with exemplary fortitude. Mr. C. F. Sheridan was many years a member of the Irish parliament, and secretary at war in that kingdom, previous to the question of the regency, when he resigned his seat and office. He was a gentleman of most distinguished talents as an author, both in history and political controversy: and no man was more universally beloved and respected in private life. Mr. C. F. Sheridan has left a widow and several grown-up children. Mrs. Sheridan was Miss

Bolton, niece to the right honourable Monck Mason.

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JULY.

At a general court of the corporation of Trinity-house, 3d. held on Thursday, the right honourable earl St. Vincent was unanimously elected an elder brother, in the room of the right honourable William Pitt deceased; and captain Jonathan Wilson was elected an elder brother, in the room of captain Effingham Lawrence deceased.

LORD NELSON'S WILL.—The following additional codicil to the will of his lordship, was proved on the 4th instant at Doctor's Commons:—

CODICIL.

“October the 21st one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

“Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the right honourable sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to our king and country, to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our king or country: first, that she obtained the king of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother the king of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England; from which letter the ministry sent out orders to then sir J. Jervis, to strike a stroke if opportunity offered, against either the arsenals of Spain or her fleets: that neither of these

done is not the fault of lady Hamilton; the opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British fleet under my command *could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not lady Hamilton's influence with the queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the fleet being supplied with every thing, should they put into any port in Sicily; we put into Syracuse, and received every supply—went to Egypt and destroyed the French fleet!*—Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call upon my country, but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma lady Hamilton, therefore, *a legacy to my king and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my country, my adopted daughter, Horatio Nelson Thompson, and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only. These are the only favours I ask of my king and country, at this moment, when I am going to fight their battle.* May God bless my king and country, and all those I hold dear—my relations it is needless to mention; they will of course be amply provided for:

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

“Witness, HENRY BLACKWOOD.

T. M. HARDY.”

The above article fully explains the unmanly and implacable vengeance with which Buonaparte pursues the queen of Naples. To the friendly offices of that unfortunate princess, obtained by lady Hamilton, lord Nelson, in his last moments, has declared, by his will, that this country is indebted for

the glorious victory of Aboukir, and the consequent defeat and flight of Buonaparte.

The society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands have, in the various schools of the society, about sixteen thousand children of both sexes, who are taught the principles of the Protestant Religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, and also trained up to labour, industry, and useful employment, besides missionaries, catechists, &c. This society has a corresponding board in London.

PLYMOUTH:—A dreadful accident happened on board a Swedish ship, just as she came to an anchor in Catwater. A loaded gun was fired; which burst; and killed Mr. Mann, pilot, and so wounded Mr. M'Ansland, a pilot, and two Swedish seamen; that they all died this morning. This port has lost two excellent pilots in Mr. Mann, and Mr. M'Ansland, who were well acquainted with all the different parts of the harbours and anchorages of this port.

The fishing-boats of Lowestoft and Yarmouth, 4th. were unusually successful last week. By the former, as many mackarel were caught in one night, as sold on the beach for 1260l.—The first hundred this season, fetched 8l. they were afterwards sold for 5s. per hundred.

A singular robbery has been committed in the British Museum. A person who has been in the habit of visiting that place for upwards of a year, has stolen, at different times, from the portfolios, a number of scarce and valuable engravings, by the Dutch masters, to the amount of 1500l. He sold them

to printfellers. It is stated, that a committee have investigated the particulars of the robbery, and come to a resolution that Mr. Dighton, who is charged with being concerned in taking the valuable articles, should not be prosecuted, on condition, that he restore the whole of the property that is missing. Mr. Beloe, in whose department it happened, has been dismissed for negligence. If the trustees could prosecute, this would be compounding felony; but, it is understood, that through the negligence of Mr. B. in not making a catalogue, the property in the articles stolen cannot be proved, and that a prosecution would be fruitless.

As a waggon belonging to Mr. Kent, of Abingdon, in Berkshire, was going out of the New Inn in the Old Bailey, it was discovered to be on fire, caused by an unforeseen accident, by which property to the amount of near 400l. was destroyed; the remainder of the goods were saved by means of engines, and the exertions of the people of the inn; several chests of tea were among the property lost.

Miss Holbeck, of Sloane-street, riding in Hyde Park, with another lady and servant, her horse took fright, ran through Cumberland-gate, turned to the left in Oxford-street, and galloped up the Edge-ware-road. The lady kept her seat with great courage, until the horse rather slackened his pace; when, being exhausted, she lost her fortitude, fainted, and unfortunately fell on her head. She was taken up speechless, and conveyed to a surgeon.

The Rev. Mr. Milner, a titular

bishop of the Romish Church, the Rev. Mr. Wheeler, a clergyman of the same persuasion, with Mr. Gadd, a surveyor, and Miss Gadd, his sister, were tried upon an indictment, in the Court of King's Bench, charging them with unlawfully conspiring together to prevent the marriage of Mr. Taylor, surgeon, of Islington, with Miss Pike a young lady of fortune, after the marriage deeds were drawn, and the wedding clothes bought. It appeared that the parties had influenced Miss Pike to give up Mr. Taylor; but it likewise appeared that Mr. Taylor had paid his addresses to Miss Gadd, and had quitted her for the pursuit of Miss Pike. The defendants were acquitted.

The earl of Morton, has lately had put into his hands the keys of Lochleven Castle, which an ancestor of his lordship, and a brother of the earl of Morton, who was regent of Scotland during the minority of Edward VI. afterwards James I. of England, threw into the Loch, after delivering Mary Queen of Scots, from imprisonment in that fortrefs. Their discovery has been owing to the great drought that prevailed last year in Scotland.

In the court of King's Bench an issue, directed by the court of 5<sup>th</sup>-chancery, was tried to ascertain the validity of the will of the late lord Chedworth: when the will was established. The ground taken by the heir at law was, that his lordship was not of sound mind, and competent to make a will; but so far from this being the fact, Mr. Garrow called lords Dartmouth, Moira, Suffolk, and Eldon; sir Charles Bunbury, colonel Hillsted, Mr.

Mr. Cowper, of the house of lords; Mr. Jekyll, and many other witnesses, to prove the sanity of the deceased. The noble lords, and Mr. Jekyll, spoke as to their acquaintance with him, not only at college, but subsequently. They considered him as a nobleman of the most intelligent mind, well versed in politics and literature. These, as well as the other witnesses called, were of opinion, that no man was better qualified to make a valid will than his lordship. Mr. Dallas addressed the jury on behalf of the heir at law, and inferred the want of sound understanding in lord Chedworth, merely from a variety of eccentricities and singularities in his behaviour. He called two witnesses, who rather confirmed the evidence of his lordship's sanity than otherwise.—Lord Ellenborough stopped the cause, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, establishing his lordship's will.

The sheriffs inspected the interior of Newgate, and humanely gave directions, that the long ward on the doctor's side should be appropriated for the use of the unfortunate persons who might choose to work at their respective trades for the benefit of themselves and families.

At the Middlesex Sessions, Edward Eggerton, Richard Clements, and John Whitfield, were tried, and sentenced to three years imprisonment in the House of Correction, for attempting to break open the shop of Mr. Priestman, silversmith and jeweller, in Princes-street, Soho, on Sunday, the 11th of May last, at three o'clock in the afternoon!

Elizabeth Barnet voluntarily surrendered herself for trial at the

Old Bailey, being indicted for robbing a man of the name of Rouvellet, of 40l. while living with him in the Fleet prison, upwards of twelve months since. Rouveller had lately been committed to Ilchester gaol, by the magistrates of Bath, on a charge of forgery. He wished to put off the trial, but was brought to town by *Habeas Corpus*, double-ironed, and compelled to proceed. The prisoner was acquitted.

As some workmen were lately repairing the parish-church of Fladbury, in Worcestershire, to their astonishment they discovered the skeleton of a fox between the roof and the ceiling.

The following is a statement of the quantity of porter and stout, brewed in London, by the twelve principal houses, between the 5th of July, 1805, and the 5th of July 1806.

	<i>Barrels.</i>
Meux - - -	187,349
Barclay - - -	182,529
Hanbury - - -	125,820
Whitbread - - -	104,311
Goodwin - - -	73,335
Shum - - -	75,111
F. Calvert - - -	64,475
Brown and Parry - - -	57,404
Elliot - - -	48,943
J. Calvert - - -	36,444
Clowes - - -	36,058
Biley - - -	31,175

The quantity of ale brewed in the London district, by the six principal houses, between July 5, 1805, and July 5, 1806, is as follows:

	<i>Barrels.</i>
Stretton - - -	19,207
Charrington - - -	17,926
Webb - - -	10,019
Sharp - - -	9,102
Goding	

Goding                    9,060  
Hall                        7,508

7th. During a violent storm of thunder and lightening, four horses that were at plough under a tree, at Hints, near Lichfield, were all killed by one flash. The driver was stupified, but is likely to recover. The above furnishes another convincing proof of the danger of standing under a tree during a storm. At Uttoxeter, the thunder was accompanied with an extraordinary hail-storm: some hail-stones which fell at Boylstone, are said to have measured three inches in circumference. Mr. Walker, of Brook End, near Uttoxeter, had a cow killed by the lightning.

10th. In the court of King's Bench, a black man, named Jackson, obtained a verdict of 500l. damages, against captain Livesay, commander of the slave ship, Lord Stanley, from Liverpool to Africa, and thence to the West Indies, for the most inhuman treatment ever heard of, by various punishments, and the most cruel flogging, from the captain and others, which was repeated for several days, till at last the blood burst from the wretched man's breasts. The surgeon, on the trial described the shocking state of his back, and said, that for eighteen inches square, the flesh sloughed off. It is now scarcely healed.

As the workmen were lately employed in digging the foundation for the new Blue Coat Hospital, in Gloucester, (intended to be erected, upon an elegant and extensive plan, on the scite of the ancient building in Eastgate-street), they discovered, about six feet below the surface of the earth, the remains of a very curious tessellated Roman

pavement, thirty feet long and twenty wide, divided into compartments, enriched with a great variety of scrolls, frets, and other architectural ornaments, and having a wreathed or braided border. The colours are white, red, blueish grey, and pale and dark brown. The *tesseræ* are mostly cubes of different sizes, from one half to three quarters of an inch; some are triangular, and of various other shapes. The cement, on which the pavement is laid, is about an inch thick, and appears to be composed of sand, pounded brick, and lime, forming together a very hard substance. The interstices are filled up with cement, so hard, that it is even more difficult to break than the *tesseræ* themselves. The white and brown *tesseræ* appear to be of a hard calcareous stone, and bear a good polish; the red are of a fine sort of brick; the blueish grey are of a hard argillaceous stone, found in many parts of Gloucestershire, and called *blue lias*; and the dark brown appears to be of the granite found at St. Vincent's rocks, near Bristol.

ADMIRALTY SESSION, 11th.  
—A Session of the Court of

Admiralty was held at the Old Bailey, before sir W. Scott, a full bench of civilians, Mr. Justice Le Blanc, &c.—A cow, a Chinese sailor, was indicted for the wilful murder of another Chinese, of the name of Anguin, on the 24th of May last, on the high seas, viz. on board the East India ship, called the Travers, on her voyage home, near the Azores. The principal evidence was Robert Oliver, second mate of the ship, who stated, that on the 24th of May last, between two and three o'clock in the morning,

morning, as he was on watch, he heard a person moaning in great distress; he called up two men, who, on going below, cried out, "O God! a man is murdered!" Others came up, who saw the prisoner standing, with a knife in his hand, which was covered with blood: the deceased was lying near him. The prisoner made no resistance; but when they took him into custody, he said, "Me kill Anguin—Anguin tell me lie—China fashion me kill Anguin, me kill Anguin—you hang me." The head was nearly severed from the body. There were two mortal stabs, one of which had penetrated the heart, the other the loins. There were in all nine wounds. The other witnesses corroborated this account. It did not appear that the prisoner and the deceased had any quarrel on board, but they had some dispute on shore. The prisoner, by his interpreter, said he must be hanged by the English law, and did not desire to live: he said, he cut the man's head off.—The jury having found him guilty, Sir W. Scott pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner, who seemed to take but little concern in it. He was ordered to be hanged on Monday next, at Execution Dock; but his sentence was afterwards respited until the Friday following, on account of the tide serving more conveniently for the time of execution.

Richard Curling, John Forwood, Thomas Moss, John Sanders, and Thomas Reed, were indicted for stealing on the high seas, sixty-five fathoms of small bower cable, value 58l. and an anchor, value 10l. the property of Messrs. Joseph Wales, and C. Y. Bonner. The prisoners

are all pilots, who resided on the coast of Kent, and three of them went on board the Traveller brig, captain Ballard, to conduct the vessel into Ramsgate, from the Downs: while on board, a plan was entered into by the prisoners and the captain, to cut away the cable, and that a rope should be fastened to it, by which it could be recovered by two men, who were in a boat. This was done, and the captain, according to his own statement, committed this fraud in conjunction with the prisoners, to make the loss more severe on the underwriters, and consequently more profitable to the owners, who, very laudably, instituted this prosecution. The trial excited a great deal of interest, but our limits only allow us to give this abstract. Three of the prisoners were found guilty, and Sanders and Reed, the men who were in the boat, were acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence to establish their guilt.

A tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, commenced this morning, at eight, in the metropolis, and lasted until eleven, without intermission. It excited universal terror. The lightning entered a house under repair in East-street, Manchester-square; the blaze was so violent, that every one apprehended, that the whole house was on fire, but no injury was sustained, except the breaking of a few panes of glass. Two persons, in the house adjoining, were forcibly struck with the lightning. A ball of fire fell into the area of the lottery-office, in Somerset-place; it forced open the door, and drove Mr. Pearce, the secretary, who was standing at the window, with a person who was with him, to the opposite side of the room.



room. Another ball fell in the Thames, opposite Arundel-street. As Mr. Jones, a builder, of Newcastle-street, was standing with his two sons, and six or seven workmen, at the rear of his house, a ball of fire fell in the midst of them; but it burst upon an iron grate, and sunk into the vault, leaving a sulphureous smell. The storm commenced at 8 A. M. at Stanmore, from the S. W. and continued to rage, with unabated violence, for two hours. On the North-east side of Harrow Weald Common, a thatched hovel, where thirteen persons, of both sexes, had taken shelter, was set on fire by the lightning, and a woman, having a child at the breast, was killed, whilst the infant miraculously escaped. A boy was also so much scorched as to be without hopes of recovery. At Portsmouth, about half past ten, the brig William, captain Denning, from London, bound to Jamaica, coming into St. Helens, was destroyed by the lightning, which struck the head of the maintop-gallant-mast, passed through that, down the top-mast, main-mast, and pierced the decks into the hold, where it set the cargo on fire. The captain and crew were obliged to abandon her, and landed at Portsmouth. At Deal, in the afternoon, there was a tremendous thunder-storm, with hail and rain; the lightning was very vivid and quick; it struck the main-top-gallant-mast of his majesty's bomb Prospero, shivered to pieces the top-mast, and damaged the main-mast; one man was killed, named Joseph Perkins, and several other of the people were knocked down, but recovered. A corn mill be-

longing to Mr. John Croft, of Caistor co. Lincoln, was much damaged, and a boy in the mill killed, by the lightning. Nine sheep, belonging to Mr. Sibsey, of Baffingham, near Carlton le Moorland, were also killed. At Gainborough, there was a very uncommon fall of rain, accompanied with loud claps of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning. Three pigs were struck dead at Morton, and two fine horses in a close near Lea, were killed. At Peterborough it was extremely violent, and the inhabitants were much alarmed by a fire ball bursting in the market-place. In Rutland, at Ashwell, a hay-stack, belonging to Mr. Chamberlain, was burnt. At Langham, Mr. Sherrard had a sheep killed, and a cow belonging to Mr. Ellicot was also killed, by the lightning. The hail came so violent at Teigh, as to break many windows. This morning, a boat belonging to the Sheerness Tender, lying in Hull Roads, was sent to Sunk Island, with seven hands, to bring on board lieutenant and Mrs. Fox. Between nine and ten they had proceeded but a short distance from the shore, when W. Mazarello, the cockswain, aged about nineteen, standing erect, was struck dead by the lightning, and fell overboard. Mr. and Mrs. Fox were much flunned, and the rest, except one man, were all struck down, but soon recovered. The body of Mazarello was soon afterwards picked up: his clothes were burned to rags, and the case of his watch was melted. The old block-house-mill, at Hull, was struck by the lightning, and one of the main timbers split. William Curtis, labourer, of Patrington, was next day found

found dead in a field near that town, having, it is supposed, experienced the fatal effects of the lightning; the hoe with which he was at work is supposed to have operated as a conductor. Near Exeter the effects were extraordinary: in Moreton church-yard, the earth was torn from several graves, and human skulls thrown to a considerable distance; and, near Bow, about 50 trees were cut in two, as if done with a saw. The report of the thunder was like that of artillery fired in regular succession. About two, the inhabitants of Ipswich were much alarmed, as the crashes of thunder shook many houses; and at the hill-barracks it was still more awful; as the electric fluid communicated with a range of stables, and struck down nine horses, two of which were killed. The stables were set on fire, but it was soon extinguished. Near twenty persons were struck down by the lightning, but none killed. A barn, at Framlingham, belonging to S. Kilderbee, esq. of Ipswich, was burnt down by the lightning. The storm was truly awful in Birmingham and its neighbourhood. The lightning split the crane at the canal office in that town. Its effects in the country adjoining have been dreadful.—A man was killed by the lightning at Teffont. At Dumfries the peals were loud, and the flashes uncommonly vivid. The lightning struck the house of James Kirk, at Mains Riddell, Colvend, shattered the chimney-head, and descending the chimney, broke the hearth-stone to pieces. Two cows were killed by the lightning while grazing in a field near Ecclefechan.

Sutton Place, near Guildford, in Surrey, the seat of John Webbe Weston, esq. was struck by lightning, when he and his lady had a most wonderful escape. They were in bed, in a room in which was a sash-window facing the West; the head of their bed stood to the South, about six inches from the wall, and opposite to the feet of it was the chimney; at the wall behind the bed's head were two pulls for a bell which hung in the room below, from the middle of which pulls a wire went down the wainscot and through the floor. In the room below there was a window (under that in the bed-chamber) secured by upright iron bars. The lightning entered at the S. W. corner of the bed-room, tore off the paper and plaster from the wall, took the wire of one of the pulls of the bell, which it melted into small globules, some round like shot, some long, and run down the wire in the centre into the room below, where it seems to have been conducted upwards by the iron window-bars, and to have entered the bed-room again by the window above, where nearly every pane of glass was broken, and where the skirting-board was forced into the room; from thence it went up the chimney, displacing a small iron back, forcing out the bricks on the east side of the chimney above the roof, and splitting a chimney-pot, on the top, which fell in all directions. When Mr. and Mrs. Weston awoke, the room was full of fire and rubbish; but no farther mischief was done.—At East Horsley, a few miles off, two oxen belonging to W. Currie, esq. were killed.—An oak in the grounds of Loseley, near Guildford,

was stripped of its bark, and the body, though not torn into pieces, was split and shivered so as to have scarce a sound timber in it.

11th. As some colliers were at work this day in a pit, 101 yards deep, belonging to John Bishton, esq. and Co. at Snedshill iron-works, one of the candles came in contact with a quantity of hydrogen gas mixed with atmospheric air, and caused an explosion, which severely burnt eight or nine men; but fortunately the whole are in a fair way of recovery. On the Monday following several others were employed in repairing the air-ways in the same pit, some of whom had ascended again; six others (who had previously extinguished their candles for safety) were in the act of ascension, five upon the chains and one upon the rope, when, unfortunately, the current of hydrogen from the pit, blended with the air of the atmosphere, was blown by a brisk gale of wind in contact with a fire that had been left, inadvertently, burning about three yards to leeward of the pit head, and caused an explosion, which proceeded down the pit, towards the source of the hydrogen, involving the miserable colliers in a volume of flame. At the moment of the combustion they had ascended upwards of 100 yards; and one of the poor fellows, preferring instant death to the acuteness of his pains, made an effort to disengage himself from the chains, and precipitate himself to the bottom, but failed in the attempt. Another fainted from extreme pain, and was brought up hanging by his legs in the chains; four others came up in the usual

sitting posture; and the man who was riding erect on the knot of the rope, miraculously retained his hold, though his clothes were entirely consumed, and his body scorched all over, and reached the surface in that position. On being disengaged at the pit-head by some persons whom the noise of the explosion had brought to witness this afflicting scene, one of them, in a delirium, arising from excruciating pain and terror, rushed homeward in flames; the others, more enfeebled, requested to be carried to their abodes. Five died soon after in the greatest agonies, and the other expired this day (Aug. 1). The explosion blew the caps from their heads forty or fifty feet above the surface, and reduced a great part of the timber-framing of the pit to a state of carbon.

A meeting of the principal gentlemen of the county of Essex was held at the Angel inn, Ilford, agreeable to advertisement, for the purpose of considering the propriety of applying to parliament for an act to make a road from London to Tilbury; when several resolutions for the above purpose were proposed by sir Thomas H. Lennard, and carried by a large majority. A subscription was immediately opened, and several thousand pounds subscribed. Should the above patriotic proposal be carried into execution, it will reduce the distance from London to Tilbury, on the Essex side, eight miles, and thereby afford a very great accommodation to all persons travelling, or connected with the shipping interest of this country, particularly benefit the towns through which it

will pass, and facilitate the conveyance of fish to the London markets.

WEST INDIA DOCKS.—The ceremony of opening the large export dock, which completes this magnificent undertaking, was performed on Saturday the 12th inst. the anniversary of the day (12th July, 1799,) on which the act of parliament for carrying the same into effect received the royal assent.

The chairman, Robert Milligan, esq.; the deputy chairman, Richard Lee, esq.; with most of the directors, attended about two o'clock, to receive the company at the principal entrance into the works; and soon afterwards the company arrived, which were very numerous, and amongst them many ladies and gentlemen of the first rank and distinction.

The Phoenix, captain Douglas, a large West India ship belonging to Messrs. Hibberts, which was ornamented with various flags of different nations, being moored in a convenient situation near the dock, the chairman, deputy chairman, and directors accompanied by the Earl of Westmoreland, Earl of Chichester, Earl Temple, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Minto, Lord

Sheffield, Lord Hardwick, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Burgherft, the Lord Mayor, Right Honourable the Master of the Rolls, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, Right Honourable George Rose, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. Sir Alured Clarke, Knight of the Bath: and many other gentlemen of distinction, proceeded on board the ship, which, upon a signal gun being fired, was navigated into the new export dock, and having proceeded to the middle of the dock, she was moved to the centre of the quay on the north side thereof.

The company, after partaking of an elegant repast on board the ship, landed and proceeded to the east end of the quay, and passing over the lock, entered the premises belonging to the great import dock, which they viewed, with the stupendous warehouses surrounding the same, and expressed great pleasure and satisfaction at the completion of an undertaking of such prodigious magnitude, so beneficial to the commerce of the country, honourable to the parties who conducted the execution of the works, and ornamental to the nation.

*An Account of Goods imported from the West Indies, and landed in the West India Docks, in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6.*

GOODS.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.
<i>Sugar,</i> . hhds. . . .	138,337	132,536	152,010	154,150
— tierces . . . .	13,292	12,071	12,666	15,550
— barrels . . . .	5,951	5,934	11,260	7,043
<i>Rum,</i> . puns . . . .	20,516	11,555	18,083	15,986
— hhds. . . . .	546	306	326	296
<i>Cotton,</i> . bales . . . .	8,297	23,144	17,611	15,170
— bags . . . . .	1,621	1,565	1,811	3,438
<i>Ginger,</i> . . . . .	2,146	2,796	3,981	3,809
<i>Coffee,</i> . casks . . . .	17,218	25,549	24,374	35,291
— barrels . . . .	362	1,644	1,248	1,604
— bags . . . . .	24,303	44,732	29,730	110,616
<i>Cocoa,</i> . casks . . . .	912	749	1,624	1,457
— bags . . . . .	526	751	3,297	4,153
<i>Pimento,</i> . . . . .	8,118	9,575	3,582	16,069
<i>Indigo,</i> . packs . . . .	280	127	503	482
<i>Wine,</i> . butts . . . .	35	62	30	54
— pipes . . . . .	1,182	1,058	1,065	1,416
— hhds. . . . .	407	355	219	449
— quarter casks.	113	99	49	137
<i>Packages,</i> . . . . .	244,162	274,611	283,464	387,170
<i>Dye Woods,</i> tons . . . .	6,625	7,361	6,339	6,269
<i>Mahogany,</i> logs, &c.	8,131	4,286	3,913	5,593

13th. This day a party, consisting of Mr. Bradford, Mr. Phillips, Mr. John Orr, Mr. Evans, Mr. Francis Casey, and Mr. Thomas Casey, his brother, with a boatman of the name of Roberts, went in a pleasure-boat on an excursion down the river at Liverpool. They were returning about eight in the evening, and in the act of tacking to make George's Dock basin, when a sudden and violent squall came on while the boat was in stays; the boatman, terrified at the apparent danger, and intent only on his

own safety, imprudently quitted the helm, and grasped a loose board lying at the bottom of the boat. The consequence was, the boat upset, and sunk instantly. All were plunged into the water, but being good swimmers, some made for a brig, then under sail, which most inhumanly passed, within a few yards of them, without making any effort to extricate them from their perilous situation, though it was the opinion of the numerous spectators on shore that they might have saved all of them. Three boats put off from the slip, and made

made every exertion to save as many as they could, in which they were partly successful. Mr. Orr, Mr. Evans, Mr. F. Casey, and the boatman, were taken up, when nearly exhausted; but Mr. Bradford, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Thomas Casey, were drowned. Their friends and society have sustained a severe loss in their untimely end; the two former were in the prime of life, and endeared to their numerous friends by their virtues and merits; the latter was in the bloom of youth, only 16 years of age, and gave the most flattering promises of an estimable manhood.

14th. The storm which happened this day seems to have been one of the most extraordinary ever remembered in the eastern part of this island. From a quarter past one, for three hours, the sky was uniformly and deeply clouded, and the rain and hail, with a few and short intervals, came down in torrents. Soon after the storm began, it was thought advisable by the magistrates attending to the business of the quarter sessions in Bury St. Edmunds, to take down the great chandelier in the Shire-hall, it being deemed a powerful conductor; in doing this, however, mischief had very nearly happened, as the clerk of the peace narrowly escaped a fatal blow from the fall of a part of it. In a very few minutes after came one of the strongest flashes, and a violent explosion, at the distance of two seconds, equal to 2200 feet nearly; or little more than one third of a mile. There were three other explosions, the most distant of which from the flash did not exceed eight seconds. The lightning was ex-

ceedingly red and dense. On this day, a mare, in a pasture belonging to Mr. Beeton, of Hardwicke, was struck dead under a tree, which was also shivered to pieces. A poplar tree, in the meadows, near Stamford-bridge, which stands between two stacks of hay and clover, was stripped of its bark, and nearly split in halves, but not thrown down, and most probably by its attraction, preserved the stacks from fire. In some parts of Middlesex this storm was very violent, and particularly at Sunbury, where the lightning struck the church, and has done some damage to the tower. At three, a hurricane took place near Hyde Park, when a cloud burst over Chesterfield-street, Curzon-street, and Queen-street. The body of water fell with such rapidity, as to fill the cellars of the inhabitants, and formed a complete current in Shepherd's Market, and it was with difficulty that the gratings of the drains were dragged up, so as to admit the water, and thereby prevent great damage.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—*The King v. Dorant*.—This was a prosecution for perjury, instituted by Rouvellet, the man who prosecuted Elizabeth Barnett, at the Old Bailey, on Saturday, for an alleged robbery. The prosecutor appeared in fetters. His evidence was so vague and contradictory, that lord Ellenborough stopped the trial, and the defendant was acquitted. After the trial the prosecutor was conducted back to Ilchester gaol, from whence he had been removed by *habeas corpus*, to give evidence on this prosecution, and against the woman, Barnett, abovementioned.

Married,

Married, Mr. W. Lonfdale, of Raithly, near Spalding, to Miss Catherine Pulpeman, of Louth. The joint ages of the father and bridegroom amounted to 136 years, and that of the bride and bride-  
maid to 28!

16th. During the storm this day, a remarkable strong flash of lightning, followed by a tremendous crash of thunder, attracted particular attention at Salisbury, about two in the afternoon; and at this moment a poor man, named Whitlock, servant to farmer Maton, of Pitton, was struck dead by the lightning.

17th. This evening, the lightning and thunder were very sharp, and twelve lambs, grazing in a field belonging to Mr. Thomas Parsons, of Great Barton, Suffolk, were struck dead.

A very singular and brilliant meteor was seen by many of the inhabitants of London, in broad day-light, this evening, about eight o'clock, passing in the southern and western part of the hemisphere, from about S. E. to N. W. It appeared about one-fourth of the diameter of the moon, but more brilliant than Venus ever appears, and moved with very great swiftness, nearly in an horizontal direction, leaving a conical tail of light and sparks behind it.

The meteor described was observed very clearly over the Hyde, at Edmonton, by persons passing between 8 and 9 o'clock.

A gentleman who was angling in the Mersey, near the Cheshire shore, killed two fine congers, one weighed  $24\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. the other 12 lbs. The largest took up an hour in landing, and was so ferocious that

it snapped at the hands of a person who attempted to take hold of it.

Acow, the Chinese sailor, 18th. convicted at the last admiralty session, for the murder of Anguin, another Chinese, was hanged at Execution Dock. He was conveyed from the Old Bailey in a cart, and appeared dreadfully dejected.

Mr. Codrington's seat, at Dodington, that princely erection, will be one of the most stately mansions in the kingdom. It has already been about nine years in hand, and is expected to be finished in 1808. This building is in the Grecian style of architecture. Mr. Wyatt superintends the whole. The expence will exceed the estimate, i. e. 120,000l.

MALTA.—“ I now come to relate to you an event of the most melancholy description, and almost unparalleled in regard to the dreadful and miserable consequences. It happened this morning. A magazine took fire, and blew up with an explosion scarcely ever known to be equalled; by it 370 barrels of gunpowder, and above 1600 shells and grenades, were blown up. Such an immense quantity as 40,000lbs. of gunpowder must occasion the most dreadful havock and destruction. The houses adjacent in every direction were thrown immediately into ruins;—and how shocking it was to the inhabitants you may easily conceive, as there was no chance of escaping. The buildings are all of stone, of immense thickness. It is calculated that one thousand persons have either perished, or are dreadfully maimed. The principal sufferers are the Maltese, who chiefly lived near the place. One man has

lost his wife and six children; others nearly the same; and whole families are buried together. Those who escaped momentary death, perhaps, are shockingly disfigured and maimed, and crawling about in a miserable condition. Fourteen artillery-men, who were in the magazine, were of course blown to atoms. The band of a regiment (the 39th) were just playing "God save the King," near the place; two were killed on the spot; the whole remainder were much wounded. The guards on duty were killed. The magazine was situated on the side of the water opposite to the city of Valetta; it is called Barmola. Stones were thrown over to us, some to the distance of two miles. It was situated close to the water-side, and the bed of the sea was so shook by it, that it rose up and overflowed the banks. Two vessels (small ones) were sunk. Immense stones were thrown up, which fell into the water; others on the ships and rigging: one I saw, which fell on a vessel just arrived, weighed an hundred weight. The guard-ship, the *Madras* man of war, is moored some distance from the disastrous place; but a stone fell upon the quarter-deck, and broke the thigh of the gunner, who had lately arrived. A Mr. Woodhouse here, who, with his brother, has a great wine-making concern in Sicily, has lost 250 pipes of it, worth nearly 7000*l*. They were at some little distance from the place; but the shock was so great that the casks burst. The churches are filled with the dead. A friend of mine, just come from the ruins, says, that he was walking over them, when he lighted on

the head of a woman. Her whole body was crushed flat; and, although it is only a few hours since the general calamity took place, her body, owing to the intense heat, was entirely putrified. It is supposed that the men were employed in cutting away the fuses from the shells, or doing something like that, when a spark arose. The merchants have begun a subscription of 200*l*. a-piece for the relief of the poor sufferers. A whole town I may say is destroyed. The accident happened this morning about a quarter past six. They say there are now buried in the ruins 1000 barrels of gunpowder that are in danger; but I trust in God it is untrue, for, were that to blow up, it would bring all Malta in ruins."

This day during the storm of thunder and light- 23<sup>rd</sup>.  
ning, about two o'clock, a labouring man named Tytheman, ploughing in a field belonging to John Potter, esq. at South Weald, Essex, for shelter against the violence of the rain, repaired with his horses under a tree in the field; when he and both horses were struck dead by a flash of lightning. There were no marks of violence upon the man, except a small perforation in the crown of his hat, apparently as if the electric stroke took an upward direction through it; the horses were lying back to back, and appeared as if they had died without a struggle.

Buonaparte lately ordered an assembly of the principal French Jews in the empire, who were summoned accordingly by M. Mole, one of their elders. He stated that his majesty had appointed commissioners



tioners to treat with them respecting the bad conduct of many of their members with respect to their religion—"The laws," says he, which have been imposed upon persons of your religion have been different all over the world; they have been too often dictated by the exigency of the moment. But, as there is no example in the Christian annals of any assembly like this, so you, for the first time, are to be impartially judged, and your fate decided by a *Christian Prince*. It is his majesty's wish that you should become French; it is your duty to accept this title, and to consider that you, in fact, renounce it, whenever you shew yourselves unworthy of it."—The following questions, proposed by his majesty, were then read by the secretary of the meeting; and a time appointed for receiving the answers:—"1. Is the Jew permitted to marry more than one wife?—2. Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion?—3. Can a Jewess intermarry with a Christian, or a Christian female with a Jew; or does the law prescribe alone that Jews should intermarry?—4. Are the French, in the eyes of the Jews, brothers or aliens?—5. What in all cases are the connections which their law permits them to maintain with the French who are not of their religion?—6. Do the Jews who were born in France and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, consider France as their native country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they under any obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code?—7. Who are they who are called rabbins?—8. What civil jurisdiction do the rabbins exercise

among the Jews? What power of punishment do they possess?—9. Are the mode of choosing the rabbins, and the system of punishment, regulated by the Jewish laws; or are they only rendered sacred by custom?—10. Were the Jews forbidden by their laws to take usury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this of strangers?—11. Are those things proclaimed which are forbidden to the Jews by their laws?"

The Jewish assembly at Paris has answered three of the questions proposed to it, respecting Jewish marriages, as follows: that the Jewish law, in the strictest sense, permits polygamy, divorce, and mixed marriages, but that these are limited by practice and usage. To the question which relates to the duties of French citizens, the assembly is said to have answered in the fullest manner.

As James Dixon, a letter-carrier of the town of Windsor, was delivering his letters, he was struck blind with the lightning. 24th.

The metropolis was this day again visited by a most awful and tremendous storm. It commenced about two o'clock, and continued, with undiminished violence, until three. The clouds descended to the very house-tops, and the city was enveloped in darkness. The rain fell in such torrents, as to resemble, in a great degree, those periodical descents of the deluge so common in the West Indies. The flashes of lightning were uncommonly vivid in the neighbourhood of the Strand.—A man was struck by the lightning in Drury-lane, but did not sustain any material injury. A ball of fire struck

one of the poles, near London Bridge, for mooring the barges, and shivered it to pieces. The clouds charged with the electric matter came from the S. W. The reports were first heard from a considerable distance, but gradually approached the capital; as, in the latter part of the time, there was not an interval of half a second between the flash and the explosion. The rain and hail were incessant. The water rose so high in the lower parts of the city as to fill the kitchens and cellars of the houses; and in some parts of the Borough, bridges of boats were constructed for the foot passengers. The flashes of lightning were uncommonly vivid. The masts of several ships in the river were shivered from top to bottom; and we understand, at Islington, one or two horses were knocked down. The effects of the storm have been seriously felt in the environs of the metropolis, where many gardens have been completely inundated and destroyed. In St. Giles's the cellars were so flooded, that the people were obliged to quit them to save their lives. A house in Flint-street, near the King's Bench, was damaged; the chimney was thrown down, the roof destroyed, and the windows forced out, happily without any one sustaining the least injury. An apartment in the house caught fire, but was extinguished.

24th. Samuel Barnes, a soldier belonging to the 3d regiment of Guards, lost his life by falling into the main sewer in South Moulton-street. He was employed, with about twelve other labourers, to clear away a quantity of rubbish formed by the bursting of the main sewer in a

yard between South Moulton and Davies-streets, Oxford-street. It was thought expedient by the foreman of Mr. Rowles, the contractor for keeping the sewers in repair, to call the men from their work in the afternoon, their situation being dangerous from the quantity of water which inundated the lower parts of the houses around them. After the workmen had retired, one of them, as it appeared, who had drunk rather freely while at work, had left his jacket, and the deceased went for it. Another person went with him; and as he was attempting to reach with a stick the jacket, which was on the other side of the sewer, the ground gave way, and he was precipitated into the torrent of water, which was very strong, and about six feet in depth. Several persons went down the sewer as soon as the water had gone off, as far as Elliot's Brewhouse, Pimlico, from whence the sewer lies open. The body was found by two of Mr. Elliot's men, on Thursday morning, July 31, floating on the water opposite the middle of Millbank. Verdict Accidental Death. An affecting scene followed the inquest. The wife of the deceased, a young woman of very interesting appearance, with two children, and herself again pregnant, followed the corps of her husband to the grave, in front of the company of Guards to which her husband belonged. The common sewer which crosses Oxford-street, near South Moulton and Davies-streets, was originally a small stream that ran down from Hampstead-hill. When Marylebone parish was about to be built upon, it was found necessary to extend the bed through which  
this

This small current flowed, both in order to form a land-drain for the marshy ground, and with a view to form a general channel through which the common sewers of that part of the town might pass. The stream was by this means increased to a rivulet, which, after rain, had as strong a current as that which is necessary to turn a common-sized mill. It is remarkably well arched over; and, had it not been for the two uncommonly violent floods which came shortly after each other, it might have stood for years. It emptied, as most of our common-sewers do, into the Thames.

25th. The rain commenced this morning between one and two, and poured down in torrents for a considerable time. All the kitchens in that part of Oxford-street which lies between Bond-street and Manchester-square, were completely inundated. In Bird-court, in James-street, and other streets in the same neighbourhood, the distress of the inhabitants was inconceivably great. In these houses the water was at least four feet deep. The foundation of a house in Bird-court, and of another at the entrance into Davies-street, are so much injured, that carpenters have been employed to prop them up. In the lower part of Piccadilly, opposite to the house intended for Lord Barrymore, the water rose to the height of three feet, and was impassable for several hours.

Two fire-balls were observed to fall nearly at the same time; one in Etton-field, near Peterborough, the other near Woodcroft, happily without doing any injury. A fire-ball entered

the chimney of a house in Bisbrook, near Uppingham, and went out at the door; there were several children in the room, but happily no lives were lost.

KILKENNY. "I have indeed abundant cause of 29th. thankfulness that I am permitted once more to write to you, as my preservation, in common with the inhabitants of this city, has been truly providential. Yesterday, about two o'clock, the most tremendous thunder-storm I ever heard began here, and continued with increasing fury till near four. The whole atmosphere seemed on fire, the lightning quite vivid and forked, threatening universal destruction, and instantly succeeded by such thunder as seemed to be destined for the desolation of the entire city. Torrents of rain fell almost during the whole time; and, occasionally, dreadful hail, in size about a pigeon's egg. One young woman was killed; I saw her this morning—the hair on the front of her head completely burned—the gable of the house where she was, split, and the glass in the window broken. In another house a man was struck quite senseless, and the electric fluid passed along the entire direction of the bell, and consumed it to ashes, leaving a mark similar to that which appears after the explosion of gunpowder. On the roof of a third, it tore away about three yards of the slating, and killed a bird on the top. I could not conceive any thing on this earth more awful and terrific. The consternation was universal."

29th. At Portsmouth, Master Mowbray, went to Portsmouth Fair, under the immediate care of his mother, and a lady, the

the neighbour and friend of the family, and in company with his sister, and several other children. After taking tea, the party were walking in the broad-path called the Running-walk, where no danger was ever apprehended, it never having been known that a carriage of any kind, or horse, entered that part of the fair. Unfortunately, a heavy cart, with two horses, that had brought some articles of refreshment to the booth at the top of the walk, had been left near the booth by the driver, and some person having thoughtlessly leaped upon the fore horse, he took fright, and both horses set off at full gallop down the walk which is a steep hill. The party running to get out of the way, Master Mowbray fell, and some of the other children fell over him. The cart went over his breast; one of the children, daughter of the lady above alluded to, had part of her dress torn off by the wheel; and the sister of the deceased was dragged, by an officer belonging to the German Legion (at Hilsa) from before the wheel, so much at his own hazard, that the wheel actually grazed her head. The boy was instantly bled by the surgeon of one of the German regiments, and visited by Mr. Soaper, surgeon, of Southwick; but both declared he could scarcely survive to be conveyed home, and he died on the road. He was perfectly sensible, and complained little, but of thirst; he said he should be better when he got home to his father's bed; and a little before he expired, he raised himself, and putting his arms round his mother's neck, kissed her. He did not speak afterwards, but expired in the easiest

manner. He was an only son, eight years and a half old; a remarkably fine boy, of a frank and manly spirit, and was justly beloved and admired.

DIED.—At Paris, M. Rétif de la Bretonne, in the 72d year of his age. This original and copious, and still more bizarre author, wrote more than 100 volumes, which met with success. He had been a journeyman printer, and it is said that he set up one of his works without having ever written it. There is much humour in his *Paisan Perversi*, which is but too true a picture of the lowest vices and most disgusting manners. His *Vie de mon Pere*, less known, is perhaps his best production. He was nicknamed the Jean Jacques Rousseau of the Streets, a title that well characterized him.

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## AUGUST.

At the Suffex assizes, which were held at Lewes, the following cause (for *cruelty to a dog*) came on: Hicks *versus* James Collard.—Mr. Morris said, the declaration set forth, that the plaintiff had a valuable dog; that the defendant beat him, and rubbed his sides with a caustic liquid; in consequence of which it became necessary to destroy the animal. To this the defendant had pleaded, that the dog trespassed upon his premises, and that he beat him to keep him away.—The plaintiff was a stable-keeper at Brighton, and the animal destroyed was his yard dog. The defendant was a druggist and chemist, who had a bitch in his house, to which the dog paid occasional

sional visits. In one of those visits the defendant secured the dog, most cruelly poured on him the oil of vitriol, and turned him out. In the course of the next day, it corroded the flank of the poor creature until his bowels actually dropped out, and it became necessary to put the animal out of its misery. It was stated in confirmation by a witness, that the morning after the liquid had been applied, about five o'clock, he first saw the dog; it was then running about the yard in great agony. The hair on the back was hard, as if burnt, but on the sides, where the dog had licked himself, the flesh was torn away, and there was but a thin skin between that and the bowels. The tongue of the animal, by licking itself, was burnt as hard as a coal, and was so stiff that it appeared as if it had been bent. About twelve o'clock, the skin of the flank was eaten in holes, and the bowels dropped out on the ground. In this state they shot the dog. Two other witnesses proved to the same effect. At the conclusion of the examination of witnesses, the judge (Baron Macdonald) observed, that his feelings had been so deeply lacerated by what he had heard, that he could not recapitulate the evidence.—Such an act of wanton wickedness and cruelty, he said, he had never before heard of, and he hoped that he never should again. He regretted that the law would not permit him to punish such a miscreant as he deserved; but advised the jury to give the most ample damages that the law would allow. The damages were only laid at five guineas, the value of the dog, consequently the jury could give no

more.—Five guineas were therefore awarded.

At eleven o'clock A. M. there was an awful thunder-storm in East Lothian. The morning was fine, but between ten and eleven the sky became dark and stormy, and soon burst into loud peals of thunder, preceded by flashes of lightning uncommonly vivid. The lightning broke upon the manse of Gladsmuir, and struck dead a female servant. The manse was for some time filled with smoke and sulphur, but no other damage happened to it, than the falling of some slates from the roof.

In the north of Scotland, large tracts of land still remain under water. In the parish of Urquhart, about 18 miles from Inverness, a bridge was carried off by the current, and three men who were on it at the time perished.

The new dock formed by the East India Company at 4<sup>th</sup>. Blackwall, for the reception of their valuable fleets, was opened. This great work is not of such magnificent dimensions as the West India and London Docks, at the isle of Dogs and Wapping. It consists of a large quadrangular basin, round which is an extensive quay, on the south side of which there is a space sufficient for the erection of a range of capital warehouses. Round the quay a lofty wall encloses the whole. The principal entrance is from a grand road, communicating with the recently formed great commercial road, and is distinguished by a sumptuous stone gateway, adorned with emblematical sculpture. Between this dock and the river is the former basin where the machine for masting ships is erected.

As some workmen were sinking a vault for Mr. Crawley, wine-merchant, of Ipswich, the work gave way, and falling in upon them, Mr. Scarlett, the brick-layer, was killed, and his son, about six years old, who went to call him to dinner, was also killed very near him. He has left a wife and three other children. Four workmen were buried in the ruins, but were dug out, one with his thigh and another with his leg broken, and the two others were slightly bruised.

Mr. C. Austin, a respectable inhabitant of Boston, in New England, was shot in a public street, by O. Selfridge, esq. The witnesses examined by the Coroner stated, that they observed the deceased and the prisoner meet in State-street, and in less than a minute afterwards, they saw Selfridge take a pistol from a side pocket, and discharge it upon Austin. Austin instantly struck him with a small stick he had in his hand; Selfridge then threw the pistol with great violence at his head, and snatched the stick from his hand; Austin fell from the side path on the pavement, and Selfridge continued to beat him with the stick, till some persons came up, who, with great force, prevented him from proceeding farther. Austin never spoke after, but expired instantly; the blood was gushing from his mouth. The ball entered his breast, just below the left pap, and passed through his body. No evidence was offered by the prisoner, who was committed for trial. This event originated in a dispute between Selfridge and the father of the deceased, in consequence of which

the prisoner posted him in the newspapers as a scoundrel and a coward. The son, who is only 18, attempted to revenge the insult offered to his father.

This day was cut, in the garden belonging to Thomas Taylor, of Norton, near Stockton, co. Durham, a melon, which measured, in circumference over its two ends, 36 inches, and betwixt them, in a direction perpendicular to its axis, 28 inches; weight, 16lbs. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. It is thought to be the largest ever grown in this part, or perhaps in England.

A party of boats at Weymouth went on a sailing match, 6th. when one, the May Flower, with five hands, upset, and immediately went down; the men were all saved except one of the name of Strickland, a shoemaker, who sunk with the boat.

A grand conference of the methodists closed at York on 7th. Saturday last. The increase of the society this year amounts to near 9000. *Seventeen* preachers have been admitted into full connection, and near *forty* more *on trial*. Fifty additional chapels have been erected in the course of the year. At the above conference the rev. Adam Clarke sat as president, and Dr. Thomas Coke as secretary. Upwards of 20,000 members were present on the occasion.

About one o'clock this morning the sugar-house of Mrs. A. Moleworth, in Union-street, Shadwell, was discovered to be on fire. In two hours the interior of the sugar-house was entirely consumed: the dwelling-house escaped with little damage. The premises, we hear, were insured for 7500l.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the operation

operation of tapping was performed by Mr. Cline on Mr. Secretary Fox, and upwards of sixteen quarts of water were removed. The operation was performed in the presence of Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Moseley, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Tegart, and Mr. Cline, junior.

A dreadful fire broke out this evening in the extensive warehouse and stores belonging to Mr. Bennett, sugar-baker, at the corner of Conduit-street, Shadwell, by which the whole of those valuable premises were destroyed, together with sugar, molasses, &c. to an immense amount.

An effort, by two motions, in the court of chancery, was made to revive the question of the sanity or insanity of the late lord Chedworth; and the main spring by which the point of insanity was to be insisted on, was an affidavit of the rev. Dr. Parr, of Hatton, in Warwickshire. The doctor, in his affidavit, states, that he very reluctantly came forward, at the instance of the heir at law, lieutenant-colonel Alexander Wright, of the 77th regiment; he nevertheless states, that notwithstanding lord Chedworth's highly cultivated mind, his brilliant fancy, and his superior talents, yet he believed him at times to be deranged, and of so unsound a judgment, that it would have been proper at those times to have placed him under personal restraint. This affidavit was repelled by the counsel on the opposite side, by the production of several letters from Dr. Parr himself to lord Chedworth, written in the life-time of the latter, all of which conveyed the most exalted idea of his lordship's understanding. The lord Chancellor (after adverting to

the strong and powerful evidence produced on the trial, in the court of King's bench, of lord Chedworth's sanity) particularized the case of the attorney general *v.* Panther, in which lord Thurlow laid down a maxim, from which he said no judges should depart: It was, that the *onus* should be with those who asserted the *insanity*, and that it was not sufficient to show that the party had been suspected of a morbid imagination at particular periods of his life; but it must be proved that he was actually deranged at the time of doing the *act*, the validity of which was questioned. His lordship concluded, by refusing to grant a new trial, and hoped that the matter of costs would be the only thing hereafter to be discussed.

This evening, on finishing a house in Brick-lane, Spital-fields, the bricklayers went on the most elevated part of the building to drink a gallon of beer, with three huzzas. In their hilarity, four persons fell to the ground; one was killed on the spot, and the others were taken to the London hospital; one of whom is since dead, and the other two not likely to recover.

A wooden house in Lambeth Marsh took fire, owing to the boiling over of some varnish. The adjoining houses were pulled down; and the flames prevented extending.

On Bushy Heath, near Rickmansworth, several men and women were employed in the making of bricks. When the storm came on, one of the women, to appease the crying of her infant child, placed it on her breast, and ran towards her cottage, which she had nearly

nearly reached, when the lightning struck her in a terrible manner; it burnt her body to a cinder, and tore her limbs from their places: one of her legs was found 20 yards from her body; but the child remained unhurt. The lightning next set fire to her thatched cottage, in which were her four other children, one of whom was killed, and another so dreadfully scorched that its life was despaired of, though hopes are now entertained of its recovery. The cottage, and the whole of the poor man's furniture, were entirely consumed. The storm at Newcastle was extremely awful. A violent squall of wind arose from the S. W. which sunk a pleasure boat belonging to a gentleman in South Queensferry, then near the island of Inchcolm. The owner of the boat, his servant, a skipper, and two tradesmen, all residing in Queensferry, unfortunately perished.

CARLISLE. — This afternoon came on a most dreadful storm. It commenced about four in the afternoon, and continued till near eight, at which time it was as dark as it used to be at nine. The lightning was amazingly vivid, and appeared one continued flash; the thunder, too, was tremendous. A large barn at Linstock (farmed by John Lennox), two miles from this city, was struck by a fire-ball. The barn contained 80 cart-loads of hay, valued at 250l. As five or six people were employed in the cellar of the new brewery here, a thunder-bolt penetrated into it, and struck all to the ground. The eldest son of Mr. Ross was severely injured, but there are hopes of his recovery. At Coldbeck, the storm was equally severe. A cow,

the property of the high sheriff, was killed by the electric fluid.

This morning as several young men and boys were bathing in the Serpentine river, a young man, named Smith, a good swimmer, was seized with the cramp, and sunk. The spectators ran to the receiving-house to give the alarm. The body was found in about 20 minutes, and taken to the receiving-house; and in half an hour life was restored.

This day a fire broke out at Pill, owing to the obstinacy of a gentleman's servant, in setting fire to the thatch taken off some old buildings; which communicating to the adjoining houses, three were burnt to the ground. Three poor families have been deprived of a home.

Yesterday afternoon as Mr. Bolton, haberdasher, of Stanhope-street, Clare Market, was travelling with his son, a fine boy, four years old, inside the Bath and Taunton double-bodied coach, in Piccadilly the door flew open, and the child fell out; the hinder wheels of the vehicle, which was loaded with from fourteen to twenty passengers, went over both the legs of the child above the ankle, and broke the bones into splinters. It was a spectacle too shocking to give a full description of; the blood flowed copiously from the wounds, and the legs seemed only to be held together by the sinews. The poor child was taken to the shop of Mr. Hambridge, Piccadilly, where every assistance was afforded to alleviate its sufferings.

Thursday se'nnight an infamous transaction took place at a public-house called Low-bridge, on the road



road between Manchester and Huddersfield, about two miles from the latter place. A young woman who had not been married more than a week, proceeding on a visit to her parents, called at this house to procure refreshment, where five men were drinking, without appearing to take much notice of her. Just after she had partaken of a gill of ale, she complained of sickness, and went to the door; on her return her indisposition evidently increased, and at this period she was laid on her back, while they poured ardent spirits down her throat. In this situation the young girl, who in the absence of her father had the charge of the house, with apparent humanity helped her to bed; but this was no sooner done, than she introduced into the room of the undefended stranger the fellows above noticed; from whom, aided in the proceedings by two other vile women, she was compelled to suffer a species of violence above all others the most abhorrent to the feelings of a virtuous woman. Not content with perpetrating the above, those wretches proceeded to *amuse* themselves with many indecent pranks, to the disfigurement of the young woman's person. The three men, and the three females above mentioned, are in custody. When the offenders were apprehended, and ready to be conveyed to Wakefield, the populace at Honley would have torn them to pieces, had they not been restrained by the constables.

Advices have been received from the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, to Bengal, to Feb. 6, 1806. Considerable additions have been made to the

church lately. The number of natives baptized from January 1, 1805, to February 6, 1806, is thirty-six, making the whole number of the baptized, eighty-three persons. There are besides these many inquirers. A church has been established at Dinagepore, of eight members, over which Mr. Fernandez is ordained as their pastor. Mr. Carey expects two others to be soon constituted. A Mr. Mayhir, who lives 700 miles in the country, and has lately joined the church, with young Mr. Fernandez, have arrived at Philadelphia, on their way to Britain. The former intends to return immediately, to attempt to introduce the gospel there; the latter is to reside some time in Britain for improvement as a missionary.

The mission of Serampore have published proposals for translating the Scriptures into Shanscrit, Marhatta, Guzzerattee, Orissa, Carnatta, Telenga, Burmah, Assam, Bochar, Tibet, and Chinese.—These, with the Bengalee, Hindostanee, Malay, Tamul, and Cingalese, are the whole languages in India; and the Bible being already in the five last, no part of that vast continent will be destitute of the Word of God in their own language. The college at Fort William, and the Asiatic society, patronize the undertaking; and the Bible Society of London, of which Lord Teignmouth is president, have voted 1000*l.* towards defraying its expence.

The Chinese translation is begun, under the tuition of Mr. Johannes Laslar, from Canton, professor of that language, who was lately employing in correcting the official correspondence between the Portuguese

Portuguese at Macao and the court of Peking. He is now resident at the Mansion-house at Serampore, and is teaching the language to three of the missionaries. Some part of the translation is already printed off, from characters cut in wood after the Chinese manner. The third and last volume of the Old Testament, in Bengalee, is at press. The Gospel of Matthew is printed in the Mahratta tongue; and a minute Account of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Hindoos, derived from the Hindoo Shasters, and personal knowledge, for which Mr. Ward has been collecting materials several years, will soon be published in one volume quarto. Mr. Marshman is about to publish the Greek and Sanscrit languages compared.

The thunder-storm of this day has done infinite damage in various parts of the country. At Northfield End, near Henly, a fire-ball entered the chimney, and passed through the windows, after greatly injuring the house. Two men and a boy, who were dressing wheat in a barn, at Harrington Tiger, near Huntingdon, were struck dead by the lightning, and the barn burnt; as were a fat cow and three sheep, belonging to Mr. Handley, of Deeping Fen.—In Haddon lordship, two beasts, the property of Mr. Dean, and a horse near Cambridge, perished.—A fire-ball entered the workhouse at Godmanchester, but passed out at the front door, without doing any injury. It afterwards entered the hut of a poor man opposite, M. Budge, who was killed while sitting in a chair; after which it exploded.—Three fat bullocks grazing in a field, and belonging to Mr. T.

Sadler, of St. Osyth, were destroyed by the lightning.—A barn in the possession of Mr. B. Wiggins, of Haggeley, near Maldon, was consumed, together with the contents, part of the corn of this year's growth.

At Rudford, near Gloucester, two sheep were killed in a field; and, on the Tewkesbury road, a post-chaise horse, belonging to the Bell inn, was struck down, but soon recovered the shock. A poor man was killed near Stapleton; he had a scythe on his shoulder, which, no doubt, served to attract the electric fluid. A very fine horse was killed at Tortworth, in Gloucestershire. A valuable horse, the property of Farmer Daily, was struck dead at Witney; and two others were killed near Henley. One of the Bath coaches was overturned on Twyford bridge, by the horses taking fright at the lightning; but none of the passengers were injured, though the coach was thrown into the stream. At Godstone, in Surrey, the lightning struck two men who were hoeing turnips in a field, and killed one of them on the spot. The other, after remaining some time senseless on the ground, recovered as from a swoon, and appeared much surprised and shocked at finding his companion dead. At Dunstable the lightning fell on a house, formerly the Bull inn, but now fitting up for a brewery, and fired a stable, in which were five waggon-horses; they were got out safe.—Joseph Bridge, employed by Mr. Ford, of Rayleigh, near Shrewsbury, in mowing oats, endeavoured to shelter himself under an oak, which he had nearly reached, when he was struck dead.—A large oak growing

growing in a field in the parish of Sherstone, Wilts, belonging to Mr. John Deverell, was struck by the lightning. A large limb, weighing four or five cwt. was severed off completely from the body of the tree; nearly the whole of the bark of the body of the tree was also torn off, and scattered round in small pieces, to a distance of 20 yards from the tree.

Mr. Anthony Daffy Swinton, late vender of Daffy's Elixir, underwent a long examination before three of the commissioners of bankrupts, at Guildhall. At his former examination he talked much of a Miss Moore, who, he said, had lived with him, and had burned the memorandums which constituted his accounts. The commissioners issued orders for the appearance of Miss Moore, to be examined. Miss Moore did not appear; but the bankrupt confessed that he himself burnt the leaves torn from the account-book, for which he substituted clean ones, and gave orders to a young man of the name of Hall to fill up the blank pages with fabricated accounts, and to write with different pens, and three different sorts of ink, to make it appear as if wrote at different times. He likewise gave in, the same day, a list of things concealed at various places by his desire. The commissioners told him, that from what he had stated at his several examinations, they thought it their duty to send him to Newgate; to which prison, after hearing Mr. Const as his counsel, he was committed.

This evening, about seven o'clock, as Mr. Nettlefield, stock-broker, with a female relation, was driving his gig towards Maiden-

head, the horse took fright, and running on a bank, the lady was thrown out, and killed on the spot.

Three children amusing themselves a few days ago in a sand-hole, at Bank Top, Manchester, a part of the rock above them gave way, and killed them all on the spot.

David George, of Swansea, a poor fisherman, lost his life in the following singular manner: some unexpected success in the morning induced him to go out to fish off the pier-head, late in the evening, accompanied by his son and two men; they had drawn the net on shore, and, whilst George was clearing it, observing a small sole entangled in the meshes of the net, he put the head of the fish between his teeth to draw it through (a common practice, we understand, with fishermen); but whether in so doing, or in going to open his mouth afterwards, cannot be ascertained, the fish slipped into his throat, and choked him in a few minutes. Medical assistance was obtained with all possible speed; but every effort to extract the sole proved unavailing, while a chance of saving the man's life remained; nor was it until the operation of opening the windpipe had been performed, that the whole of the fish could be removed. The poor fellow has left a pregnant widow, with five small children.

At Pilsgate, near Stamford, 20th. ford, co. Lincoln, was killed, aged 26, Mr. John Sisson, farmer. He was assisting his reapers, and urging them to cut as much corn that night as the light would permit, when some of them refused to work longer, and ere by his insolence so

incensed Mr. S. as to induce him to strike him; upon which John Ward, the son of the man, who was also employed in the field, immediately struck Mr. S. a violent blow on the side of the head with a wheat-hook, and, although he had on a strong hat, the weapon penetrated his skull. He languished four days, and then expired, leaving a pregnant widow and five small children. Ward has been since convicted at a session of magistrates of the soken of Peterborough, and executed.

A most atrocious fraud was committed on a number of gentlemen at the stock-exchange, it being the settling day, by a foreign Jew, of the name of Joseph Elkin Daniels, who has for a long time been a conspicuous character in the alley. Finding that, in consequence of the great fluctuation of omnium, he was not able to pay for all that he had purchased at an advanced price, he hit upon a scheme to pocket an enormous sum of money, and with which he has decamped: 31,000*l.* omnium was tendered to him in the course of Thursday; in payment for which he gave drafts on his bankers, amounting to 16,816*l.* 5*s.* which were paid into the respective bankers of those who had received them, to clear in the afternoon. Having gained possession of the omnium, he sold it through the medium of a respectable broker, received drafts for it, which he cleared immediately, and set off with the produce. On his drafts being presented, payment was refused, he having no effects at the banker's.

About one o'clock in the morning of this day a fire was discovered on board the *Dover*, of 44 guns,

a ship fitted up for temporary marine barracks, and lying alongside the dock-yard wharf, at Woolwich. In half an hour she was in one complete blaze, and by three o'clock was burnt to the water's edge. She had been prepared as a floating barrack for the new division of marines, called the Woolwich division, and was placed alongside the upper end of that town, near the mast houses, close to the quay. From the quay to the ship was a platform, which made the vessel quite easy of access, and in every sense as commodious as land barracks. On board of this vessel were generally three or four hundred of the Woolwich division of marines, with a proportionate number of officers. The fire was discovered by the centinel on the poop, who gave the alarm, which was passed to the dock-yard. The fire bell was rung, and immediate assistance was afforded to those on board, who were in number about 120 men, 50 women, and half as many children. About two o'clock she was in flames from stem to stern, but before this almost the whole on board had effected their escape. Such a scene of distress has seldom been witnessed; men were seen dragging their wives out of the port-holes, while mothers were heard screaming for their children; others, half burnt, were seen leaping from the ship to the shore. A serjeant's wife threw her infant out of a port-hole, and jumped after it herself into the mud, it being low water, and both were saved. Only one man suffered, who had been seen out of the ship, and is supposed to have returned to save something.

The following singular occurrence

rence took place last week : a lady having called a boat on the Surrey side of Blackfriars-bridge for Old Palace-yard, the waterman requested that she would allow his wife to go along with them ; to which she readily consented. About midway the woman got up, and, after a formal apology to the lady for alarming her, declared her fixed determination to drown her husband ; for the purpose of accomplishing which object, she immediately began to make every possible effort to upset the boat. In the midst of her exertions, however, her foot happened to slip, she fell overboard, and never rose more !

21st. There was this day the most destructive overflow of water in the vale of St. John, near Kefwick, that has been experienced there since the memorable water-spout of the year 1749. This, too, is supposed to have been occasioned by the bursting of a cloud upon the mountains. About two P. M. the water came rushing down the gill, between Fisher-place and Brattah, with such force, as to overflow the channel of the river, and to do considerable damage. The principal mischief was sustained by Robert Walker, of Fisher-place, whose grounds are nearly all covered by rubbish, washed down from the sides of the adjoining mountains. At the time the wide-spreading torrent was sweeping every thing before it, down the sides of the mountain, there was scarcely any rain at the bottom. The scene was terrible in the extreme. In the former visitation (1749,) a mill was washed down. The mill-stone has not been found to this day.

Early this morning a very handsome young woman, about 22d. 18 years of age, dressed in a white muslin gown, with long sleeves and yellow gloves, straw bonnet, and velvet shoes, was found in the agonies of death, by the watchman, in Belvidere-row, near the king's bench prison ; she lay between two carts. On being taken up, and on opening the door of Mr. Gibbs, near the spot, she fell forward, and breathed her last. After the body was conveyed to the watch-house, it appeared that she had received several severe bruises about the head ; there were likewise some marks of violence about her throat and neck ; a piece of flesh was also found to be cut and torn away from the lower and secret part of the body ! On Saturday evening, an inquisition was taken on the body, at the Yorkshire Grey public-house, opposite St. George's work-house ; when, after a long and minute investigation, the jury returned a verdict of " Wilful Murder against some person or persons unknown." The deceased, it was proved, was an unfortunate girl of the town ; but all who knew her agreed in giving her the best character that a woman in her situation could have. The deceased was addicted occasionally to liquor. Whether to the jealousy of man, or the envy of women, (among whom, we understand, she was an object of jealousy,) her death is owing, remains at present enveloped in uncertainty.

A child about four years old, belonging to Mr. Pugmore, carpenter, of Empingham, Rutland, was killed in a melancholy and extraordinary way. The father had

climbed up a plum-tree on his premises in order to shake down the fruit, which the infant stood below to pick up, when the bough upon which he sat broke, and in falling violently dashed the head of the child against a stone trough, and killed it on the spot.

At the Suffolk assizes, held at Bury, among other prisoners who received sentence of death, were Luke Castle and Samuel Wheeler, (both under 22 years of age,) for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. John Chapman, of Stradishall, and stealing sundry articles of wearing apparel, &c. The atrocious conduct of these two offenders cannot but convince every reader of the justice of their sentence. These villains, who had long infested the neighbourhood, and belonged to a gang of that class denominated gypsies, entered at midnight the dwelling-house of Mr. Chapman, who resided therein alone, most cruelly beat and tortured him with a bayonet, in order to extort from him his property, and afterwards attempted to enclose him in a hutch, which not proving of a sufficient length, they threatened to shorten him by cutting off his head; however, they contented themselves with binding him down in his bed with a tablecloth, still continuing the use of the bayonet, until the sufferer was nearly exhausted; they then, before they departed, obliged him to kiss a bible, and swear he had no property but what they had taken; and, with shocking imprecations, threatened, if he attempted to unbind himself before they returned, to murder him. In this situation he remained about an hour; when

one of the villains came back, determined to put in practice his horrid intention, had he found him in any other situation, but that in which he left him. Jane Ellis, who was an accomplice, was admitted evidence against them.

At the Surrey quarter sessions, in Horsemonger-lane, of seven lamplighters found guilty of stealing oil from the proprietors of Vauxhall, three were sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and four sent on board the tender.— Thomas Rogers, for assaulting and beating his wife, and attempting to put her into a copper half full of boiling water, was found guilty. He prayed to be allowed to serve as a soldier. The learned Chairman, (Serjeant Onslow) replied, that he could not think of disgracing the king's service so much as to send so cowardly a fellow into it; and then passed sentence of two years' imprisonment, and to find sureties. No less than three prisoners were in the list of commitments, charged with ill-treating female children; one, M' Manus by name, was convicted, and received sentence to suffer one year's imprisonment; the others escaped through defect of evidence.

Mr. Joseph Edge, aged 62, a native of Macclesfield, in Cheshire, lately undertook, on several bets amounting to upwards of 2000 guineas, to perform a journey of 172 miles in 50 successive hours, which he completed in 49 hours and 20 minutes! This aged pedestrian started from the Angel inn, in Macclesfield, exactly at 12 o'clock at night of the 6th instant, and arrived, accompanied by two gentlemen in a gig, at the Swan with

with two Necks, Lad-lane, at 20 minutes past one o'clock in the morning of the 9th.

At the Somersetsshire assizes, held at Wells, J. D. R. Rouvellet was found guilty of forging the acceptance of Messrs. Child and Co. to a bill of exchange for 420l. by which he defrauded Madame Simeon, lace-dealer, of Bath. He was convicted principally on the evidence of Elizabeth Barnett, who at that time lived with him as his wife, and saw him commit the forgery. The trial lasted 12 hours.

Eleanor Whitford was tried at the Surrey assizes; she standing indicted for having intermarried with John Whitford, on the 26th of November, 1801, at Gretna Green; and afterwards, at the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, on the 19th of May, 1806, feloniously intermarried with Robert Jacques James, her former husband being still alive. Not having room for a detailed account of this trial, we can only state, that Mrs. Whitford appears to have forsaken her husband in consequence of his having been unfortunate in business. Mr. James, a pretended wealthy old gentleman, whom she afterwards married at Lambeth church, had previously taken apartments at Whitford's house; and hence Mrs. Whitford's desertion of her husband, and subsequent mercenary union with James, on the presumption that her Gretna Green marriage was not legally binding. The man who married the parties at Gretna Green, David Lang, a tobacconist, was called to establish the first marriage. He stated, that he performed the ceremony over the prisoner and her

husband, in his way; that was, he read nothing, but he said something off the tongue, and authorised them to cohabit together. Being questioned if he had any certificate of the marriage, he replied, "No, only the names of David Lang, Eleanor Whitford, John Whitford, written on paper."

The chief baron deeming it necessary to have proof that the marriage was legally solemnized according to the laws of Scotland, Mr. Curwood, the counsel for the prosecution, offered Mr. Lang as an evidence to that point; but the lord chief baron said, he should not receive the law of Scotland from a tobacconist. The prisoner was in consequence acquitted for want of evidence of the law of Scotland. This decision, however, in no way affects the question as to the legality or illegality of Gretna Green marriages, for his lordship said, he could only know the law of Scotland from evidence in the cause. He said also, he would have taken the evidence of a Scotch advocate, but could not take that which was offered.

REMARKABLE CASE. — Mr. Scholes, surgeon, of Holmfirth, lately tapped a young lady, (a Miss Pearce) for the dropsy, and took from her 53 quarts of water and putrid matter.

Edward Hughes, a private marine, on board the 24th. Rochester prison-ship, lying at Gillingham, Kent, having obtained leave to go on shore for the purpose of transacting some business, as he was returning across the lines between nine and ten o'clock at night, of the 21st, he was met by four men, who, he said, he believed to

be soldiers belonging to the Guards, and was beat by them in a most unmerciful manner. He, however, contrived to reach his ship, where he became so ill that it was found necessary to send him on board the Argonaut hospital ship; where he was immediately examined, and it was discovered that his skull was fractured in two places, his eyes nearly beat out, and his body very much bruised. On his wrists and arms were marks as if occasioned by being forcibly held, while struggling to escape: every attention was paid him, but without effect; he died this morning.

25th. At the Lancaster assizes, which closed this day, 13 prisoners received sentence of death: John Barlow, for stealing six pieces of calico; Luke Lockard and Peter Higgins, for forgery; James Sidebottom, for stealing a waistcoat, &c. Ralph Bolton, for a burglary; Charles Johnson and Robert Thomas, for forgery; James Yates, for wounding and ravishing Mary Hoyle, of Spol-land; Isaac Hitchen, aged 62, for an assault, with intent to commit an unnatural crime on John Knight (he was one of the most affluent men in Warrington; his wealth is said to exceed 60,000l.) James Stockton, Thomas Fox, and Joseph Holland, for a similar offence on Thomas Taylor; and John Powell for an unnatural crime with John Knight. The judge (baron Graham) in the most impressive manner, advised the eight last-mentioned malefactors to prepare to meet the fate which the laws of their country had affixed to their heinous offences. Hopes of mercy were held out to the other five. It appeared on the trials of Hitchen,

Stockton, Fox, Holland, and Powell, that they regularly assembled at the house of Hitchen, on Monday and Friday evenings; and that they called one another brother. The judge very properly ordered that no notes should be taken on these trials, nor any young persons be allowed to be present at them. Five of the persons charged with unnatural offences were admitted as evidences for the crown. Stockton, Powell, Holland, Lockard, Higgins, and Yates were executed on the 13th, on the new drop, erected at the back of the castle. Stockton first ascended the scaffold; he appeared much agitated, indeed his limbs seemed almost inadequate to their task. Powell seemed much affected, though he did not display such dejection as the former. Holland appeared in a state of the greatest agitation; the contrition of his countenance truly indicated the penitence of his mind; on the scaffold his feeling appeared the most acute; he seemed impressed with all the horrors consequent to a situation so awful, and to implore the pardon of an Almighty God with the greatest fervency. He was a man advanced in years, of a gentlemanly appearance, and possessed of a handsome property. Yates (a young man) ran up the scaffold steps, and seemed little affected; Lockard and Higgins (young men) appeared greatly dejected. Hitchen and Fox are respited.

The waters about Keswick rose up to an unusual height, from the excessively heavy rains which fell the preceding night, and much damage has been done. The water-wear, at Forge, is washed down, which will occasion



tion a stop in the cotton-works, and carding and fulling-mills. The carding-mill at Stair is also washed down. Considerable damage has been done near Broughton in Furness, Conistone, and other places in that part of the country, by the washing down of bridges, &c. The lightning struck four pit-men, who had taken shelter in a new building at St. Helen's, Lancashire, the windows of which were not glazed. One of them, who had just stepped forward to look at the appearance of the sky, was killed on the spot, and two of them were so debilitated, that they were obliged to be put to bed. The watch and chain, belonging to the man who was killed, were completely melted.

About half-past nine on Wednesday morning, the George inn, at Hurst Green, in Sussex, and an adjoining house occupied by a Mr. French, were struck with lightning. In the latter, which it first struck, it took off the corner of a chimney in an upper sitting-room, passed into a bed-room, where it shivered to pieces an alarm clock, and thence took a direction downwards into the kitchen. Here it struck a lantern, completely consuming the horn, and heating the tin-work so that it could not be touched for some minutes after. The lightning then taking an angular direction into the back yard of the inn, shivered the posts on each side the kitchen door, and killed a full-grown fowl. Upwards of two dozen plates, standing near the door, on a stool, were broken in a thousand pieces. It then entered the brick-work at the bottom of the house, leaving a hole of about

sixteen inches in circumference, and buried itself in the cellar. Miss Hanson, the daughter of the landlord of the George inn, stood within two feet of the place where it entered, and her mother and the maid-servant were close by her; all of them felt the shock, and fell at the same instant. Fortunately the only injury suffered was a slight contusion on Miss Hanson's right foot, occasioned by a splinter from the door-post. The house was for several minutes filled with a sulphurous smoke.

We have to record another instance of the violence and atrocity of Buonaparte. A bookseller, M. Palm, residing at Nuremberg, formerly an imperial town, and under the special protection of Prussia, has been dragged from his house to the fortress of Brannau, and there tried, and shot by the sentence of a French military commission, for no greater crime than vending, in the way of his trade, a book respecting the government of France under Napoleon. He was a man of the highest integrity, and his unhappy fate is universally lamented. This atrocious act, placed beyond a doubt by private letters, is only slightly alluded to in the German papers. The fact is, that there is not one journalist within three days journey of the French army, who has not the fate of the Nuremberg bookseller continually before his eyes.

The fate of M. Palm, has excited in Germany an interest that does the greatest honour to the feelings of humanity. He was 40 years of age, and born at Schondorf.

His conduct, when sentenced to death by the French commission at

Brannau, was so heroic, that it deserves to be generally known. — This brave man was offered his pardon, upon condition that he gave up the author of the work; which he refused to do even at the place of execution, exclaiming, “that he would rather die than betray the author.”

To intimidate others, Buonaparte ordered 6000 copies of the sentence of the mock tribunal to be circulated all over the continent. Some patriots at Berlin, in return, subscribed for the publication and distribution of 60,000 copies of the inclosed letter which he wrote to his wife some hours before his execution. The general indignation this murder has excited every where in Germany is excessive. The pity of his fate is only surpassed by the abhorrence of the tyrant who commanded and directed the assassins who perpetrated this atrocious deed.

*“ In the Dungeon of the Military Prison of Brannau, August 26, 1806.—Six o’clock in the morning.*

“ MY DEAREST BELOVED,

“ When you read these lines you are a widow, and our dear, dear children have no longer a father. My destiny is fixed; in five hours I cease to live. But though I die the death of a criminal, you know that I have committed no crime; I fall a victim of the present calamitous times! times when an untimely death can neither dishonour a man whose whole life has been irreproachable, nor throw a stain on his surviving family. In our miserable days what virtue has not expired by the hands of the executioner!—Do not let your af-

fiction for the fate of a husband deprive you of firmness to support the duties of a mother. Our dear, dear babes (Oh, my God! I shall never more press them or you to my bursting heart!) have now a double claim on your maternal love, as well as on your maternal tenderness. Implant on their tender minds all those virtuous sentiments which made their good mother so very dear to their unfortunate father. I advise you to collect, as soon as possible, the wreck of our fortune (if any,) and to retire with it to England or America. In those fortunate lands innocence is still secure, and patriotism is yet revered.—In my last fervent prayers I recommend you all to the protection of an Omnipotent Providence, and to the compassion of those contemporary patriots of all countries whose noble bosoms sympathise with my own feelings, and deplore, if not weep, over the destruction of liberty in wretched Germany.—Reward the friend who delivers this; and forgive, and teach our dear children to forgive my murderer. May heaven pardon him as much as I do! I cannot—I dare not say more;—my breast is too full. Oh, my God! never more to behold and embrace them and you!!!—Almighty Creator, bless and preserve you all, until we meet in another and better world, to part no more! With my last breath, your ever affectionate husband,

JOHN P. PALM.

The following particulars of the loss, on the 27<sup>th</sup>. coast of Newfoundland, of the transport *Naias*, bound to Quebec last fall, with three companies of his

his majesty's 100th regiment of foot, have been furnished by one of the survivors of that deplorable event:—

“ On the 23d of October, at four o'clock in the morning, the ship struck on the rocks, about a quarter of a mile off a small island near the Port-aux-Basques, to the eastward of Cape Ray. The strength of the wind at S. E. blowing in-shore, the weight of the waves dashing over the vessel, and her filling, made it evident that she would shortly go to pieces. On attempting to lower the long-boat, it was carried away, and on this occasion major Bertram, the commanding officer had his arm broken, and was carried overboard with the boat, and perished. Several who attempted to swim on shore perished in the sight of their comrades. Nothing, therefore, could be done by those who still remained on board, (and whose numbers were diminishing every minute, by being washed overboard,) but to commit themselves to the will of Providence, and await the awful moment of the breaking up of the vessel. This took place about eight o'clock; at that time there remained little more than fifty or sixty persons on board. Thirty-four of these, principally from the quarter-deck, got on shore on pieces of the wreck, to the small island already mentioned, which was but ten yards from the main land, to which they afterwards crossed on a raft. Their situation was then, however, but little less desperate than before they reached the shore.

“ Shortly after the vessel broke up, the wind changed to N. W.;

the hopes of their provisions being driven on shore were by that means entirely destroyed. What provisions they had, when equally divided, amounted to about a pound of pork, and a few biscuits each; the shore, at that time of the year, seldom or never visited; the country barren and uninhabited; and the most inclement season approaching. The whole of those who got on shore (among whom were lieutenant Dawson, and ensign Falkner,) excepting three, of whom the informant was one, struck into the woods. The three just mentioned remained four days on the beach, when they were fallen in with by a hunter, of the name of Michael Gillam, who, it appears, had occupied a fishing-post near where the vessel was wrecked, in the summer, but had now retired to the woods, where he was huted for the winter. By this man they were treated with the greatest humanity, and taken to his winter habitation, where they remained in company with two of the party which struck into the woods, whom this man had also discovered and brought in, till the spring, when he conducted them to Fortune Bay, where they embarked for Quebec.

“ Accounts had been received of the escape of two sailors of the large party which struck into the woods. The rest, it is feared, have all perished. The total number of souls on board the vessel was about 247, thirty or forty of which were women and children.

This night, between eight and nine, a fire broke out in <sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> the house of Mr. Harris, a jew tailor, in Bevis Marks, occasioned by a candle left lighted in one of  
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the upper rooms. When the engines arrived, not a drop of water could be had for an hour and a half. In consequence, the fire communicated to the next house, belonging to Mr. Brandon, a merchant, and both were consumed.

At Flookburgh, the wife of — Rawcliffe, was delivered of three sons; all, with the mother, likely to do well. The father served 12 years in the royal navy, and was discharged in consequence of a hurt.

Cooke, the actor, brought an action, at the last Carrickfergus assizes, against Mr. Atkins, the manager of the Belfast theatre, for the sum of 127l. 10s. as a balance due to him for an engagement in the year 1804. But it appeared in evidence, that Cooke (in consequence of his want of attraction, and the consequent loss of the manager) agreed to give up the sum in question, upon condition of receiving a ring, in token of Mr. Atkins's respect; which was accordingly given to him. The jury, of course, found a verdict for the defendant with costs.

The city of Bath was visited with a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, between the hours of two and four this morning. No accident in the town. A ball of fire fell on a house at Twerton, which was entirely consumed; and it is reported that every inhabitant perished.— A stable belonging to a farmer on the new Gloucester road was burnt, and six valuable horses.

DIED.—1. In Great Pulteney-street, Bath, in his 56th year, Thomas Newte, esq. of Grove-house, Brompton, author of "Prospects

and Observations on a Tour in England and Scotland, natural, æconomical, and literary, 1791," 4to.

Of a broken heart, Mr. Farmer, well-known as a retailer of newspapers. He had acquired by his extraordinary industry, parsimony, and methods peculiar to himself, a sum amounting to 9000l. His manners and external appearance indicated extreme poverty; his plaintive stories very often excited pity, and induced many to act with tenderness towards him. The following circumstance has been related as the cause of Mr. Farmer's death. An old man, a news-dealer, being much afflicted with disorders incident to advanced age, wished to dispose of his business; the sum demanded for it was 50l. Mr. F. seemed inclined to purchase, but could not think of advancing so large a sum as 50l. at one time, but (supposing the old man could not live long), agreed to allow him 27s. per week during his natural life. These terms were agreed to; the old man retired into the country, recovered his health, returned to London, and exhibited his person before Mr. Farmer, which operated upon him so powerfully, that the whole of his thoughts were engrossed with it; he gradually declined in health, his spirits became depressed, "sharp misery seemed to have worn him to the bone;" and at last distressed to part with the "darling object of his soul," in a flood of tears he retired to his garret, and in a few hours expired.

28. At Kingston, Jamaica, aged 134, Catherine Lopez, a negro woman.

## SEPTEMBER.

1st. This morning, at six o'clock, a fire broke out at the distillery belonging to Messrs. Smith, Cook, and Tate, in Millbank, Westminster, which burnt with incredible fury for near two hours, destroying the valuable steam engine, estimated at 5000*l.* being capable of working eight stones at one time, in the process of grinding corn and malt. A great quantity of corn was also destroyed; fortunately the dwelling-house escaped. The damage is estimated at 60,000*l.* which was chiefly insured. The first partner in the above firm is W. Smith, esq. M. P. for Norwich.

3d. Was executed at Ilchester, pursuant to his sentence, J. Doerke Romney Rouvellet. From the time of his sentence, to the hour of his execution, he evinced a pious, manly, christian fortitude; denied, with his dying breath, the crime for which he suffered, and said, "that he was the victim of a perjured woman, whom he forgave, as well as all the world."

4th. A dreadful catastrophe took place in Angel-court, Charing-cross, in a house of ill fame. Margaret Smith, a young woman, being in company with a man who used to frequent her lodging, and two women, an altercation arose, and she was severely beaten by some of the party, and suddenly precipitated from a two pair of stairs window into a cellar below; but whether she leaped out to avoid the blows, or was thrown out by the others, we do not learn. Her skull was fractured, and also some

of her limbs; and in this state she was carried to the Westminster Infirmary, with little hopes of recovery. The two women and the man were taken into custody.

At the execution of Matfell, at Birmingham, for maliciously firing at and wounding a watchman of that town, being desired to give a signal the moment he wished to be turned off; when every thing was ready, he threw up a handkerchief that he held in his hand, and exclaimed, "Here goes!"

Mrs. Forsyth opened her house at Broadstairs, that Mrs. Siddons might give readings for the benefit of the Sea-bathing Infirmary, at Margate. The tickets, about 300, were 10*s.* 6*d.* each; they were all issued by private hands, the name of the party being put down on the back, and indorsed when transferred. This benevolent design was fully answered, but unfortunately ill repaid. While the bustle of the company engaged the attention of Mrs. Forsyth and family, a servant went into a bed-room and stole a box of jewels, worth upwards of 900*l.* the property of Mrs. Forsyth. They have been since returned.

A live toad was lately found in a block of stone at Newark, which a workman was dividing with wedges. It was of a white colour, and measured three inches and a half in length. The brilliancy of the light seemed to overcome its faculties, as it immediately stretched out its legs and appeared exhausted. It died in about an hour, during which time it was seen by many hundreds of the inhabitants.

At night, some vile incendiary set fire to a rick of bar.

7th.  
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ley, containing the produce of sixteen acres of land, belonging to the hon. John Monckton, at Fine-shade, near Stamford, and the same was entirely consumed. Fortunately no other mischief ensued, although numerous stacks were standing near. At a small distance from the rick-yard, where the fire began, a letter was found, without a superscription, the contents of which were of the most diabolical nature, threatening to shoot the keeper, should he dare to proceed thirty yards from the place; to give greater weight to their infernal machinations, a bullet was enclosed in the letter.

Mr. Sainsbury, of Weston, has obtained the astonishing number of 2000 grains of Egyptian wheat from two ears, sown in his own garden.

The board of agriculture has this year offered various premiums for the promotion of that useful science; among which are the three following; viz.

1. "To the person who shall produce to the board, a model of the best and cheapest cottage, on a scale of one inch to a foot; with estimates of the expence of erecting it—from five to ten guineas, according to merit.

2. "It having been represented to the board, that there are roads in some parts of the kingdom, where much carriers' work is regularly done with one-horse carts; and as, in such cases, it is conceived that it might be easy for such carriers to substitute oxen, or spayed heifers, in some of their carts for comparison, the board will give to the carrier, or other person, who shall make the expe-

rimient in the most satisfactory manner, during one year, and report the result to the board—fifty guineas.

"It is required that the oxen be fed in the same manner as the horses, and not to be under five years old.

3. "To the person who shall discover a principle, which may lighten the draught of oxen to carriages—twenty guineas; being the amount of a legacy left by the late colonel Goate, of Brent Eleigh, Suffolk, for this specific purpose."

*Berne.*—Information has 7<sup>th</sup>. lately been received of a dreadful accident which has destroyed several villages in the canton of Schwitz, situate between the lakes of Zug and Lauwertz. M. M. Freudenreich and Schlatter, directors of the mines, set out yesterday evening by order of government, to give aid. The following are the details of this disaster, the most dreadful recorded in the annals of Switzerland:

"On Tuesday the 2d of September, at five in the evening, the Knippenbuhl Rock, which formed the summit of Mount Rosenberg was on a sudden detached from its station, and at the same time part of the mountain, of several feet in thickness, on the western side, and about 280 feet in thickness on the east side, gave way, and fell into the valley which separates the lake of Zug from that of Lauwertz, overwhelming the whole of the villages of Goldau, Rœthan, Busingen, Huzloch, three parts of that of Lauwertz, and some houses in the village of Stein. The fall of one part of the mountain into the lake of Lauwertz, about a fourth part of which

is filled up, caused such an agitation in the waters of the lake, that they overthrew a number of houses, chapels, mills, &c. along the southern shore of the lake; amongst others, the mill of Lauwertz, where fifteen persons were killed and buried in the ruins of the buildings, all the parts of which were dispersed with such violence, that the foundation only remains. This mill was situated 50 or 60 feet above the level of the lake.

“The waves also beat against the village of Seeven, situate at the extremity of the lake, and destroyed some houses. Two persons were killed.—In the villages which were overwhelmed, not an individual escaped. Upwards of 1000 persons have been victims of this disaster. A society of travellers, thirteen in number, were on the road from Arth to Schwitz: nine who walked first, perished; the other four, who were about forty paces distant, escaped. Those who were killed, were M. M. Rodolph Jenner, of Brestenberg; Colonel Victor Steiguer, of Berne; Charles May, of Ruth; Doctor Ludwig, of Arbon, in Thurgovia; Mademoiselle Diesbach of Berthoud, Madame Diesbach of Watteville; Madame Frankhauser, of Berthoud; and two guides, of Arth. Five minutes sufficed to complete this disaster.

“At Schwitz, some persons heard the noise, and saw at a distance the vapour which covered the place where the accident happened, and which was carried towards Zug, on the opposite side, with a strong sulphureous smell. The falling of the mountain extended from the summit to the opposite side, beyond the lake, a distance of three leagues from north

to south, and a league and a quarter from west to east. There is nothing now to be seen but melancholy ruins; through the whole of that country, which presented the richest communes in the canton of Schwitz, inhabited by a brave and faithful people. Only thirty persons remain out of this interesting population.

“Several circumstances attending this event are very remarkable. Enormous masses of rocks were carried through the air to prodigious distances. The rocks in falling drew with them immense masses of earth, of from ten to eighty feet in thickness; and numbers of these masses, together with large blocks of flint-stone, were thrown on the opposite shore, to the height of from eighty to one hundred feet. One can scarcely believe one's eyes when one sees the *phenomena*. Every instant one sees houses, some forced on one side, others cut in two, and separated at great distances; and others carried more than a quarter of a league from their foundations.

“The lake of Lauwertz has lost about a quarter of its extent, but its recovered part is filled at present by the waters of several brooks, which no longer flow. That rich plain, which was so beautiful, now presents a mountain of near 100 feet in height, of a league and a half in length, and as much in breadth.

“Mount Rosenberg bears E. N. E. from Arth. It is its western part, which has fallen down; that which was on the side of Arth, after descending direct towards its base, was suddenly thrown to the east, and thus Arth, Zug, and all that side of the lake were saved.

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The thickness of the mass carried down, appeared to be two feet on the western side, and upwards of 150 on the east side. The Knippenbühl seemed to have announced this misfortune so early as the year 1774, when it detached itself from the mass of the mountain. The isle of Schwanau, elevated on a rock, in the middle of the lake, experienced also some damage, particularly its church. The good Hermit was fortunately at Ensfidlen. The long road of the lake is broken in a thousand places.

“ Succours have been sent with the greatest promptitude. Six hundred workmen from Zug and Schwitz have gone to the banks of the lake of Lauwertz, particularly the mouth of the Seven. This small river was so obstructed by ruins of all descriptions, wood, trees, houses, &c. that, without prompt assistance, the safety of all the houses below Schwitz to Brunnen, would have been menaced.

“ One man had the good fortune to withdraw in time underground, with his servant and a child, which he held in his arms. In one house near Arth is still living a poor man, who had both his thighs broken. During the search which has already been made, twenty persons were discovered dead at the entrance of the village of Goldau, men, women, and children, some having their arms, others their heads, others their legs separated from their bodies, and the bodies of some cut in half. We have coasted along the foot of Riga, where the greatest part of those who survived this catastrophe, took refuge: alas! not more than thirty. An old man whom

we met, said to us, “ I had sons, daughters, and a great number of grand-children. I had a wife and other relations. I alone remain.” A little girl said, “ I have no longer father or mother, brothers or sisters.” A woman had lost her mother, husband, brothers, sisters, and five children.

“ The villages of Goldau and Rothen, consisting of 115 houses, that of Busingen, of 126, and that of Hugloch, have totally disappeared. Of Lauwertz, which lost 25 houses, there remains ten buildings, all much damaged. Stein has lost two houses and several stables, which were in great numbers in all these villages.

“ P. S. Twenty years since, general Pfyffer predicted this catastrophe, from the knowledge which he had of the mountain. A professor of Schwitz, said, that above Spietzflue, was a sea of water, which had undermined the rock for several years, and that below there was a cavern of great depth, where the waters were engulfed. The quantity of water which has fallen during the preceding years, has hastened this catastrophe, and the rains of some weeks past have decided it.”

As Mr. W. King, of Adderbury, Oxon, was going to 8th. church to be married to a Miss Williams, of Banbury, the constables met him within a few yards of the church-door, and took him away (for leaving a former family chargeable to Adderbury), to the great grief and alarm of the intended bride, who had just entered the church.

Some gentlemen shooting in a wood on Kingsdown, near Bath, discovered a man lying motionless.



tionless. Finding some symptoms of life still remaining, they had him conveyed to a house. His name is John Lockyer, and he is well known in Bath. Being on his way home on Tuesday evening the 19th of August, during the tremendous thunder storm, he was struck senseless by the lightning; how long he remained in that state he has no conception, but on recovering his recollection he was incapable of standing. That a human being should exist 20 days without any subsistence, but the little rain-water he was able to catch in his shaving cup, and by chewing the surrounding grass, will appear incredible, but it is a fact, and will be clearly substantiated. His senses appear to have recovered much sooner than his powers of speech, or the use of his limbs. He was conscious of his situation long before he had the ability to speak, or the inclination to move. The medical men who attend him expect he will recover the partial use of his limbs. The following are the memoranda he minuted on the slate leaves of a black letter case; and which book is bent and cockled up, evidently appearing to have been soaked through by the wet: "I am just able to pencil this—I believe the fatal thunder-storm (to me) was on the 18th of August. (It was on the 19th). I should not have known how the time went on only by hearing the guns go off for partridge shooting the first of September, and it is now the fourth I am pencilling this. From the above time till now I have not had any thing to put in my mouth." On another leaf he had written on the day he was discovered:—"As I was going across this wood to Far-

leigh, I was struck down by a violent clap of thunder, where I lay senseless for God knows how long. When I came to myself my hands and feet were swelled very much, so that I could not stand, nor have I eat or drank any thing for three weeks past. God only knows my sufferings." He has since undergone the amputation of one of his feet.

This day, a fire broke out in Northfleet dock-yard. About one, smoke was seen issuing from the store-house, and flames burst out immediately afterwards. Water was procured, and the engines speedily brought, but not in time to save any part of the building, or its contents. About two o'clock the roof fell in. Two fine seventy-fours, nearly completed, are upon the stocks, within 20 or 30 yards, but happily the fire was to leeward of them. The flames were extinguished before night, without communicating to any other part of the premises.

This day was married, at Slinsford church, Dorset, Viscount Marsham, son of Earl Romney, to Miss Pitt, only daughter and heiress of William Morton Pitt, esq. with a fortune of 60,000l. and an estate of 12,000l. per ann. independent of the estates of her father. The ceremony took place in the presence of Lord Rivers, Mr. and Mrs. Lascelles, Lord Barham, Mr. and Mrs. M. Pitt, Mrs. Ironmonger, &c. Mr. and Mrs. M. Pitt gave the lady away; while Col. Noel and Miss Beckford officiated on the occasion.—In the early part of the morning, the whole of the unmarried female branches of the neighbouring tenantry and villages attended at Kingston-

Kingston-house, the seat of W. M. Pitt, esq. each female attired in an elegant white muslin dress, provided for them, as a present on the occasion, by Miss Pitt. After refreshments, about 40 couple proceeded, two and two, before the procession to the church, strewing the way (before the happy couple), in the ancient style, with flowers of every description. After the ceremony they returned in the same order, attended by nearly 300 spectators, where a dinner, consisting of English hospitality, was provided on the occasion in booths on the lawn; and the festive-eve concluded with a ball on the green, in which the nobility present shared in the mirth. At an early hour in the evening, the happy couple and suite set off in post-chaises to pass the honey-moon at the lady's own seat, Enchome-house, Dorset.

As some workmen were employed in sinking a cistern at Messieurs Gardiner's factory at Leicester, they found, 10 feet below the surface of the earth, the remains of a large Roman building, the walls of which were four feet thick, composed of alternate layers of forest-stone and Roman brick. From the similarity of the structure to the ancient temple of Janus or Jewry Wall, it is supposed to have formed part of that work, from which it is about 100 yards distant.

The King George Packet, of and from Parkgate, for Dublin, was lost at night, near Holy Bank, and all on board perished, except five men and a boy; 125 persons were drowned, among whom were seven cabin passengers.

16th. Mr. Daniels was brought up for examination before the lord mayor at the Mansion-

house; when his buying 30,000*l.* worth of omnium, selling it again, and running away with the money to the Isle of Man, with a variety of other circumstances, being proved by Mr. Montefiore, his broker, and other persons, the lord mayor ordered the prisoner to be brought up the next day.

The lord mayor, after consulting with the council for the 17<sup>th</sup>. prosecution, and the prisoner's council, determined to liberate Mr. Daniels; which being done, he was detained on lord Ellenborough's warrant, to make his appearance to a commission of bankruptcy. He has since been liberated.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August his royal highness the prince left London, and called at Bushy Park, to take with him, as by appointment, his brother the duke of Clarence.— At half past five, the royal brothers set out from Bushy Park, accompanied by Colonel Lee and major Bloomfield. Their royal highnesses slept that night at Benson, Oxfordshire, and passed through Oxford about one o'clock on Tuesday; they then proceeded to Blenheim, and drove through the park, expressing themselves highly gratified with both the internal and external beauties of that magnificent place, and at the same time testifying their regret that they could not devote more time to view and inspect them. Their royal highnesses next proceeded to the earl of Guildford's, at Wroxton Abbey, where they dined; on Wednesday a round of entertainments were provided for the amusement of the royal guests, during their stay, among which was a play, performed on Friday. Their royal

Royal highnesses, on their route to Ragley, the delightful mansion of the marquis of Hertford, stopped at the Lion inn, in Stratford, where the volunteers were assembled to receive them. The prince of Wales was waited upon by the mayor and corporation, who presented a loyal address to his royal highness, accompanied with an elegant box, adorned with an appropriate inscription, made of the celebrated mulberry-tree planted by the immortal Warwickshire bard. While at Ragley, the royal brothers visited Warwick and Warwick castle. Their royal highnesses, after leaving Ragley, passed through Shrewsbury about half past five o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, on their way to Ross Hall, the seat of Cecil Forrester, esq. M.P. to which place they were escorted by a detachment of the Shrewsbury yeomanry.—Their royal highnesses, after leaving Ross Hall, proceeded to Loton, the seat of Sir Robert Leighton, bart. and from thence to Trentham Hall, on a visit to the marquis of Stafford. At all the places they visited, the gentry and country people assembled, to testify their respect and loyalty. Addresses were presented from various corporations, &c. and most graciously answered. The volunteers who turned out were noticed with great and peculiar condescension by the royal tourists.—On the 18th instant the prince of Wales and duke of Clarence paid a visit to Liverpool, to which place they went from Knowsley in a coach and six of the earl of Derby's, followed by 20 other carriages. On their arrival, they were received by the duke of Gloucester, the dragoon guards, Devon militia, Liverpool volun-

teers, &c. After the royal brothers had inspected the docks and various other establishments, they partook of an elegant dinner provided by the mayor, and in the evening returned to Knowsley. The entertainment cost the corporation of Liverpool not less than 10,000l. The number of persons who flocked to Liverpool upon the occasion was immense, and their loyalty was commensurate with their numbers.

The propensity of dogs to worry and destroy sheep in the night has recently been severely felt in the valuable flock of col. Antsey, of Ibsley House, Hants:—Ten sheep, three lambs, and a Spanish ram, of the Merino breed, have been killed, and fifteen sheep and three lambs wounded, by a dog of the old spaniel breed, and a mongrel bitch.

A raven lately died belonging to Mr. Tindall, at the Marquis of Granby inn, in Lincoln, aged 29 years. When first taken, he frequently took his flight from the inn for a month or five weeks, and returned again. He had one thigh broken twice.

Ann White, a single woman, is committed to Bedford goal, by the coroner, on suspicion of throwing her new born female child into a privy, at Dunstable. It is singular, that three days before a new-born infant was taken out of the same privy, and the inquest found that *such child was still-born*. From circumstances produced in evidence, it appeared that Ann White was the mother of both children.

A poor woman, who was lately about to be tried in Ireland for a capital offence, was asked by the judge if she had any counsel or attorney? She replied very fe-

riously, "She had no counsel but God, and no attorney but his lordship."

19th. A dreadful accident happened this morning, in Harp alley, Tower-street. Two old houses, one in possession of a publican, and both let out in lodgings to a number of poor families, fell down, and buried the inmates, 26 persons, in the ruins. Weatherhelt, the landlord, his wife, and son, fell from the upper story, and were found nearly together in the rubbish, where the cries of the two latter had brought the people to their relief. The husband was taken out quite dead, by the side of his wife; the son and wife were both bruised, but not so as to endanger their lives. A widow woman, named Darlington, whose husband was killed last year, by accident at Woolwich, had a child killed; and a man named Lacy lost a daughter. All the rest, though buried under the ruins where they remained for several hours, were taken out alive.

The same morning, at 10, an explosion took place in a house in Eagle-court, Red-lion-square, occasioned by a private still bursting in the kitchen. The premises were much damaged. The kitchen was occupied by a person of the name of Williams, who ran away. The Excise Officers seized on all the materials, besides a quantity of wash.

20th This day, the treasure taken from the Spanish settlement, Buenos Ayres, was brought to town in eight waggons, on each of which was a *Jack Tar*, holding a flag, on which was inscribed the word *Treasure*; as also on the caravans, R. M. the initials of Royal Money. They were escorted by

the Loyal Britons, commanded by col. Alexander Davison, the rear being brought up by the Clapham volunteers, commanded by col. Bestead. The cavalcade proceeded along Whitehall, passing the Admiralty, and along Pall-mall into St. James's square, where it halted in front of col. Davison's house, and the men received some refreshment. At 3 it arrived at the bank, where 1,086,203 dollars, and a box filled with jewels and precious stones, were deposited. The field-pieces and colours taken at Buenos Ayres were carried to the Tower.

A duel was fought this morning between Baron Hom-<sup>21st.</sup>pesch and a Mr. Richardson, of Colchester, in consequence of the Baron, who is near-sighted, running against Mr. Richardson and two ladies in the street. On the exchange of the third pistol Mr. Richardson was shot through the body.

At ten o'clock this night<sup>23d.</sup> the Admiralty telegraph, lately erected on Haldon, near Exeter, and which communicates with Plymouth, by some accident caught fire, the whole of which, together with the glasses, &c. was entirely destroyed.

M. Jungius, preparatory to his recent aërostatic voyage at Berlin, took four hours and a half, and three thousand pounds of sulphuric acid, to fill his balloon. At a quarter before one o'clock he launched his *eclairneur* or small globe, from which was suspended a basket with two pigeons. An hour afterwards, his balloon being two-thirds filled, the professor embarked, in the presence of the king, the queen, and the whole royal family. He was accom-  
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panied by a youth of fifteen, named Kolls, the son of a baker at Berlin. His ballast weighed 68 pounds, and he rose with an ascending force of about 300. At the height of about 3,900 feet M. Jungius threw out a goose, which alighted, rather fluttering than flying, near the Menagerie. Saussure's hygrometer, observed at 8,650, was at 71°. The aëronaut having attained an elevation of 15,000 feet, descended at 35 minutes after two, between Grosbeiren and Heinersdorf to land his young companion, according to promise. He immediately ascended again by himself, and was lost at an immense elevation, the degree of which cannot be stated, because the barometer was broken on his previous descent. He alighted between Trebbin and Neuendorf, five German miles and a half from Berlin. M. Jungius returned the next day to the capital, and immediately proceeded to Charlottenburg, where the king and queen were desirous of hearing from his own mouth an account of his experiments. M. Jungius is professor of physics at the college of Frederic William, and had before executed a successful ascension, on the 16th of September, last year.

The county of Norfolk, in gratitude and affection to the memory of lord Nelson, has determined to place its column of commemoration at the native spot of the hero, Burnham Thorpe. It is worthy of remark that, within a mile or two of Burnham Thorpe, stands the obscure village of Cock Thorpe, a village of three houses, or rather of three hovels only, each of which produced, from humblest village life, its individual admiral. The three Cock-thorpe admirals

became flag officers of much renown; sir Christopher Mims, sir John Narborough, and sir Cloudesley Shovel. Norfolk has to boast her naval heroes of remote, recent, and immediate celebrity. Sir Edward Berry, lord Nelson's captain at the Nile; and the juvenile and gallant commodore of the Brito-Sicilian squadron, captain Hoste, the *élève* of Nelson, are both natives of that county.

DIED.—8th. At his lodgings upon the Hotwell road, Bristol, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, usually denominated the Irish Giant, having fallen a sacrifice to a disease of the lungs, combined with an affection of the liver, in the 46th year of his age. His real name was Patrick Cotter; he was of obscure parentage in Kinsale, and by trade originally a bricklayer; but his uncommon size rendered him a mark for the avarice of a showman, who, for the payment of 50l. per annum, obtained the liberty of exhibiting him three years in England. Not contented with his bargain, the chapman attempted to under-let the liberty of showing him, to another speculator; and poor Cotter, resisting this nefarious transaction, was saddled with a fictitious debt, and thrown into a sponging-house in Bristol. In this situation he was, happily for him, observed by a gentleman of the city, who had some business to transact with the sheriff's officer. His simple demeanor and extreme distress induced Mr. W. to make enquiries respecting him; and having reason to think that he was unjustly detained, he very generously became his bail, and ultimately so far investigated the affair, that he not only obtained for

him his liberty, but freed him from all kind of obligations to serve his task-master any longer. He was at this time eighteen, and retained to his last breath a most lively sense of the obligation conferred upon him when a stranger and in need; an obligation which he manifested also by very honourable mention in his will. It happened to be September when he was liberated; and by the farther assistance of his benefactor, he was enabled to set up for himself, in the fair then held in St. James's. Success crowned his undertaking; in three days, instead of being in penury, he saw himself possessed of 30l. English money! Let those who know the peasantry of Ireland, judge of his riches! He now commenced, and continued, a regular exhibition of his person, until the two last years, when, having realized an independence sufficient to keep a carriage, and secure to him the conveniences of life, he declined what was exceedingly irksome to his feelings. He was unoffending and amiable in his manners to his friends and acquaintance, of whom he had latterly rather a large circle, as he was neither averse to a cheerful glass nor pleasant company. He had naturally good sense, and his mind was not uncultivated. He departed without the smallest apparent pain or agony. He has still living a mother and a few distant relations, for whom he has made ample provision. To prevent any attempt to disturb his remains, of which he had the greatest horror, a grave is sunk to the depth of twelve feet in the solid rock, and such precautions taken as would effectually render abortive either force or

stratagem. The stupendous coffin prepared for him by Mr. Panting, undertaker, of Bristol, is in length 9 feet 5 inches: five men got into it with ease, and had the lid placed upon it. The brass-plate contains the following inscription: "Patrick Cotter O'Brien, of Kinsale, Ireland, whose stature was 8 feet 1 inch. Died Sept. 8, 1806, aged 46 years." There are some emblems on it, denoting the deceased to have belonged to the Masonic Order of Knights Templars.

11th. At his rectorial house, at St. Mary-at-Hill, London, aged about 63, the Rev. John Brand, M.A. rector of the united parishes of St. Mary Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard, in the city of London, and resident secretary of the society of antiquaries. He was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, Oct. 6, 1774, (being at that time B. A. of Lincoln college, Oxford), he was presented by Matthew Ridley, esq. of Heaton (patron *pro hac vice*), to the curacy of Cramlington, a chapel of ease to St. Nicholas, at Newcastle, from which it is distant about eight miles. While a bachelor of arts at the university, he published a very pretty poem on "Illicit Love, 1775," 8vo. supposed to be written among the ruins of Godstow nunnery. He was admitted F.S.A. in 1777, and published in that year, his "Observations on Popular Antiquities, including the whole of Mr. Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, with Addenda to every chapter of that work; as also an Appendix, containing such articles on the subject, as have been omitted by that author," 8vo. dated from Westgate-street, Tyne, 1776. For an enlarged edition of  
this

this book, he had long been collecting materials. After he took orders he was admitted into the family of the late duke of Northumberland, at Northumberland-house, by whom he was presented\* to the rectory of St. Mary-at-Hill, on the death of the Rev. Dr. Griffith, 1784; in which year he was also elected secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, on the death of Dr. Morrell. In 1789 he published "The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," 2 vols. 4to. embellished with views of the public buildings, engraved by Fidler, at an expense of 500l. "This is a splendid work, and Mr. Brand spared no pains in amassing his materials, and has preserved the historical detail with uninterrupted exactness. The low price at which this work has been since sold is supposed to be owing to the great number of copies which were printed, and to the death of the bookseller at whose expense it was published; the whole impression was sold, on the latter occasion, at a very low price, which has probably caused a valuable book to be slightly regarded." See New Catalogue of English Living Authors, p. 304. The compiler of that catalogue ascribes to him an historical essay on the principles of political associations in a state (with an application of those principles,) 1796, 8vo. a pamphlet; and another, "A defence of the pamph-

let ascribed to J. Reeves, esq. and intitled Thoughts on the English Government, 8vo. But these, and all others in the *political* line, were the work of another clergyman, B. A. in the university of Cambridge. The compiler before-mentioned celebrates Mr. B.'s "degree of learning and extent of enquiry, which, in a nobler field of historical research, might have crowned his labours with more than common approbation." He was twice troubled for non-residence, having let his excellent parsonage; but performed all the parochial duties with the most exemplary punctuality, being regular in his attendance on duty weekly, as well as on Sundays, walking from Somerset-place for that purpose. Since the late regulations, however, respecting residence, Mr. Brand, who before that period lived entirely in the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries, at Somerset-place, had been in the constant habit of sleeping at the rectory. He always took much exercise; and, on the day before his death, had a long ramble with two much-valued friends; with whom he parted in the evening, apparently in perfect health. He rose next morning about 7 o'clock, his usual hour, and went into his study, where his female servant took him an egg, which he usually ate before he went to Somerset-place. She afterwards went into an adjoining room, as she had been accustomed, and to which he generally

\* The duke has the alternate presentation to the living, the other belonging to the parish, who purchased it of the then owner, some years ago. It is vested in 16 trustees, which number should be filled up when reduced to 6. In April last the number was reduced to 2, and directions were given to prepare a conveyance so as to complete the number, but it was not executed when Mr. Brand died.

came, after having eaten his egg, to have his coat brushed, or his shoes tied. She waited a considerable time, and at last went into his study, where she discovered him lying on the floor lifeless, with a wound on his head, which he had received in falling. A surgeon was immediately sent for; but all his attempts to restore animation proved ineffectual. He died unmarried, leaving no relation, except an aunt, who is between 80 and 90 years of age. He was buried in the chancel of his church on Sept. 24.—In him the Society of Antiquaries have sustained a very great loss; able, attentive, indefatigable, he was always alive to their business, of which he was a perfect master, and which he executed not merely as a duty but as a pleasure. He was also an occasional contributor to their “*Archæologia*.” His explanation of a Roman altar and tablet found at Timmouth castle 1783, appeared in their vol. VIII. p. 326; and in vol. XV. (just published) he communicated “*An Inventory and Appraisement of the Plate in the Lower Jewel House in the Tower, Anno 1649,*” from the original MS. in his possession (p. 271.) His personal friends have lost a cheerful, pleasant companion, ever willing to communicate information, and to assist their researches after scarce and valuable books and prints, of which he had a thorough knowledge. His collection of both is of great value. In it are some copies of rare portraits, drawn by himself, in a manner that perhaps renders them little less valuable than the originals; and never was he happier than when he had an opportunity of making

a present either of a scarce pamphlet or print to any intimate friend to whom he knew it would be particularly acceptable. A small silhouette likeness of him is in the frontispiece to his *History of Newcastle*.

15th. Aged 77, Mr. Packer, of Drury-lane Theatre. His decay had been for the last six months gradual, and his death was easy. He was the father of the stage, and had been nearly half a century on the London boards, if not upwards of that period. The remains of this veteran performer and respectable private character were interred in the burial-ground of St. Paul Covent-garden, on the 21st, attended by a great number of theatrical gentlemen of the old school, to which he belonged; at the head of whom was the hoary but tough Moody. Packer was bred to the business of a fadler, and carried it on for some time in the neighbourhood of Swallow-street.

At Ripe, Mr. Moon, whose weight exceeded 29 stone.

18th. At his house, Mansfield Wood-house, near Mansfield, after a long period of useful services to his country, as a soldier, an antiquary, and a meteorologist, in his 84th year, Hayman Rooke, esq. F.R. and A.S.S. of which latter society he was chosen a member in 1776; and to their *Archæologia* he communicated several illustrations of the antiquities of Nottingham, and the adjoining county of Derby. To the *Gentleman's Magazine* the major was a frequent contributor, both by his pen and his pencil. To the student in natural history, he communicated a meteorological diary for years successively, from 1794 to 1805. To the society of antiquaries, account of the remains



mains of two Roman villæ; discovered near Mansfield-Woodhouse, in May and October, 1786, *Archæologia*, VIII. 363, with five plates. Observations on the Roman roads and camps in the neighbourhood of Mansfield-Woodhouse; with an introductory letter on Roman camps, IX. 193. Roman remains in Sherwood Forest, X. 378. These last were incorporated in Harrod's *Antiquities of Mansfield Woodhouse and its Environs*, Mansfield, 1801. Description and Sketches of some remarkable Oaks in Welbeck-park, 1740, 4to. with ten plates, drawn by the major, and engraved by Mr. Ellis. Sketch of the ancient and present state of Sherwood Forest, Nottingham, 1799, 8vo. with four plates. Description of an ancient medallion in his possession, found near Newstead-abbey, *ibid* 1800. Description of some remains in Harborough, county of Derby, *Archæologia*, IX. 206. Of certain pits in that county, X. 14. Antiquities discovered there, XI. 1. Roman antiquities at Bradbourne, *ib.* 6. Account of Druidical remains, *ib.* 41. Discoveries in a barrow, *ib.* 327. Druidical remains on Stanton and Hurtle-moor, in the Peak, I. 110. Farther illustrations of Druidical remains, VI. 175. Two views of the cross and Roman altar at Bakewell, after his diaries, in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, I. No. 37. He accompanied Dr. Pegge's "Narrative of what passed at the Revolution-house," with a plan and elevation of the house, 1788; and his history of Bolsover-castle, with views, 1785; and the bas-relief of the Nativity, in the

church, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LVI. p. 299.

20th. Interred at Eltham, Kent, Mrs. Anne Strouge, a widow lady, aged 111, who retained her faculties, till within a few days of her death.

30th. At Esk, near Durham, aged 104, John Hunter, whose widow, aged 92, survives. Their family consisted of themselves, a son-in-law, aged 84, and his wife, 64.

At Great Glenham, aged 107, Mrs. Susan Pageman.

At Farringdon, in the House of Industry, ——— Mayol, aged 103.

OCTOBER.

An unfortunate accident <sup>1st</sup> occurred at the new works, building for a magazine at Chatham. A large arch, eighty feet long, and sixteen feet wide, containing nearly 100,000 bricks, having been finished, in taking away the centres, which had been raised for turning it, the pressure of the brickwork proving too great for the abutments, which gave way, the arch fell in, and, melancholy to relate, killed eight men, and very materially wounded two others. What renders this circumstance still more distressing is, several of the unfortunate sufferers have left very large families. A comfortable provision has been made by the board of ordnance for the widows and orphans. The widows to be allowed one shilling per day, as long as they shall continue unmarried, and an allowance of six-pence per day to

be granted to each of the children, to be continued until they respectively arrive at the age of 18 years.

**DREADFUL HURRICANE, &c. AT DOMINICA.**—The *Dominica Journal* of the 20th of September, gives some particulars of the loss sustained in consequence of a dreadful storm which took place there on the 9th of that month. The storm commenced about 7 o'clock in the evening, and continued increasing till ten; when a torrent of rain, accompanied by pitch-like darkness, vivid flashes of lightning, and a most tremendous hurricane, caused the utmost terror in the town of Roseau. The river Roseau, increased by the heavy rains, overflowed its banks, inundated the town in every direction, and then the destruction became general: every house which obstructed its passage was thrown down, or carried away by the stream, and a great proportion of their unfortunate inhabitants perished. Every vessel in the harbour was driven from its moorings, except a small Swedish schooner, which was cast ashore under the fort. A shock of an earthquake, which was sensibly felt about midnight, added to the terror of the inhabitants. The force of the wind and rain began to abate about three in the morning; otherwise, it is supposed, that in the course of another hour, the town would have been entirely destroyed.

The spectacle which presented itself on the return of day-light, was horrid beyond the power of description: heaps of mud and sand, (in some places five or six feet deep,) through all parts of the

town; the form of a street hardly to be discerned; two large streams, or rather torrents, running through the midst of the town; ruins of houses blown down, and others brought down by the flood, obstructing every passage; the bodies of several of the unfortunate victims of this event drawn out from the ruins, and lying in the streets; while numbers, almost distracted, were searching for some near relation or friend who had perished in the storm. It had been ascertained, that eight whites, fifty-seven free persons of colour, and sixty-six slaves, in all 131, had perished: many others were missing, and several were wounded.

At Morne Bruce, the whole of the barracks, except one, the hospital stores, stables, the two field officers' quarters, &c., were destroyed. Three soldiers and one woman, of the 46th regiment, and a black servant of major Payne's, were killed; and three officers, twenty-two soldiers, and one woman of the same regiment, wounded. The officers lost their baggage, most of their mess articles, live stock, and a considerable quantity of wine. A very valuable horse was blown over a precipice close to the house and killed.

The plantations on the windward side of the island were almost entirely destroyed; scarcely a building was left standing in them; thirty negroes perished, and upwards of 180 were dangerously wounded. All the plantations on the leeward side of the island also experienced the effects of the hurricane: every house, from the river Mabaut down to Prince Rupert's,

port's, was either laid flat or greatly damaged. The town of Portsmouth was entirely destroyed; the greatest part of the barracks on Morne Cabrit carried away; and, in general, the whole island presented a scene of devastation and ruin. Maria Galante, and the Saints, also received considerable damage from the same hurricane.

A most dreadful murder was committed in the month of August last, in the island of St. Christopher. Mr. Francis Constable, who had long resided in the island, and gained the respect and esteem of the inhabitants, after retiring home as usual, in the evening of the 27th of August, deliberately prepared to murder the woman who lived with him, his three children by her, and his son by his late wife. When they had retired to rest, he set about carrying his dreadful purpose into execution; he first attempted to murder the woman, but she escaped, and alarmed the neighbourhood. In the mean time, however, he succeeded in destroying his children. Some of the neighbours soon afterwards entered the house, and found the unfortunate children weltering in their blood. The father, who had also wounded himself, expired the next morning. A coroner's inquest was held; which, with respect to the children, returned a verdict—"Murdered by the hand of Mr. Francis Constable:" and, with respect to the father, a verdict of "Self-murder."—Among the papers of Constable was found a letter, in which he urged the embarrassment of his affairs, and the impossibility of providing for his children, as a justification of the act which he intended to commit.

We are happy to announce the arrival in London of lord viscount Valentia, in good health, on his return from India, by the way of Suez, with his secretary, Mr. Salt, after nearly five years absence from England in various parts of India. His lordship made several months stay in the Red Sea, and the adjacent sea coast; and has made some valuable charts of those different places. His lordship had, by order of the government of India, the Panther (company's cruizer) captain Court, to assist him. Mr. Salt, his lordship's secretary, made an excursion into Abyssinia with major Aundle, of the honourable company's service, as far as the capital, Gondar. Lord Valentia's state of health, at this period, would not permit him, to accompany Mr. Salt. A young Abyssinian prince is in his lordship's suite, who is a near relation of Negade Ras Mahomet, one of the principal officers of state, so often mentioned by that celebrated traveller, Bruce, as being his friend. This young prince appears possessed of great natural endowments, and anxious to become acquainted with the manners and customs of Great Britain.

The crews of the two Russian ships which lately failed round the world were extremely healthy. During the whole three years of their voyage only two men died of the crew of the Neva, and the Naveshta did not lose a single man. It is already known that their fresh water was preserved in charred casks, but it is not so generally known that they used the same precaution for preserving their salted provisions. The beef they carried out with them tasted as pleasantly

fantly on their return as it did three years before, when first faltered.

Near Rutland-place, Dublin, Miss Maclean, daughter of an eminent Dentist in that city, a beautiful young lady, about 18 years of age, threw herself out of a two-pair-of-stairs window, almost without cloathing; and, falling on the iron railing of the area, was killed on the spot. Major Swan, passing by about midnight, found her transixed on the rails. A disappointment in the object of her affections is supposed to be the cause of the rash act.

A house in Green Gate-street, behind Whitechapel-church, fell down. At the time of the accident there were 15 persons in the building. A weaver, who was at work in an upper-room, hearing a loud crash, gave notice of the danger to the other inmates, and they were all fortunate enough to escape about ten minutes before the whole fabric came suddenly to the ground.

It is with great concern we have to state the following melancholy accident. Her royal highness the Princess of Wales was this afternoon on her way to the seat of Mr. Locke, at Norbury Park, near Leatherhead, Surrey, in a barouche, attended by Lady Sheffield and Miss Harriet Mary Cholmondeley, and was driven by her royal highness's own servants. On their arrival at Sutton, they took post horses, and were driven by the post-boys belonging to the Cock Inn. Her royal highness's horses and servants were left to refresh in order to take her home that evening. Her royal highness proceeded to Leatherhead, when on turning a sharp corner to get into the road

which leads to Norbury Park, the carriage was overturned, opposite to a large tree, against which Miss Cholmondeley was thrown with such violence, as to be killed on the spot. She was sitting on the front seat of the barouche alone. Her royal highness and Lady Sheffield occupied the back seat, and were thrown out together. They went into the Swan inn, at Leatherhead. Sir Lucas Pepys, who lives in that neighbourhood, and had not left Leatherhead (where he had been to visit a patient) more than a quarter of an hour, was immediately followed, and brought back; and a servant was sent to Mr. Locke's, with an account of the accident. Mrs. J. arrived in her carriage with all expedition, and conducted the princess to Norbury Park, where Sir Lucas Pepys attended her royal highness, and as no surgeon was at hand, bled her himself. On the following day the princess returned to Blackheath. Her royal highness received no other injury than a slight cut on her nose, and a bruise on one of her arms. Lady Sheffield, (wife of Lord Sheffield,) who was with her, did not receive the slightest injury. An inquest was held on the 4th, before C. Jemmet, esq. coroner for Surrey, on the body of Miss Cholmondeley, at the Swan inn, Leatherhead. It appeared, by the evidence of a Mr. Jarrat, at Leatherhead, and of an hostler belonging to the inn, that the princess's carriage, drawn by four horses, with two postilions, while turning round a very acute angle of the road, was overturned. The drivers, through extreme caution, had taken too great a sweep in turning the corner, which brought

brought the carriage on the rising ground, and occasioned its being upset. The carriage swung round a great tree before it fell. When the surgeon saw the princess of Wales, she most benevolently desired him to go up stairs, as there was a lady who stood more in need of his assistance. The surgeon (Mr. Lawdell, of Great Bookham) then went to Miss Cholmondeley, and found her totally deprived of life. There was a violent contusion on her left temple; and her death appeared to have been occasioned by the rupture of a blood vessel. The jury returned a verdict of Accidental Death. Miss Cholmondeley was born in 1753, and was the daughter of the late hon. and rev. Robert Cholmondeley, rector of Hartingford-Bury, and St. Andrews, Hertford, who was son of the third earl of Cholmondeley, and uncle to the present earl. Her mother is living, and resides in Jermyn-street. On the 8th, at 12 o'clock, the remains of this unfortunate lady were interred in Leatherhead church, close to the spot where lady Thompson, wife of sir John Thompson, some years since lord mayor of London, is buried. The body was, on the evening of the sixth, removed from the Swan inn to an undertaker's near the church-yard, and was followed to the grave by her brother, George Cholmondeley, esq. one of the commissioners of excise; the hon. Augustus Phipps; William Locke, etq. S. Gray, esq. and several other gentlemen. The fatal spot where this amiable lady met her sudden death is still visited by crowds.

By official accounts received from Malta, it appears that the

loss occasioned by the explosion of a powder magazine, which happened on the 18th of July, amounts to—royal artillery 14, thirty-ninth foot 3, Maltese troops 23. The number of the inhabitants who suffered by the explosion does not exceed 200. Some houses, and a small part of one of the curtains in the town of Vittoriosa, on the Cottoniera side of the harbour, were thrown down. We are happy to add, that no officer of the army or navy was either killed or wounded.

On the 30th of August, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Rome. At Velletri some houses and the church of St. Salvador were thrown down. Very large chasms appear in the walls of the palace of Ruffinella, which is uninhabitable. Half of the beautiful palace at Zagarola is a heap of ruins. At Nemi the cloister of the Minorites is ruined, and the church divided in four parts. The stone edifices at Marino, and other places, are untenable. The house of Lucien Buonaparte is so considerably damaged, that he has been obliged to take refuge in Rome, with the whole of his family. The shock was most severe at Abruzzo, where several persons were killed and wounded.

As some children were lately on a straw-stack, be-<sup>4th.</sup> longing to Mr. Coulson, of Bottle Barns, near Morpeth, one of them, Mr. C's daughter, was sliding down, when a fork, which had been left upright against it, penetrated her side and caused her death.

This morning, at nine, <sup>7th.</sup> earl Percy, accompanied by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Byng,

Byng, and several other friends, assembled on the Hustings, in Covent-garden, to proceed to the election of a representative for Westminster. After administering the oath to the high bailiff, Mr. Whitbread addressed the electors, and lamented the impossibility of finding a man of such exalted talents and enlightened views as Mr. Fox, whom he characterised as the best friend England ever had. He then alluded to the refusal of Messrs. Sheridan and others, who had been applied to, to represent the city, and declared that he could confidently propose earl Percy for their choice, as a candidate who united all the high qualities which could give force to his pretensions. His speech was received with loud applause; and seconded by Mr. Elliot. Lord Percy was then almost unanimously elected. He expressed his thanks for the honour which had been conferred upon him, and paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Fox, whose character, he declared, he highly esteemed, though he had not the honour of being personally known to him, and whose example he should always endeavour to make the guide of his public conduct. His Lordship then bowed, and retired from the hustings. In the usual scene of confusion which arose on scrambling for the materials of the hustings, no person was seriously hurt. A crimson gilt chair, elegantly decorated with laurel, was brought on the shoulders of eight or ten men to the door of Hudson's hotel, where lord Percy had retired; his Lordship was then chaired round the market in the usual form, and afterwards carried in the same

state down Southampton-street, and along the Strand to Northumberland-house, where the populace were regaled with bread and cheese and porter.

The grand Prison of War, now building at Dartmoor, under the auspices of the Lord Warden, is likely to give rise to a new town in that hitherto dreary region. Indeed it is already begun, and it is to be called Prince-Town, in compliment to his royal highness the Prince.

This night an attempt was made to destroy the 8th. flotilla at Boulogne. The damage done proves to be very considerable; though not more than 300 rockets were discharged. One of the messengers who came over with lord Lauderdale, saw three houses, which had been set on fire and burnt by the rockets. What damage was done to the shipping could not be well ascertained, on account of the strict watch kept over the whole embassy. It was said, by some, that only three rockets had fallen on the ships, which had been taken up and thrown into the water without doing any mischief. So much, however, were the enemy terrified by the extraordinary nature of the attack, as well as occupied in counteracting its effects, that, during the half hour the boats remained before the town, one shell only was discharged at them. The rockets or arrows are portable, and any town which can be approached within two miles, would be endangered by their operation. The success against the shipping would have been infinitely greater, had not the boats approached too near

near the town. The fire in the town was seen burning from Dover the morning after the attack.

At York, in consequence of a most extraordinary and hazardous amusement (if it can be so called) which has lately prevailed amongst boys,—that of making experiments how long they can remain suspended by the neck without suffocation, T. Wales, a fine lad, aged 16, apprentice to Mr. Cobb, bricklayer, in that city, lost his life. He went home in good health and spirits to his dinner at the usual hour; and not finding it quite ready, went up into a chamber, desiring to be called when dinner was ready. Shortly after, his fellow-prentice called him, but received no answer. Not, however, suspecting any thing, he sat down to dinner; and when he had finished it, went up stairs, where he found the unfortunate youth suspended by a string, which was tied to a beam, wrapped once round his throat, and fastened to his thigh. The stool on which he appeared to have stood had unluckily slipped, and left him suspended without the power of untying himself. The body when found was still warm, but the means used to restore animation were ineffectual. It appeared before the inquest, that the above apprentice and another boy had been trying experiments of the same sort on each other, about three weeks before, till one of them was nearly suffocated; and we understand the practice has not been confined to them. At Leeds a similar instance lately occurred at St. Paul's Church, during service. A boy, who had before nearly strangled one of his companions (whom he persuaded to become the subject of his experiments), con-

trived to suspend his own brother; and he was discovered in that dreadful situation nearly dead, to the great terror of the congregation. It is difficult to account for so strange a practice; but, whatever may have been the rise of this horrible amusement, we trust that the fatal event which has taken place will effectually put an end to it.

A few days since, a large oblong British or Danish <sup>11th.</sup> barrow was opened in the parish of Duntestbourne-Abbots, Gloucestershire; in which was found a kistraen, or cromlech, containing about 8 or 9 bodies of different ages, many of the bones of which, and the teeth, were entire. The whole length of the barrow, diagonally, was about 50 yards; straight over the stones about 40; the width about 30 yards; and the distance between the two great stones 24 feet. The barrow was composed of loose quarry-stones, laid in a strata near the great stones, and brought from a distance. The largest stone, which has been long known in the country by the name of the Horse-Stone, is of the kind of grey-withers, or Stonehenge: it is flat on the East side, and round on the side which is in the barrow; is 12 feet high from the base, and 13 in circumference. The other stone lies almost flat on the ground, and is about three yards square, and one foot thick. This covers the kistraen which contains the bones, and which is divided into two cells, about 4 feet square each, and 6 deep. There is little doubt of its being British; and it may be called the early altar, or family monument. There are several other barrows in the neighbourhood; and it is singular that the farm adjoining

adjoining is called Tack Barrows, probably a corruption or abbreviation of some other name. The bones are reburied, but the barrow, and the tomb, will be left open some time longer for the inspection of the curious.

A dreadful riot took place a few days ago in Ratcliffe Highway, between a party of Lascars and another of Chinese sailors, who have come home in the ships from India. They met nearly 200 in number, in Angel-Gardens, Wapping, and assailed each other with all sorts of weapons. After several were severely wounded, 18 of the ring-leaders were secured by the police—Four Lascars had a narrow escape, as they had cords round their necks, and were just about to be turned off from a bedstead, and so hung, when they were rescued by a party of British seamen.

Near Henley, Walter Rogers, met his death by suffocation, under the following circumstances: he was butler to a gentleman of the name of Harrison, and was employed in bottling off wine from a vessel of considerable size, of many years standing. Whilst in the act of doing so, having bottled off about ten dozen, he reclined against another vessel, fell down, and expired in a few minutes. A boy who was engaged in removing the full bottles gave an alarm, and a surgeon was sent for; but all attempts to restore his life proved fruitless. From the testimony of the medical gentleman, who attended, and other circumstances, the jury were of opinion, that the deceased met his death by the effluvia arising from the vessel.

12th. PLYMOUTH.—This morn-

ing a duel was fought by Mr. Armstrong, a midshipman of the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Long, midshipman of the Resistance, which failed lately from that port, leaving him behind. It terminated fatally to the latter. His antagonist's ball entered his right side, and lodged in his left shoulder. This circumstance took place at half past eight o'clock, and was not made known till three in the afternoon, when the port-admiral ordered search to be made for the deceased. He was found lying on his back, his hat on, his pockets turned out, and a cane lying across his arm. The quarrel originated at a hop in Pembroke-street. Mr. L. was a youth of affable manners, about 18 years old, and, it is said, nearly related to the duke of Montrose.—The jury returned a verdict of Wilful Murder, in consequence of which Armstrong and the two seconds have been apprehended, and are now in irons.

A meteor was observed about eight this evening at 14th. Swansea; during the short time it was visible, it illuminated a considerable extent of the country.

Two fine young oxen, 16th, the property of J. A. Dalrymple, esq. of the Gatehouse, Sussex, died lately so suddenly, that the men who attended them could scarcely believe them to be dead. On opening them it appeared, from the stomach, that they had been licking a gate which had just been painted with white lead and oil, and which had occasioned their death. A similar accident took place a short time since; under the observation of Mr. Tooths, in Kent.

G. Rick



19th. G. Rick was this day gored to death by a bull at Pickworth, near Falkingham; —the deceased had lived with the proprietor of the bull, but had been obliged to leave his service, in consequence of a determined hostility which the animal had manifested towards him; they had not seen each other for some time, when the bull, having strayed from his pasture, met and killed the object of his enmity.

Five hundred and twenty four silver coins have lately been discovered near Carmel in Lancashire, by two labourers employed in getting stones, on an estate belonging to lord George Henry Cavendish. They were inclosed in an unglazed earthen pot. The coins are all in a state of high preservation, and are now in the possession of lord Cavendish. The earthen vase was broken to pieces before its contents were discovered.

25th. Among the personages who lately attracted public notice at Brighton was an original, or would be original, generally known by the appellation of the green man. He dressed in green pantaloons, green waistcoat, green frock, green cravat; and though his ears, whiskers, eye-brows, and chin, were powdered, his countenance, no doubt from the reflection of his clothes, was also green. He ate nothing but greens, fruits, and vegetables; had his rooms painted green, and furnished with green sofa, green chairs, green tables, green bed, and green curtains. His gig, his livery, his portmanteau, his gloves, and his whip, were all green. With a green silk handkerchief in his hand, and a large watch chain with green

seals, fastened to the green buttons of his green waistcoat, he paraded every day on the Steine.

This morning, at 6 o'clock this gentleman leaped from the window of his lodging on the south parade, into the street, ran from thence to the verge of the cliff nearly opposite and threw himself over the precipice to the beach below. Several persons immediately ran to his assistance, and carried him, bleeding at the mouth and ears, back to his lodgings. The height of the cliff, from whence he precipitated himself, is about 20 feet perpendicular. From the general demeanour of the above gentleman, it is supposed he is deranged. His name, we understand, is Henry Cope, and that he is related to some highly distinguished families.

The wife of John Rowe, jun. of Cawfand, shipwright, 27th. was brought to bed of three daughters; one since dead. On the same day, her husband's apprenticeship expired.

We are sorry to record the serious disaster which 30th. has befallen the fleet from Jamaica. The following have foundered.

	Tons.	Men.	Saved.
Pallas,	233	12	1
Rashleigh,	232	11	all.
Forty-second,	266	12	only 1.
Ann,	220	11	all.
Coverdale,	385	25	all.
Nutwell,	426	29	all.
Herculean,	646	25	22
Frances,	326	13	all.
Exeter,	503	22	2
Erin,	290	18	none.
Achilles,	267	14	all.
African,	374	20	11
Cumberland,	—	—	—

Tons 4419

Seventy people drowned, exclusive

five

five of passengers. The Cora, 155 tons, and the Sally, 263 do. were abandoned by their crews during the gale. They have been since found at sea, and the former carried into Philadelphia. The Union is put into Virginia dismasted. The Jane sprung a leak, and bore away for America. Seven sail, bound to America, parted for their destination; four of them known to be arrived. The Minorea, for London, parted off the Havannah. Thirteen parted during the gale, seven of which have arrived; and five remain unaccounted for, viz. Jean, 184 tons; Concord, 315 do; Aoleon, 260 do. Pursuit, 302 do. and Aurora, 267 do.

*Recapitulation.*—13 foundered; 2 abandoned; 2 gone to America; 7 parted, bound to America; 1 parted, without leave; 71 arrived, with Franchise and Penguin; 7 arrived before; 5 unaccounted for; 1, Carmarthen, for London, put into Bermuda. Total 109.

There is a walnut-tree now standing in a paddock at Boston, the property of Mr. Watson, architect, which, though it has for many years past been to all appearance quite dead, has this year, produced a considerable number of walnuts, and which are now growing on the tree, yet at the same time it is quite destitute of leaves, and has lost a great deal of its bark. Were it not for the fruit upon it, it would be pronounced incontestably dead.

A circumstance deserving of the attention of naturalists recently occurred at the managerie of Schön Brunn, near Vienna. The male Bengal tiger kept there is usually fed with butcher's meat; but being at times subject to a kind of

ophthalmia, he is then provided with young living animals, whose warm blood contributes to his cure. Being in this state, the female whelp of a butcher's dog was thrown in to him; the tiger was just then couched with his head resting on his forefeet. The whelp, recovering from her first alarm, approached and began to lick his eyes, which was so agreeable to the tiger, that forgetting his appetite for carnage, he not only spared the animal, but even testified his gratitude by carresses. The bitch having entirely overcome her fears, continued to lick him, and in a few days the tiger was cured. Since that time the two animals have lived in perfect friendship; before he touches his food, the tiger always waits till his companion has satisfied herself with the daintiest morsels. He puts up with every thing from her, and even when she bites him in play, he shews no resentment, but is continually caressing her.

*DIED.*—9th. In Plumb-street, Liverpool, aged 107, W. Merchant. He lived in four reigns, and well remembered one of his youthful companions existing in the service of queen Anne. His widow is in her 99th year; and they were the parents of 19 children, none of whom are known to be living.

19th. At St. John's College, Cambridge, the victim of intense application to study, Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, author of "Clifton Grove," a poem, &c. He was a young man of brilliant talents, and exemplary character.

24th. At Grove House, Hackney, in his 93d year, Thomas Braidwood, esq. formerly of Edinburgh, eminently distinguished for  
the

the discovery and successful practice of the art of teaching the deaf and dumb.

At Skibbereen, John Blakeney, aged 114, who retained his faculties to the last.

At Everthorpe, aged 104, Mr. John Turner.

At Broadway-lane, near Oldham, Jonathan Robinson, an honest but eccentric man. He had in his possession a coat, which he denominated a *war coat*. This he constantly wore when England was at hostility with any foreign power. Alas! it was sadly worn out in the latter part of his life. It had belonged to his grandfather; and was the thickness of three or four rugs, having been covered, patch upon patch, with wonderful industry, for near 70 years, by himself.

At Beccles, near Watton, John Stubbings, husbandman, aged 107 years and eight months. He retained his faculties till within a short time of his death. He never occupied more than five acres of land, nor ever received parochial relief. He has left four sons and a daughter, all advanced to old age.

28th. At Tetford, near Farnham, Surrey, much lamented by her family and a numerous and respectable acquaintance, after a lingering and painful illness, which she bore with the utmost fortitude, retaining her excellent faculties to the last, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, authoress of sonnets and other celebrated works. The republic of letters and lovers of literature have sustained no inconsiderable loss in the death of Mrs. Charlotte Smith. Her novels are so numerous as to display a wonderful invention; for

they are much more diversified than could possibly be expected from the same pen. It is the general opinion of the most unsophisticated readers, that her first novel has the strongest claims to pre-eminent excellence. We are of opinion, however, that her last works, consisting of short stories, are the more exquisite in point of composition. She has contrived, in general, to make all her novels interesting, and has been studiously careful of her style.

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NOVEMBER.

PLYMOUTH.—Last night 2d. and this morning it blew a terrible gale of wind at S. W. with a heavy rolling sea in the Sound; in short, the most tremendous storm we have experienced this season: the men of war in the Sound, Cawfand Bay and Hamoaze rode out the gale of wind very well; but last night, in the height of the hurricane, a fine West Indiaman from Honduras broke from her moorings in the Sound, and ran plump ashore on the rocks under the West Hoe, and went to pieces; the crew of her were all saved by the activity of the Glatton's boat, in which Capt. Selcombe exerted himself so much as reflects the highest credit on him as an officer and a man. The pilot was the only person drowned. The cargo will, being solid, most probably be saved, or the greater part of it.

Mr. William Watt, of Bollington, near Macclesfield, 3d. having occasion to look at the water-wheel of a neighbouring mill,

mill, the wheel caught him, and he was literally crushed to atoms.

A pauper, named John Venn, in Pontefract workhouse, aged 84, last week hung himself. The deceased was one of the six marines selected to shoot admiral Byng, and often said that he was sure his ball killed him.

5<sup>th</sup>. Two Italians, one named Nardi, an artificial flower-maker, and the other Grandi, were this day charged, at Bow-street, with severely wounding a young man, of the name of Broad, a printer. A dispute took place that evening in Long Acre, respecting the Westminster election, when the young man received a stab in the arm, which cut the principal artery: and, had not a surgeon immediately attended, he must have bled to death. He is since dead and the prisoners committed for trial.

PLYMOUTH.—Letters from Exmouth state the melancholy news of the total loss of that fine privateer, belonging to this port, near the bar of Exmouth, on the coast of Devon, the Thornborough, of 16 guns, Capt. Crewte, and 50 men, in the tremendous hurricane of Sunday night; and we are sorry to add, that Capt. Crewte and seven men were unfortunately drowned; the rest got on shore on pieces of the wreck, and were providentially saved.

8<sup>th</sup>. The mail coachmen, on communicating the intelligence of the return of lord Lauderdale from Paris, at the villages as they passed along, were cheered by the inhabitants with shouts of applause; and the general cry was, “eternal war, rather than a dishonourable peace!”

This day the usual civic ceremonies took place. The 9<sup>th</sup>. different companies proceeded by water to Westminster hall, where the new lord mayor, sir W. Leighton, was sworn into office, and returned to Guildhall to dinner, where a banquet was served up with the usual costly abundance. Amongst the company present were, the lord Chancellor; the duke of Norfolk; the earls of Moira, Spencer, and Lauderdale; lords Grenville, Holland, Howick, Manton, Minto, Rendlesham; sir Samuel Hood, sir F. Burdett; Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Mellish, &c.—As the procession by water passed Hungerford Stairs, a boat containing 15 persons was upset, several of whom would have been drowned, but for the exertions of the watermen belonging to the apothecaries’ barge.

This day, two young 12<sup>th</sup>. persons (sisters) were admitted into the house at Cupersbridge, Lambeth, belonging to the society called “*the refuge for the destitute.*” They were the first objects received *into the house*. They were reduced to very great distress, wholly, as it appears, by the neglect and cruelty of others, and not from any misconduct of their own. Several persons previously had been relieved from the funds of this very benevolent and national undertaking, for which the objects who receive immediate benefit of it, and the community at large, are indebted to the Rev. E. W. Whitaker, son of the late serjeant.

This night the house of Mrs. Baldwin, an old lady, aged 87, at Broadfield, in Kent, was broke open

open by 8 or 10 ruffians, and robbed of money and plate to the amount of about 148l.

13th. A few days since in Wheel-Abraham and Creuve Mues, in Crowan, in consequence of a water-spout that fell in that neighbourhood, the water ran with such violence as to break down the boundaries round the mouths of the shafts, and choked the adit, which forced the water back into the lump or place where the fire-engine draws the water out of the deep part of the mines, and where the men generally work; 40 or 50 of them made their escape up the ladders; and to prevent their breath being taken away by the violence of the water falling on them, they threw their woollen shirts over their heads, and with difficulty reached the summit. Five men are missing, and no doubt they are drowned. The loss to the adventurers in these mines is estimated at nearly 6,000l.

A most barbarous murder was committed at Edinburgh:—At five o'clock, William Begbie, a porter to the British linen company at Leith, was stabbed and murdered, in Tweedale's Close, leading to the British linen company's office, at Edinburgh, and robbed of a sealed parcel, in a yellow canvass bag, containing notes to the amount of 4,200l.

The weapon with which the murder was committed was found upon the spot.—Every exertion has been made, and is still making, to discover the perpetrator of the above murder, but hitherto without effect.

A young lady, daughter of a noble lord, was united in wedlock to a gardener, a few days since,

The bride was at a seminary for young ladies, in the New Road, Mary-le-bone; and, in taking her daily walks, she used to pass the nursery in which the bridegroom pursued his daily labour. She became enamoured of his person, and a match was speedily formed. The young lady is considerably under age.

At Stroud, Gloucestershire, Samuel Holder, aged 70, and who has lost both his legs many years, was married to the widow of Isaac Wildry, who was drowned in the Stroud canal a short time since. The novelty of the match brought together a large concourse of spectators; at the head of whom was one of the old veteran's daughters, who expressed her disapprobation of the alliance, by ringing a sheep-bell, beating a cannister, and other noisy implements, which were suspended to different parts of her body. The old gentleman was conveyed to and from church on the shoulders of a friend, who was occasionally relieved, in this arduous task, by the willing efforts of the bride herself!

The king has been pleased to grant a pension of 100l. during her life, to the widow of Mr. Scott, secretary to lord Nelson, who was killed in the celebrated battle of Trafalgar; and 25l. a year to her three sons, till they become of age. Considerable difficulties arose at the admiralty in sanctioning the application, in consequence of there being no precedent for granting a pension to a secretary's widow.

The workmen employed in improving the harbour of Rurghead near Elgin, have lately discovered a bath excavated in the solid rock,

supposed to have been the work of the Danes, who had a fortress there. The bath is about thirty feet square, four feet deep, and has a walk round it, with a recess in one corner, for dressing and undressing; and an excavation or basin in the opposite corner, the use of which cannot be certainly known. It seems to have been roofed with wood, as considerable remains of burnt timber have been found in the bath.

14th. A fire broke out, at nine o'clock at night, at Flamsted's End, Cheshunt, at Mr. Godfrey's, japanner, formerly a considerable tinman in Tabernacle Row, Moorfields. It was occasioned by over-heating the stoves for drying new-invented tea-tables composed of various layers of rags and paper pounded in a method superior to Clay's of Birmingham, and in three hours destroyed the dwelling-house, a large malting-house, and buildings adjoining, forming a kind of square. Mr. G., his wife, and four children, and the furniture, were saved; but a sow and six pigs perished in the flames. The family had received repeated warnings by the excessive heat, which had more than once threatened such consequences.

At East Bourne, a carter who had come with a team from Rye, to take away the theatrical luggage belonging to Messrs. Jonas and Penly, looking after his horses, received a kick on his head from one of them, that dashed out his brains, although he was well acquainted with the vice of the animal, and had, in consequence, but a few minutes before he met the fatal accident, cautioned a stranger in the stable not to go near him.

This day a post-chaise was hired at the King's Arms Inn, in Salisbury, to go beyond Collingbourne. After setting down his fare, the driver was returning at night towards Collingbourne, a dreary road, with which he was unacquainted, and it was so dark as to make it impossible to see the road. Thus situated, he unfortunately drove over a precipice, at the bottom of which he was found dead the next morning. The chaise was almost broken to pieces, and the horses so much hurt as to render them nearly useless.

A poor woman named Gibbs, of Sheffield, passing lately through Anglis-lane, Coventry, with her infant in her arms, six months old, fell into the mill-dams, and both were drowned.

Late at night, or early the next morning, the chapel belonging to Greenwich hospital was broke open. The strong outer door had been forced, as well as the inner one, which is of solid mahogany, near four inches thick, and which, we understand, cost 500l. the vestry door was likewise broke open, and the iron chest, in which the sacrament plate is deposited, had been attempted, in which act it was supposed the villains broke their iron crow, as part of one was found near it, and there is no doubt but the plate was their object: they, however, made off with two of the minister's surplices, the sacrament linen, and the gold sconces belonging to the pulpit and reading desk.

In the court of king's bench, Mr. Garrow moved for leave to file a criminal information against a Mr. Appose Charles, one of the clerks of the  
bank.

bank, for a libel, contained in a letter addressed by him to lord Grenville, reflecting upon the character of lord Moira. The specific charge contained in the letter was, that earl Moira, availing himself of his official situation, had gambled in the funds, through his agents, and most imprudently lent his name to the most important discoveries of secrets affecting the state. The earl of Moira, in his affidavit, directly negatived all the imputations laid to his charge, and asserted, that he never had divulged any of the secrets of government.—The letter of Mr. Charles was dated the 17th of last August.—Rule to shew cause granted.

A curious exhibition took place on the river: a young man, a carpenter, who undertook for a small wager to row, in a washing tub, from Milbank to London Bridge, seated himself in the tub, and had a scull in each hand, with which he balanced himself, and rowed down the river in the presence of several thousand spectators. As he passed through the different bridges, the tub was whirled round by the current, whilst he sung some favourite song. The spectators often started with the dread of seeing him drowned, while he sat unconcerned, and although the tide was very rapid, and on its ebb, he effected his purpose in safety, and won his wager.

19th. At Guildhall, Edward Wright, *alias* My Hearty, between 70 and 80 years of age, was charged with stealing a piece of silk handkerchiefs, out of a shop in Barbican, and fully committed. The excuse he made was, that he wanted a shirt. He is a very old offender, having been tried more

than 70 times, at the different sessions. He has been upwards of 50 times publicly whipped, and was once capitally convicted.

A meeting of the Sierra Leone Company took place lately at the new London tavern, in Cheapside, Mr. Thornton in the chair; when the honourable gentleman read a report of the state of the company. It concluded with observing, that, in consequence of one of the objects for which the company had been formed, viz. the abolition of the slave trade, being in a fair train of being accomplished, the company being considerably in debt, and the expences unavoidably increasing, the governors recommended the giving up the colony to government. Mr. Thornton has attended a committee of the privy council, and made an offer of the company's charter. He received for answer, that the offer should be laid before his majesty. It is supposed some difficulty will arise, on account of the company wishing to retain some power in the colony, although they give up the charter.

At a village in Norfolk, we are told, a person fills the following offices:—Churchwarden, overseer, parish-clerk, sexton, constable, surveyor of the high ways, assessor of the land-tax and assessed taxes, and of the property-tax, collector of the same, and bailiff of the manor.—This man has not been selected to discharge these important duties either for his personal qualifications, or for the extent of his property, as he unfortunately has but one arm; and, though the only tradesman in the parish, is a pauper, and receives relief.

Her royal highness the princess Elizabeth has designed and etched

a series of 24 plates, representing *the progress of genius*. They display great taste and fancy, and are intended as presents for the select and particular friends of her royal highness.

**ELECTION REPORTEE.**—One of the *orators* before the hustings at Covent-garden lately roared out to Mr. Whitbread, “If your porter were as strong as your *assurance*, it would do astonishingly well.”—“But,” replied Mr. Whitbread, “if it were as strong as your *impudence*, I could not *live by it!*”

24th. A seaman named Wells, who was active in the murder of the captain, surgeon, &c. of the *Hermione* frigate, was executed on board the *Salvador del Mundo*, off Plymouth.

About six o'clock, this morning, the debtors confined in Newgate were alarmed by hearing something fall into the yard, and afterwards a faint groaning, as if from a person in distress. On alarm being given, Storer, a turnkey, went into the debtor's yard, where he discovered two men, who had been employed to watch at the top of the gaol during Sunday night, in a situation too shocking to describe. One of them, of the name of William Lee, had fallen upon an iron ball, which had taken off the top part of his skull, and dashed his brains out, which were scattered upon the pavement; the other, of the name of Robert Simpson, had, if possible, suffered a still more shocking death, for he had fallen upon some iron spikes, one of which entered in the thick part of his thigh, and penetrated a considerable way into his body! Medical assistance was called; but it proved useless, as neither of them

could have existed many moments after their fall. The only possible way of accounting for this melancholy accident is, that there is a small division at the top of the gaol, which they had to cross, and Simpson, the constant watchman, and who has been watchman at Newgate ever since it was built, had that night unfortunately left his lanthorn at home; and it is supposed that, in going round the gaol, they must have forgotten this division, and their miserable death was the consequence. The coroner's jury sat on their bodies, and returned a verdict of—*Accidentally killed*.

This morning the following convicts were executed 26th. before the debtors' door at Newgate: viz. Charles Louis Languis, Joseph Westwood, and Alexander Mackenzie, for forgery; J. Beasley, for returning from transportation before his time had expired; and James Vaughan, (a watchman of Marybone,) for representing himself as next of kin to corporal Leason, deceased, for the purpose of fraudulently obtaining prize money.

A subaltern officer was 29th. fined for finery, supplied to his wife, by a milliner, in his absence; the lady, at the same time, living in a state of open prostitution with other men. The cause was tried in the court of king's bench; when the judge and jury would neither admit the articles supplied to be *necessaries*, nor that a subaltern officer, under such circumstances, should pay 146l. 13s. 3d. to support his wife in a state of abandoned profligacy. This was evinced by a verdict being given for the defendant.

DIED.



DIED.—4th. At Aldenham lodge, Herts, of a fit of apoplexy, aged 71, George Mason, esq. well known for his valuable collection of old English, and foreign literature, and author of “An Essay on Design in Gardening, 1796,” first published in 1768, without his name; and “Appendix to the same;” “A British Freeholder’s Answer to T. Paine;” “A Supplement to Johnson’s English Dictionary,” 4to; “Poems, by Thomas Hecleve, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossary, 1796,” 4to. “Life of Richard Earl Howe, 1803,” 8vo. who purchased Mr. M’s paternal estate at Porters, 1772. Mr. M. was eldest son of Mr. M. distiller at Deptford bridge, whose widow re-married Dr. Jubb, late Hebrew professor at Oxford. He has left his landed property to his brother’s son, and has provided handsomely for a natural daughter.

At Colchester, at the age of 104 years, Mary Lazell. From her erect attitude, and the little signs of decay exhibited by her countenance, she appeared to be much younger than she really was.

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DECEMBER.

1st. This morning, a bear, the property of Mr. Bradbury, one of the clowns of the Royal Circus, which was kept in the yard of that place, and chained to a post fixed in the middle of its den, becoming furious from hunger, in the course of the night tore up the post, broke the chain that was fixed

to it, and made its way, muzzled, into the yard, and killed a dog. The roaring of the bear, and the cries of the dog, soon brought several people to the spot. The first that came was one of the carpenters belonging to the Circus. The bear instantly pursued him; the man ran up some stone steps, and the bear followed. The man threw it back, and, with the force, fell over it; but escaped with the loss of the skirts of his coat, which the animal tore off. The bear left him to attack a goat. By this time the alarm was so great, that several people had collected in the yard. A boy, about thirteen years of age, was among the first. The bear pursued, overtook him, and fastened upon him behind, with its two paws upon his shoulders. The boy instantly fell, inclined forward on his face, and the bear tore the back part of his head, as if it had been scalped. Before they could extricate the boy from the bear, he was in a gore of blood. He was immediately taken up, washed, and carried to the hospital. The bear was killed on the spot. Mr. Bradbury brought it from Liverpool on the top of the stage coach, and it exhibited feats on the night of his benefit. It was a young black one, and so tame, that he brought it to town unmuzzled. He used to exhibit it in the coffee-room of the Royal Circus, and bring it to porter-houses, where it used to sit up among the company, with a hat upon its head, and eat its loaf and drink its pot of porter. It used to follow its master like a dog, and was so familiar and gentle, that the children of the neighbourhood played with it, without any apprehension.

sion. Mr. Bradbury, its master, having been in Manchester several weeks past, the animal was left in the care of a person who neglected to supply it with sufficient food. The boy, under surgical care, is now pretty well recovered.

2d. At Saxlingham, Norfolk, a girl, about ten years old, daughter of a man of the name of Brightley, in the act of emptying some water out of a chamber window, was, by the exertion, precipitated to the ground, and falling upon the utensil, a piece of it entered her left side, near the heart; she, however, got up, covered with blood, and had just strength to enter the house, when she sank down and instantly expired.

5th. John Andrew Nardi, and Sebastian Grandi, were indicted at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of William Broad, on the 5th of November last. The two prisoners were Italians, one a feather maker, and the other a preparer of colours. They had gone out fantastically dressed, in the evening of the 5th, during the Westminster election, and at length got a mob around them in Long Acre. Nardi being provoked, and hard-pressed, drew a knife, and cut the deceased, who had assaulted him, in the arm; the repeated bleeding of which occasioned his death, in St. Bartholomew's hospital. Upon the whole of the evidence it appeared that the prisoners had been more sinned against than sinning. The jury found them both *not guilty*, but that Nardi was insane. The court ordered him to be kept in prison until his majesty's pleasure should be known, under the provisions of a late act of parliament.

At the Queen-square office, eight boys, the oldest not 15 years of age, part of a gang of 50, were examined for stealing a great number of articles of brass, iron, lead, &c. A constable stated, that a woman of the name of Davison, in Swan-yard, Drury-lane, kept a lodging house for the reception of such boys, without any other accommodation than straw to lie upon. Such of them as brought home no stolen property, were turned out of doors. A woman of the name of Horn, in Short's Gardens, Drury-lane, used to buy the stolen goods from Davison, which she re-sold to a man of the name of Fisher, in St. Giles's. These three persons are in custody. While the constable, with two other officers, were in the shop of Fisher, a bricklayer's labourer entered, offered three pieces of lead for sale to one of the officers, conceiving him to be the master of the shop, and told where he had filched them; when he was likewise taken into custody. The boys are to be sent to the Marine Society.

In the court of king's bench, a man of the name of Rich was indicted, at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, for circulating and vending indecent prints. He was found guilty on the clearest evidence. All good men will join in supporting them, whilst they keep to their proper line of duty and activity.

Last night the neighbourhood of Plymouth experienced a severe tempest. It was with great difficulty the mail and other coaches proceeded, as the horses refused to face the storm on Haldown Heath, and often retrograded for some distance, ere they could

could be controlled. A small vessel, laden with tobacco and wine, drove from her anchors in harbour, and was lost, with every one on board.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock at noon, as Mr. Alexander Grieron, merchant, of Great Crosby, formerly, for many years, commander of a Liverpool trading ship, was walking arm in arm with a friend in Paradise-street, Liverpool, two carts, going at a quicker rate than usual, in opposite directions, came in contact with each other at the corner of the street. Mr. G. who was close to one of them, attempting to spring from it, failed in his effort, and fell down, when the cart passed over his head, and he expired in about 10 minutes. The owner of one of the carts, riding in it at the time, was thrown out by the violence of the concussion, and the cart passed over his body; he survived the accident; but his life is despaired of.

14th. A few days since a respectable farmer, of Rowfant, Sussex, on his return from shooting, proceeded to draw the charge; and, having returned to his pouch such of the shot as came easily out, pursued the practice common in such cases, of knocking the butt end of his gun against the ceiling, in order to dislodge the rest, whilst his right hand was employed at the muzzle to catch them. By this the cock was forced down, the powder discharged, and the hand dreadfully lacerated. A surgeon extracted a portion of felt from the wound; but some fragments remaining, they brought on a mortification. The unfortunate man refusing to submit to amputation, expired under

great agony, leaving a widow and six children.

This night, about half past seven, a fire broke out in the elaboratory of Mr. Maud, in St. Paul's-alley, Hare-court, Aldersgate-street. The conflagration was dreadful. The flames spread with the greatest rapidity, and the poor unfortunate inhabitants who lived adjoining, had scarcely time to save even their lives. Their furniture and other effects are completely destroyed. The whole of Paul's alley, up to Barbican, in three quarters of an hour became a heap of ruins.

Owing to the wet and tempestuous state of the 15th. weather, the cliff to the east of Brighton, between the Steine and the Crescent, has been undermined by the tide, and a great piece of it fell down this day. The road to Rottingdean is completely severed. Ten unfinished houses were blown down.

Accidentally shot, at Hammer-smith, county of Middlesex, Thomas Harris. One Bedford, a gardener, in the employ of Mr. Brooks, of Hammer-smith, deposed before the coroner's jury, that the deceased, whom he had long known, was working with him in a nursery; and at half past 4 they retired together to a shed, to deposit their tools. A gun was standing in the shed, which he (Bedford) took up, saying, 'Here is Frank's gun,' meaning his young master. He had scarcely touched the piece when it went off, and lodged the contents in the body and arm of his companion. Several persons proved that the parties were ever good friends; and that the deceased, previous to his death, attributed it to accident.

Mr.

17th. Mr. William Ludlam, with whom the philanthropic annuity plan originated, called a meeting this day at the London Tavern, and, on being opposed by some of the stock-holders, he grew outrageous, and proposed to such of the gentlemen as were dissatisfied with his management, to purchase their shares at a guinea premium. Many of them acceded to the proposal. As soon as the proceedings were over, he ordered dinner for himself and his clerk, in the front parlour; and, on the waiter bringing in a dish of mutton chops, he threw them at him, and before he could quit the room, discharged at him the rest of the dishes, with their contents, besides a decanter, and the wine it contained. One of the dishes perforated a valuable painting in the room. On the waiter turning round, he saw a horse pistol presented at him, and, before he could utter a word, Mr. L. snapped it at him, but no powder being in the pan, the pistol missed fire. These outrageous proceedings alarmed the whole tavern, and no person could be found to enter the room. Mr. L. kept ringing the bell violently, but to no purpose. At length Mr. Peacock, one of the masters of the tavern, entered the room, when Mr. L. after making him drink a glass of wine, got between him and the door, and, snatching up two pistols, threatened to shoot him dead if he stirred. The lord-mayor, who was dining at the tavern with a select party, made out a warrant for his apprehension; but Mr. L. by this time aware that measures were taking to seize him, sent his clerk to his coachman, to order him to drive the carriage as

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close as possible to the windows of the room in which he was—to keep on his box—the step was to be ready let down, and the two footmen placed up behind. All this the clerk had done, according to direction. Mr. L. then ordered Mr. Peacock to open the parlour windows, and at this moment a waiter, unapprized of the transaction, entering the room, he fired a pistol at him, loaded with three balls, which lodged in the wall; then, throwing some wine, and the contents of a butter-boat, in Mr. P.'s face, he jumped out of the window into his carriage, which drove furiously off, and he has not since been heard of. A commission of lunacy against him has been taken out.

The Termagant, which arrived at Portsmouth this day, brought the melancholy intelligence of the total loss of the Athenienne, of 64 guns, on her passage to Malta, by striking on the Esquerries rocks, near Tunis, in a gale, on the 20th of October last. The following are the names of the persons, above the rank of sailors, who lost their lives: Capt. Rainsford; lieutenants Swinburne, M'Millan, and Salter; Capt. Stains, and lieutenants Moss and Minden, of the marines; Mr. Griffin, surgeon; the boatswain, carpenter, and gunner; Messrs. Hennell, Rome, Morrison, Newman, Fitzgerald, and Blackburn, midshipmen. Passengers: lieutenant Barker, of the Melpomene; ensign Banker, of the 37th regiment; and the carpenter of La Bergere sloop. Persons saved: lieutenants John and James Little, and ——— Pym; Mr. Goodwin, purser; Messrs. Manning and Francis, midshipmen; Mr. Parker, master;

master; Mr. Cannon, master's mate. Passengers: brigadier general Campbell; Mr. Byron, surgeon of the *Endymion*; Mr. Dyer, to join the *Juno*; Messrs. G. Thorn, J. M'Lean, and S. Wells, of La Bergere. Seamen saved, 121; women, ditto, 2—123. Officers and seamen lost, 347.—The conduct of captain Rainsford is spoken of in the highest terms. When the ship struck, he declared he would be the last to quit her. It was owing to his presence of mind, and the authority he employed, that so many lives were saved. The ship had on board 10,000*l* in specie.

As some labourers were lately digging clay in the brick yard of Mr. Pool, at Bottesford, near Grantham, about nine feet from the surface they discovered the head and horns of an animal, of the bull kind, of extraordinary dimensions. The weight of the horns with a piece of the frontal bone, is 31 pounds; the span, from tip to tip, is two feet one inch, and at the greatest bulge of the horns, three feet two inches; each horn, from the skull to the tip, measures two feet eight inches, and is, at its base, one foot one inch and a half in circumference. One tooth weighs two ounces and a half. There is an imperfect cavity in the clay, in which the body of the animal is supposed to have lain, and on each side was a large piece of an oak tree, as black as ebony. Some part of the horns, near the tip, is completely petrified.

19th. A widow woman, of Southwick, near Oundle, had three horses poisoned a few days ago, in consequence of their eating the fibres of a yew tree.

20th. This morning about ten, a violent storm of wind,

thunder, lightning, and hail, came on at Alnwick. The hail-stones, which were driven by the gulf with uncommon force, consisted of pieces of complete ice, three quarters of an inch square. Very great damage was done to the windows and glass-work, at Alnwick; and at Swansfield, Mr. Sealey had 260 squares of glass broken; and others sustained similar losses. The skirts of the storm reached Newcastle. It was very severe to the westward. The flag-staff, on the new quay at Whitehaven, was shattered by the lightning, and several panes of the light-house were broken. In Liverpool, between twelve and one, the wind was so tremendous, as to blow down a new built house in Nile-street, unroof several houses, and upset a boat on the river, in which there were three men returning from a vessel lying at the Rock, who were all drowned.

A notice appeared in the Gazette of this evening, for carrying into effect the act for abolishing all fees and holidays in the Custom-house department; excepting only the following holidays, viz. Sundays, Christmas-day, Good Friday, the anniversaries of the restoration of king Charles the second, of the coronation of the king, and of the birth-days of their majesties, and the prince of Wales.

A gentleman who had lost 30*l*. to a fashionable lady at play, presented the amount in Bank notes. This drew from the lady an affected remark, "that at the *great houses* she frequented, nothing but gold was used."—"In the *little houses* I frequent, madam," replied the gentleman, "nothing but paper is used." — *Honi soit, &c.*

It

It was decided lately in the court of king's bench, in a cause, *The King v. Wilson*, that all foreign letters to English merchants, although brought by their own ships, must go through the Post-office.

John Tasker, ostler at the George Inn, at Spilsby, and Rebecca Smith of that place, lately went on foot 240 miles together, to Gretna Green, to be married. Having made this experiment of their fitness to tug through the rugged road of life together, to their mutual satisfaction, the Vulcan of the Borders riveted them into one, and, turning their faces homewards, they re-trod their steps,—whether with the same harmony as they went, “this deponent saith not.”

In a late report made to the Central Vaccine Committee, at Paris, it is stated, that by the exertions made throughout France, for propagating the vaccine inoculation, the number of individuals who underwent the operation in the 42 departments, during the last twelve months, amounts to 125,992, which gives a total of near 400,000 for all France; and by supposing, as in the last year, that number to be 1,088,157, it will appear, that one-third of the infants born last year, have been vaccinated. From a number of experiments which have lately been made in France, it has uniformly resulted, that the small pox has never had any effect upon those who have regularly gone through the vaccine infection.

22d. A fire broke out in the Dock-yard, at Portsmouth, which threatened alarming consequences. Between four and five o'clock the flames were seen to burst from the house in which the

rope is baked, and the twine tarred, for the use of the sail-makers. The wind was high, and blew directly towards the rigging and sail-lofts, between which and the fire was a quantity of light timber. Lieutenant Smith of the *Audacious*, hastened on shore with a party of sailors, to assist in extinguishing it; but no buckets were at hand: a supply was immediately procured from the *Audacious*; and, by the exertions of the seamen, the fire was prevented from spreading farther.

The same night the following dreadful accident happened to the driver of the mail coach from Bristol to Birmingham, within a few miles of Thornbury: the coach was going at a brisk rate, when the guard observed the driver to fall off his seat, between the horses; he got down, and endeavoured to stop them, but in vain. He then succeeded in regaining his seat behind the coach, till the animals slackened their pace, when he drove the coach in safety to Thornbury, where he procured a horse, and returned to the man, whom he conveyed back. Surgical assistance was instantly procured; but it was fruitless, as one of the wheels had passed over his neck, and, it is supposed, killed him on the spot. He has left a wife and two children.

25th. Nine dwellings, with numerous out-houses, corn stacks, &c. were destroyed by accidental fire at Acomb, near Hexham.

In consequence of a heavy swell in the river Conway, the boat which carried the Irish mail was unfortunately lost, with the following persons on board: Peter Allison,

son, of Liverpool; John Godwin, of Cowbridge; John Hunt, esq. his address at J. Heard's, Ballast-office, Dublin; Thomas Tipton, the guard; ——— Carpenter, a son of the guard of that name, coming from school from Yorkshire; Richard Edwards, smith, Holyhead; Charles Harrison, Limerick, not yet found—his trunk picked up; Francis Rouse, Conway; Thomas Hughes, Thomas Roberts, Owen Jones and John Reynold's, boatmen, Conway. ——— Roberts, tanner, Holyhead, by the assistance of the mail bag, and a boatman, by the assistance of a trunk, were saved.

The same day a stone bridge of four arches, over the river Crae, at Newton Stewart, was carried away by the floods.

26th. The tide rose to such a height in Ipswich, that most of the streets were inundated. The water was two feet deep, near St. Peter's church, and the common quay was nearly overflowed. At Hampton, Sunbury, Chertsey, and similar places, near the banks of the Thames, the whole of the country was under water; and Kingston and Putney bridges were for a time nearly impassable.

The whole of the Scotch coast has suffered much during the last and preceding week, from the unusual height of the tide, both of the sea and rivers. On the 20th inst. the river Stinchar, at the town of Ballantrae, rose to a prodigious height, and overflowed the highway for nearly 200 yards. About eleven, while the 9th troop of the 1st dragoons, on their route from Hamilton for Ireland, attempted to pass the water, five of the horses, with their riders, were borne down

by the rapidity of the current. The men, from the weight of their accoutrements, were some time before they could disengage themselves from the animals. The inhabitants plunged in to their assistance, and, at the risk of their own lives, succeeded in saving those of the soldiers.—At Rothfay, the tide lately rose so high, that both the quays were covered with water, and many barrels of herrings washed over. The water in the houses at this port was 48 inches deep.

This afternoon, about half past one, was one of the highest tides ever remembered. Boats were rowed into Palace and Little Scotland Yards; and the water filled most of the cellars about the Horseguards and Parliament-street. A number of wharfs, cellars, and warehouses, from the top of Upper Thames-street to the bottom of Lower Thames-street, and in Bridge-street, Blackfriars, were completely inundated; and also the lower apartments of several houses in Horsleydown. The injury sustained is considerable. The moon was at full, but the wind was fortunately westerly. Fifteen years have elapsed since those quarters experienced such a visitation.

The Canary Bird Fanciers lately held their anniversary at a Tavern in Holborn; the meeting was numerously attended, and premiums as high as thirty guineas were adjudged, even for single birds.—In ascertaining the value of the bird, its vocal talents are not taken much into consideration. Its shape, its plumage, its carriage, are the points in which its merits are considered to consist. In order, therefore, to form an exact estimate, water is procured; and when

when any suspicion is entertained of artificial means having been used to improve the colour or shape of the plumage, the feather is washed in a peculiar way which does not injure it, and at the same time detects the imposture, if any is practised. To such a degree of nicety have these bird fanciers carried their taste and skill, that they can ascertain in a moment whether the one wing corresponds exactly with the other in the colour, number, and precise appearance and place of the feathers. Even in the case of a feather lost, and an artificial one substituted in its place, no art or ingenuity can deceive them.

27th. This day the Thames again rose considerably higher than on the preceding day, at Rotherhithe, Lambeth, and Milbank, as well as at the newly embanked cut at the Isle of Dogs, where serious injury was occasioned by the inundation. Near Lambeth horse-ferry a sow and 12 pigs were drowned.

28th. About twelve o'clock, one of the arches of Haydon-bridge, Northumberland, 95 feet in span, fell in, with a most tremendous crash, at the time that a number of people were going over it to church. One man sunk with the ruins to the depth of 40 feet, by which his thigh was fractured, and he was otherwise much bruised; but he is still alive. The bridge had long been in a state of decay.

The most singularly formed individual in the world, perhaps, exists at this moment at Void, a town in the second division of the department of the Meuse. This unfortunate being enjoys good health, although deprived of the ordinary

means of voiding his excrements. He has lived more than half a century, notwithstanding his mouth performs by turns the labours of mastication and ejection. Being thus deprived in a manner of all the parts of the body from the chest downwards, he constantly sits in a small cart, which is drawn by children through the streets, and he subsists by begging. His name is Claude Rouget, a native and inhabitant of Void, and he is 59 years of age. In his youth he experienced a gradual and long continued compression. This compression was felt from the xiphoid cartilage and over the whole extent of the lower belly, so that the pylorus, all the viscera of that region, such as the intestines, the liver, the spleen, the kidneys, the bladder, the glands of the pancreas and of the mesentery, and all the secretory organs, experienced such an alteration, that they are as if totally annihilated. The abdomen is glued to the spine of the back; all the lower extremities are atrophous; the anus is obliterated and quite close. This unfortunate individual only prolongs his existence by means of the glands of the stomach, which pump up a slight portion of chyle, diluted by the salivary and gastric juices. In half a quarter of an hour after having taken food, he voids it by the mouth, in a state of a thick emulsion, with as much and even more ease than by the ordinary method. The bile, that animal soap, and the glands of the lower belly, not concurring to the extraction of the nutritive parts of his food, the voiding of it is thus facilitated, and obliges him to eat frequently.

DIED. — 13th. At Windy Hook,



Hook, Haworth, Cumberland, Mary Walton, widow, aged 100.

17. At Dorchester, aged 68, T. Beach, esq. many years an eminent portrait-painter at Bath. He was a native of Milton Abbey, a village, since converted into the noble mansion of the earl of Dorchester. From his earliest years, Mr. Beach evinced a strong desire to be an artist; and, under the patronage of the Dorchester family, he became a pupil to sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1760. He was a good scholar, and exemplary in the exercises of religion and charity.

26. At Bristol, aged 21, William Isaac Roberts, a young man of very considerable poetical talents.

At Wigan, Mrs. Wyan, aged 94. She was mother, grand, and great grandmother to more than 200 persons.

At Oswestry, Mary Evans, aged 100.

At Thornbury workhouse, Mary Biggs, aged 105. She had been a pauper upwards of 35 years, and retained her faculties to the last.

At Horndean, Mrs. Hammal, aged 101.

At Kennarth, Caermarthenshire, aged 100, Samuel Griffiths, fisherman, the father of 25 children, all of whom he brought up without parochial assistance.

In Caermarthenshire E. W. R. Mansell, esq. It is remarkable that his old and faithful domestic, William Kemberton, who had been attached to his person from his childhood, and who had been often heard to say that he could not survive his master, never spoke after the news of his death reached him, and in a few hours followed him to eternity.

At Capel Cerig, Gayner Thomas, aged 104. She had 14 children, 30 grand children; and nine great grand-children.

BIRTHS for the Year 18c6.

- Jan. 19. Countess of Banbury, a daughter.  
 21. Countess of Elgin, a daughter.  
 24. Lady of lieutenant general Manningham, a daughter.
- Feb. 2. Countess of Aylesford, a daughter.  
 6. Lady of sir Thos. Whichcote, bart. a son.  
 Lady of sir William Ramsay, bart. a son.  
 Lady Janet Buchanan, a daughter.  
 9. Lady of sir Henry Oxendon, bart. a daughter.  
 11. Countess of Loudon and Moira, a daughter.  
 Lady Dunboyne, a son.  
 20. Lady Holland, a daughter.  
 21. Countess of Mansfield, a son.  
 Lady Ogilby, a daughter.  
 23. Countess of Aboyne, a son.  
 25. Lady Mary Stopford, a daughter.  
 28. Hon. Mrs. Erskine, a daughter.
- March 16. Lady of hon. general St. John, a daughter.  
 17. Viscountess Mahon, a son.  
 22. Lady C. Drummond, a son.  
 24. Lady

24. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.
- April 2. Lady of sir Chriff. Wil-  
loughby, bart. a  
daughter.
4. Lady Harriet Framp-  
ton, a daughter.
6. Hon. Mrs. Berkeley,  
a son.
8. Hon. Mrs. J. B. Simp-  
fon, a daughter.
9. Lady of sir George  
Prescott, bart. a  
daughter.
25. Lady Lovaine, a son.  
Lady of sir Montague  
Cholmeley, bart. a  
daughter.
- May 2. Lady King, a daugh-  
ter.
10. Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a  
son.  
Lady Eden, a son.
11. Duchefs of Beaufort, a  
daughter.
17. Hon. Mrs. Childers, a  
son.
22. Lady Charlotte Hope,  
a daughter.  
Lady Orde, a daugh-  
ter.
28. Lady Boringdon, a  
son.  
Lady of Vice Admiral  
Sir C. Knowles, bart.  
a daughter.
31. Countefs Talbot, a  
son.  
Lately, Lady Sinclair,  
a daughter.  
Lady Caroline Dou-  
glas, a daughter.  
Hon. Mrs. Tenant, a  
son.
- June 1. Lady of colonel Gore  
Langton, M.P. a  
daughter.
2. Lady of rear-admiral  
Sutton, a daughter.
4. Viscountefs Arbuth-  
not, a son.
8. Lady Grantham, a  
daughter.
9. Lady of brigadier-  
general Monro, a  
daughter.
11. Hon. Mrs. E. J. Tur-  
nour, a daughter.
17. Lady E. Loftus, a  
son.
24. Countefs of Chichef-  
ter, a daughter.
26. Countefs Cowper, an  
heir.
27. Hon. Mrs. Plunket,  
a son.
28. Hon. Mrs. H. Black-  
wood, a daughter.  
Lately, Hon. Mrs.  
Mafon, a daughter.  
Countefs of Belmore,  
a daughter.
- July 2. Hon. Mrs. Leighton,  
a son.
9. Hon. Mrs. E. Rice, a  
daughter.
13. Hon. Mrs. Erskine, of  
Cardrofs, a son.
15. Hon. Mrs. Paget, a  
son.  
Countefs of Albemarle,  
a daughter.
16. Lady Elizabeth Palk,  
a son.
24. Hon. Mrs. Oliphant  
Murray, a daughter.
28. Hon. Mrs. F. Irby, a  
son.  
Lately, at Bath, Mrs.  
Matcham, fister of  
lord Neifon, a son.
- Aug. 2. Lady of right hon.  
Maurice Fitzgerald,  
a son.

- Aug. 3. Lady of hon. brigadier-general Stewart, a son.  
 Hon. Lady Crofton, a son and heir.  
 Lady of fir John Kenaway, bart. a daughter.  
 Countess Dalhousie, an heir.
4. Lady Loraine, a son.
6. Lady Riddell, a daughter.
7. Lady Macdonald Lockhart, a son.
9. Hon. Mrs. Burton, a son.
21. Hon. Mrs. Thomas, a daughter.
22. Lady Henry Fitzroy, a daughter.
23. Lady Charlotte Howard, a son.  
 Viscountess Atcheson, an heir.
29. Lady Petre, two sons.  
 Lately, Lady of Sir D. Mackworth, bt. a son.  
 Hon. Mrs. Blaquiere, a son.
- Sept. 1. Lady of Admiral Duddington, a son.
5. Lady Charlotte Gould, a son.
11. Hon. Mrs. Ramsay, a daughter.
16. Countess of Corke, a daughter.
23. Lady Amelia Kaye, a daughter.  
 Lady Mary Talbot, a daughter.
26. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery Stewart, a son.  
 Lady Lambert, a son.
29. Lady of fir William Paxton, a son.  
 Lately, lady Elizabeth Littlehales, a son.  
 Hon. Mrs. Knox, a son.  
 Lady Emily Henry, a son.
- Oct. 1. Lady of fir John Duntze, bart. an heir.
7. Lady of brigadier-general Nepean, a son.
9. Lady Catharine Graham, a daughter.  
 Princess of Hesse, a prince.
12. Lady of fir James Gordon, bart. a daughter.
14. Lady of right hon. col. Ward, a son.
15. Lady of fir Oswald Mosley, bart. a daughter.  
 Lady of fir W. Blackett, bart. a daughter.
26. Hon. Mrs. Laurence Dundas, a son.  
 Lately, Empress of Russia, a princess.
- Nov. 4. Lady of fir Hungerford Hoskins, bart. a daughter.
10. Hon. Mrs. Henry Ryder, a son.
24. Lady S. M. Stanley, an heir.  
 Marchioness of Winchester, a daughter.  
 Lady Henry Somerset, a son.
- Dec. 2. Lady of fir Robert Wigram, bart. a son.
3. Countess of Clonmell, a daughter.

- Dec. 8. Lady Mary Murray,  
a daughter.
9. Lady of Sir Francis  
Burdett, bart. a  
daughter.
10. Lady Eliz. Norman,  
a daughter.
11. Hon. Mrs. Robert  
Dundas, a son.  
Hon. Mrs. Grenfell, a  
daughter.
20. Lady William Beau-  
clerc, a daughter.
28. Lady Forbes, a son.  
Lady Emily Wellef-  
ley, a daughter.

West Suffolk mili-  
tia, to the hon. Cas-  
sandra Twisleton,  
youngest daughter  
of the late lord Say  
and Sele.

At Cardington, co.  
Bedford, the rev.  
Jn. Foster, M. A.  
vicar of West Thur-  
rock, co. Essex, to  
the hon. Miss St.  
John, eldest daugh-  
ter of the late lord  
St. J.

Feb. 7. At Edinburgh, Sir Tho-  
mas Gibson Carmi-  
chael, bart. of Stir-  
ling, to Janet, second  
daughter of major-  
general Thos. Dun-  
das, of Carron-hall.

March 11. At Bristol, rear-admi-  
ral Sotheby, to lady  
Mary Anne Bourke,  
daughter of the late  
earl of Mayo.

26. At Bath, Walter Wil-  
kins, jun. esq. of  
Marlough, co. Rad-  
nor, only son of W.  
W. esq. M. P. for  
that county, to the  
hon. Catherine Eli-  
za Marianna Deve-  
reux, fourth daugh-  
ter of the late, and  
sister of the present  
viscount Hereford.

27. By special licence,  
Stephen Tottenham  
Cassan, esq. of Wex-  
ford, to lady Lucy  
Anna Maria Hall,  
relict of the late  
Clotworthy H. esq.  
of the same place.

April 10. At Sherborne castle,  
Dorset,

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### MARRIAGES for the Year 1806.

Jan. 13. At Wanlip, co. Lei-  
cester, Sir Charles  
Grave Hudson, bart.  
to the eldest daugh-  
ter of the late Peter  
Holford, esq. one of  
the masters in Chan-  
cery, with 50,000l.

23. By special licence, at  
the house of James  
Ramfay Cuthbert,  
esq. in Berkeley-  
square, George Freke  
Evans, esq. of Bul-  
gaden-hall, co. Li-  
merick, brother of  
Sir J. F. bart. to the  
right hon. lady Car-  
bery.

At Clifton, near Brif-  
tol, Clement Deb-  
bieg, esq. to lady  
Charlotte Butler,  
sister to the earl of  
Lanesborough.

30. Richard Charles Head  
Graves, esq. of the

- Dorset, prince Bariatinsky, to the hon. Miss Dutton, daughter of lord Sherborne.
11. At St. George's, Hanover-square, sir Stephen Rich. Glynne, bart. of Hawarden castle, in Flintshire, to the hon. Miss Mary Neville, second daughter of lord Braybrook.
16. By special licence, by the bishop of Cork, at the house of the archbishop of Tuam, Thomas Hope, esq. of Duchefs-str. to Miss Louisa Beresford, youngest daughter of his grace.
17. Captain Henry Digby, R. N. first cousin to the earl of Digby, to viscountess Andover, widow of the late lord viscount A. and daughter of Thomas Coke, esq. M. P. for the county of Norfolk.  
At Clifton, near Bristol, Louis Charles Peter Bonaventure, Comte de Mesnard, knight of the order of Malta, and of New Quebec-street, Portman-square, to Miss Blundell, of Clifton.
20. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. to Miss Pakenham, niece of admiral P.  
At Scopswick, co. Lin-
- coln, Mr. H. Whyers, of Wigtoft, grocer, to Miss Anne Nelson, of Scopswick, niece of lord N.
23. At Harnford, Hants, the seat of the earl of Clanricarde, Henry Joseph Tichborne, esq. eldest son of sir Henry T. bart. to Miss Burke, daughter of sir Thomas B. bart. of the county of Galway, in Ireland, and sister to the countess of Clanricarde.
- May 1. At Mount Juliet, the seat of the earl of Carrick, by special licence, Francis Savage, esq. M. P. for the county of Down, to lady Harriet Butler, third daughter of the earl of Carrick.
2. At Mary-la-Bonne church, lord Robert Seymour, to the hon. Miss Chetwynd, sister to lord viscount C.
8. At the house of lord Henry Fitzgerald, in Stratford-place, Charles Lord Kinaird, to the lady Cecilia Olivia Fitzgerald, fifth daughter of the late duke of Leinster.  
At Mary-la-Bonne church, Willoughby Cotton, esq. captain in the third regiment

- of foot-guards, to the hon. Augusta Margaret Coventry, daughter of lord viscount Deerhurst.
17. The hon. William Herbert, son of the earl of Caernarvon, to the hon. Letitia Emily Dorothea Allen, youngest daughter of lord viscount A.
- By special licence, the honourable and rev. Pierce Butler, third son of the earl of Carrick, to Miss Maria Sophia Vernon, third daughter of John V. esq. of Clontarf castle, county of Dublin.
19. At Lambeth palace, by special licence, the hon. Hugh Percy, third son of the earl of Beverley, to Miss Manners Sutton, eldest daughter of the archbishop of Canterbury.
22. James Caulfield, esq. of the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, to the hon. Harriet Crofton, daughter of baroness Crofton.
24. By special licence, at Clontarf church, Bertram Mitford, esq. youngest son of Wm. Mitford, esq. of Exbury, county of Southampton, and nephew to lord Redesdale, to Frances, second daughter of John Vernon, esq. of Clontarf castle, county of Dublin.
- June 10. At St. George's, Hanover-square, Osborne Markham, esq. son of the archbishop of York, to lady Mary Thynne, sister of the marquis of Bath.
- At Mary-la-Bonne church, Charles Cunningham, esq. son of sir William C. bart. of Robertland, to Frances, youngest daughter of the late sir John Call, bart. of Whiteford.
11. At Edinburgh, Lord Rollo, to Miss Agnes Grieg, daughter of — G. esq. of Gayfield-place.
17. At St. Martin's in the Fields, Viscount Fitzharris, eldest son of the earl of Malmesbury, to the honourable Miss Dashwood, niece to the earl of Effingham.
- Colonel Arthur Vanfittart, of Shottesbrooke, Berks, M.P. for Windsor, to the honourable Miss Caroline Eden, fourth daughter of lord Auckland.
19. Sir W. Pratt Call, bart. of Whiteford-house, county of Cornwall, to lady Louisa Forbes, sister of the earl of Granard.

June 24. At Bath, lord W. Stuart, son of the marquis of Bute, to the honourable Georgiana Maude, sister of viscount Hawarden.

21. Prince Christian Frederick, of Denmark, to the princess Charlotte, daughter of the reigning duke of Mecklenburg.

23. At the earl of Carlisle's house, in Grosvenor-place, by special license, Will. Sloane, esq. son of col. S. of Harley-street, to lady Gertrude Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle.

26. At the Chapel of Bromley-palace, Kent, by the bishop of Rochester, and by special license, Andrew Wedderburn, esq. of Upper Grosvenor-street, to the honourable Louisa Eden, fifth daughter of lord Auckland.

July 1. At St. Mary-la-Bonne church, and on the same day, by special license, at the Roman catholic chapel, in King-street, Portman-square, by the bishop of Nantes, Armand Comte de Barde, to Mademoiselle Adela de St. Hermine, youngest daughter of the marquis de St. H. and niece to the duke de Pölignac.

2. At Alresford, the seat of

lord Spencer Chichester, by special license, and by the honourable and reverend Charles Stewart, the hon. colonel William Bligh, brother to the earl of Darnley, to lady Sophia Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

3. At the house of marquis Wellesley, Hyde-Park-corner, William Abdy, esq. to the eldest daughter of the marquis.

8. At the house of lord Dundas, in Arlington-street, viscount Milton, only son of earl Fitzwilliam, to the hon. Miss Dundas, daughter of lord Dundas.

17. The honourable William Henry Hare, son of lord Ennismore, to the only daughter of Isaac Bough, esq. of Upper Wimpole-street.

22. At St. George's, Hanover-square, by the honourable and rev. G. Wellesley, the honourable Mr. Bagot, brother of lord B. to Miss Pole, daughter to the hon. W. P. of Berkeley-square.

By special license, by the bishop of London, at his Lordship's chapel, at Fulham, the right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, secretary to the treasury, to the hon.

- hon. Catharine Eden,  
second daughter of  
lord Auckland.
23. At Burgh castle, Suffolk,  
Admiral M<sup>c</sup>Dougall,  
to the only daughter  
of Richard Wright,  
esq. of Harling-hall,  
Norfolk.
24. At St. George's, Hano-  
ver-square, the hon.  
Henry Brand, to Miss  
Pyne Crosbie, daugh-  
ter of the honourable  
and reverend dean C.  
and niece to the late  
earl of Glendore.
28. At Devonshire-house,  
by special license,  
lord Ossulstone, son  
of the earl of Tan-  
kerville, to Made-  
moiselle DeGramont,  
daughter of the duke  
De G. and grand  
daughter of the duke  
de Polignac.  
Lord Walpole, to Mrs.  
Chamberlayné, of  
Sackville-street.
- At St. George's church,  
Dublin, by special  
license, lord viscount  
Monck, to the lady  
Frances Trench, fifth  
daughter of the late  
earl of Cloncarty.
31. At Edinburgh, lord El-  
phinstone, to lady  
Carmichael.
- At Plymouth, admiral  
Boger, to Mrs. Drake,  
widow.
- Aug. 1. At Dunblaws, in Scot-  
land, sir James Mont-  
gomery, bart. to lady  
Elizabeth Douglas,  
daughter of the late  
earl of Selkirk.
11. At Lambeth-palace, by  
the archbishop of  
Canterbury, the hon.  
Charles Anderson Pel-  
ham, son of lord Yar-  
borough, to Miss  
Simpson, daughter of  
the honourable John  
Bridgeman S.
17. At Boyle farm, near  
Kingston, Surrey,  
lord Foley, to lady  
Cecilia Fitzgerald.
19. At her grace's house, in  
Portman-square, John  
Manners, esq. M. P.  
for Ilchester, and se-  
cond son of the right  
hon. Lady Louisa  
Manners, to her grace  
the duchess of Rox-  
burgh.
- At Gormanstown, in  
Ireland, Rich. Cad-  
dell, esq. of Har-  
bours-town, county  
of Meath, to the ho-  
nourable Miss South-  
well, daughter of the  
late viscount S.
- Sept. 1. At St. George's, Ha-  
nover-square, the hon.  
capt. Herbert, son of  
the earl of Caernar-  
von, to Miss Head.
4. At Lennel-house, in  
Scotland, the honour-  
able Gilbert Elliot,  
eldest son of lord  
Minto, to Mary, eld-  
est daughter of Pa-  
trick Brydone, esq.
6. At Bath, P. Latouche,  
jun. esq. to the hon.  
Miss C. Maude,  
daughter



- daughter of the late lord Hawarden.
9. Lord Marsham to Miss Pitt.
14. At the private chapel in Winchester-house, Chelsea, Will Gosling, esq. of Roehampton, to the hon. Charlotte De Grey, second daughter of lord Walsingham.
25. At Westport-house, in Ireland, John Cator, esq. of Beckenham-place, Kent, to the eldest daughter of Ross Mahon, esq. of Castlebar, co. Galway, and niece to the marquis of Sligo.
- Oct. 3. At Rattery, sir Henry Carew, bart. of Haccombe, to the only daughter of Walter Palk, esq. of Marley, Devon.
11. By special licence, the rev. George Moore, eldest son of the late archbishop of Canterbury, to Miss Harriet Mary Bridges, youngest daughter of the late sir Brooke B. bart. of Goodnestone, Kent.
13. At Freeland house, in Perthshire, Wake Hore, esq. of Harperstown, co. Wexford, Ireland, to the hon. Mary Elizabeth Thornton Ruthven, daughter of the late James Lord Ruthven.
26. At Godalming, Surrey,
- John Allen, esq. of Sunbury, to lady Frances Turnour, daughter of the late earl of Winterton. Also, a short time since, at the same place, F. Remington, M. D. of Guildford, to lady Anne Brown, relict of George Gordon B., esq. of the royal navy, and eldest daughter of the late earl of Winterton.
- Nov. 18. Sir Walter Brisco, bart. of Crofton, co. Cumberland, to Miss Lester, eldest daughter of Mrs. Cooper, of Hammersmith.
29. At St. Mary-la-bonne, Henry Hawley, esq. eldest son of sir Henry H. bart. of Leybourne Grange, co. Kent, to Catherine Elizabeth, eldest daughter of sir John Shaw, bart. of Kenward, in the same county.
- At Sandhill park, co. Somerset, capt. Rich, eldest son of sir Charles R. bart. of Shirley-house, co. Hants, to the youngest daughter of sir John Lethbridge, bt.
- Dec. 1. At Dalkeith-house, in Scotland, William, earl of Ancram, to lady Harriet Montague, youngest daughter of the duke of Buccleugh.

Dec. 2. At Great Ness, co. Salop, John Edwards, to the only daughter of the rev. George Martin, grand-daughter of the late, and niece of the present duke of Athol.

9. Capt. Maxwell, of the 1st foot-guards, and eldest son of sir David M. bart. to the eldest daughter of Samuel Martin, esq. of Englefield-green, near Egham, Surrey.

10. At Woodford, Essex, William Henry Ashurst, esq. eldest son of sir W. H. A. of Waterstock, co. Oxford, to the eldest daughter of the late Oswald Mosley, esq. of Boleworth castle, in Cheshire, and sister of sir Oswald M. bart. M. P.

15. Lieut.-col. the hon. S. H. Lumley, to Miss M. H. Tahourdin, daughter of H. T. esq. of Sydenham, Kent.

21. Hon. and rev. Mr. Bagot, to lady Harriett Villiers, youngest daughter of the dowager countess of Jersey.

30. At Fowey, in Cornwall, capt. Graham Eden Hammond, of the royal navy, only son of sir Andrew Snape H. bart. to the eldest daughter of John

Kimber, esq. of Fowey.

At Cork, sir Thomas Roberts, bart. to Miss Walton, daughter of Thomas W. esq. of Walton court.

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PROMOTIONS for the Year  
1806.

*Downing-street*, Jan. 21. Thomas Hislop, esq. brigadier-general of his Majesty's forces serving in the leeward and windward Charibbee islands, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Trinidad.

*Dublin Castle*, Jan. 24. Rev. John Kearney, D.D. provost of Trinity college, Dublin, promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, vice Hamilton, dec.—Rev. Geo. Hall, D.D. to be provost of Trinity college, Dublin, *vice* Kearney.

*Downing-street*, Jan. 25. Hon. Lyndsay Burrell, appointed his Majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Dresden.

*Whitehall*, Jan. 28. Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, M.A. to be dean of the cathedral church of Chester, *vice* Cotton, dec.

*Whitehall*, Jan. 29. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, rear-admiral of the red, and sir Richard John Strachan, bart. rear-admiral of the blue, created knights of the Bath. Thomas Masterman Hardy, esq. captain in the royal navy, created a baronet of the United Kingdom.

*Downing street*, Feb. 1. Henry Bentinck, esq. to be lieutenant-governor

governor of the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo.

*Downing-street*, Feb. 4. Sir Henry Russell, knt. to be chief justice, and sir William Burroughs, bart. to be one of the puisne judges, of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal.

*Queen's-palace*, Feb. 5. Henry viscount Sidmouth, sworn keeper of the privy seal, *vice* earl of Westmoreland.—Right hon. Francis earl of Moira; right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, chancellor and under-treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer; right hon. Charles Grey; and right hon. Charles James Fox; sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. Right hon. George John earl Spencer, K. G. and right hon. William Windham, sworn two of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. Right hon. William lord Auckland (and, in his absence, the right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple), appointed president of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, *vice* duke of Montrose and Mr. Rose.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 7. Right hon. Thomas Erskine, created baron Erskine, of Restormel castle, co. Cornwall.

*Queen's-palace*, Feb. 7. Right hon. George viscount Morpeth; right hon. John Townshend, commonly called lord John Townshend; right hon. Thomas lord Erskine; and right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. Right hon. Thomas lord

Erskine, sworn lord high chancellor of Great Britain, *vice* lord Eldon. Right hon. Charles James Fox, sworn one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lord Mulgrave.

*Carlton-house*, Feb. 7. William Adam, esq. one of his Majesty's counsel, and attorney-general to the prince of Wales, appointed chancellor and keeper of his royal highness's great seal, *vice* lord Erskine; and William Garrow, esq. one of his Majesty's counsel, to be his royal highness's attorney-general, *vice* Adam.

*Dublin-castle*, Feb. 7. Arthur viscount Gosford, created earl Gosford, of Market-hill, co. Armagh; Laurence Parsons Harman, viscount Oxmantown, earl of Ross, with remainder to his nephew, the right hon. sir Laurence Parsons, bart.; Charles viscount Somerton, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Normanton, co. Kilkenny; and Charles William viscount Charleville, earl of Charleville, of Charleville forest, King's county. Peter Isaac Thellusson, esq. created baron Rendlesham, of Rendlesham.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 8. Gen. Francis earl of Moira, appointed master-general of his Majesty's ordnance of the united kingdom, *vice* earl of Chatham. Right hon. general Richard Fitzpatrick, to be his Majesty's secretary at war, *vice* Mr. W. Dundas.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 11. Right hon. William Wyndham, baron Grenville, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, *vice* lord Louvaine; John Charles Spencer, esq. commonly called viscount Althorpe, *vice* lord Fitzharris; right hon. William Wickham, *vice* Mr. Long;

Long; and John Courtenay, esq. *vice* marquis of Blandford; to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer. Right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer, *vice* Mr. Pitt. Right hon. Charles Grey, *vice* lord Barmham; sir Philip Stephens, bart. *vice* admiral Gambier; Ju. Markham, esq. rear-admiral of the white, *vice* sir Philip Stephens; sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. admiral of the blue, *vice* admiral Patten; sir Harry Neale, bart., *vice* sir E. Nepean; William Russell, esq. commonly called lord William Russell, *vice* Mr. Dickenson, jun.; and right hon. Wm. lord Kenfington, of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, *vice* lord Garies; to be his Majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging. Right hon. Gilbert baron Minto, *vice* lord Castlereagh; right hon. George John earl Spencer, K. G. *vice* lord Hawkesbury; right hon. William Windham, *vice* lord Mulgrave; right hon. Charles James Fox, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. William Wyndham baron Grenville, *vice* lord Glenbervie; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, *vice* Mr. Wallace; right hon. George Howard, commonly called viscount Morpeth, *vice* lord Dunlo; right hon. John Hiley Addington; and right hon. John Sullivan; to be his Majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India. Right hon. Henry earl of Caer-

narvon, appointed master of the horse to his Majesty, *vice* the marquis of Hertford.

*Downing-street*, Feb. 11. James Green, esq. to be his Majesty's consul-general in all the dominions of the emperor of Morocco.

*St. James's*, Feb. 12. Arthur Piggott, esq. his Majesty's attorney-general, *vice* Mr. Perceval, and Samuel Romilly, esq. his Majesty's solicitor-general, *vice* sir Vicary Gibbs, knighted.

*Queen's palace*, Feb. 12. His grace John duke of Bedford, right hon. Henry earl of Caernarvon, right hon. John Joshua earl of Carysfort, right hon. Charles Augustus lord Offulston, right hon. St. Andrew lord St. John, of Bletsoe, and right hon. William Elliott, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. John Duke of Bedford, declared lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, *vice* earl of Hardwicke. Right hon. Edward earl of Derby, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, *vice* lord Harrowby. Right hon. Francis earl of Moira, sworn constable of his Majesty's tower of London, and lord-lieutenant of the tower hamlets, *vice* marquis Cornwallis, dec.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 15. Right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, appointed treasurer of his Majesty's navy, *vice* Mr. Canning. John Calcraft, esq. to be clerk of the ordnance of the united kingdom. Right hon. Robert earl of Buckinghamshire, and right hon. John Joshua earl of Carysfort, K. P. to be postmaster-general, *vice* duke of Montrose and lord C. Spencer. Right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple, and right hon. John Town-

Townshend, commonly called lord John Townshend, to be paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces, *vice* Mr. Rose and lord C. Somerset. Right hon. Charles Spencer, commonly called lord Charles Spencer, to be master and worker of the mint, *vice* earl Bathurst. Alexander Davison, esq. to be treasurer of the ordnances of the united kingdom. Thomas Anson, esq. created baron Soberton, of Soberton, co. Southampton, and viscount Anson, of Shugborough and Orgrave, co. Stafford. John Dennis, marquis of Sligo, K. P. created baron Monteagle, of Westport, co. Mayo. Right hon. Hugh earl of Eglinton, created baron Ardrossan, of Ardrossan, co. Ayr. Right hon. James earl of Lauderdale, created baron Lauderdale, of Thirlestane, co. of Berwick. Right hon. George earl of Granard, created baron Granard, of castle Donington, co. Leicester. John Crewe, esq. created baron Crewe, of Crewe, co. Chester. William Lygon, esq. created baron Beauchamp, of Powyke, co. of Worcester. Right hon. and rev. William Nelson, D. D. baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, co. of Norfolk, viscount Merton and earl Nelson of Trafalgar and of Merton, co. Surrey, and his issue, permitted and authorised to bear the honourable augmentations to their armorial ensigus which were granted to his brother, Horatio late viscount and baron Nelson, with the crest, motto, supporters, &c.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 18. John M'Mahon, esq. appointed keeper of the stores, ordnance, and ammunition of war, of the united kingdom. Right hon. Robert Spencer, com-

monly called lord Robert Spencer, to be surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods, parks, forests, and chaces, *vice* lord Glenbervie.

*Queen's-palace*, Feb. 19. William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden.—Thomas Stevens, esq. of Kinnerton, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor, *vice* John Whitaker, esq. of Cascob.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 19. Right hon. William Charles earl of Albemarle, appointed master of his Majesty's buck-hounds, *vice* earl of Sandwich. Right hon. St. Andrew lord St. John, appointed captain of his Majesty's band of pensioners, *vice* viscount Falmouth.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 25. Charles Hastings, esq. of Willesley-hall, co. of Leicester, lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces; Montague Cholmeley, esq. of Easton, co. Lincoln; Thomas Sutton, esq. of Molesey, co. Surrey; and Bysche Shelley, esq. of Castle Goring, Suffex; created baronets.

*Downing-street*, March 1. Francis Gore, esq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada; and John Hodgson, esq. brigadier-general of his Majesty's forces, governor of the Bermuda or Somers islands.

*Queen's-palace*, March 5. Right hon. George Ponsonby, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, sworn custos rotulorum of the shire of Peterborough. Thomas Jones, esq. of Dolgelly, to be sheriff of the county of Merioneth, *vice* Hugh Jones, sen. esq. of Dolgelly.

*Whitehall*, March 8. Right hon. Nathaniel

Nathaniel Bond, appointed advocate-general or judge-marshal of his majesty's forces, *vice* right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. resigned.—Charles Hay, esq. to be a lord of session in Scotland, *vice* David Smyth, esq. dec.—Hon. Henry Erskine, advocate, to be his majesty's advocate in Scotland.—John Clerk, esq. advocate, to be his majesty's solicitor in Scotland.—Right hon. William Brazazon Ponsonby, created baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly, co. Cork.—Sir Francis Milman, bart. appointed physician in ordinary to his majesty, *vice* Dr. Thomas Gibborne, dec.

*Queen's-palace*, March 12. Right hon. sir John Newport, bart. chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall*, March 15. George Spencer, esq. commonly called marquis of Blandford, summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Spencer, of Wormleighton, co. Warwick.

*Dublin-castle*, March 25. Right hon. George Ponsonby, appointed chancellor and keeper of the great seal of Ireland.—March 28. Right hon. William Elliott, appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland his chief secretary.

*War-office*, March 29. Lieutenant gen. John lord Hutchinson, K. B. appointed governor of Londonderry and Culmore, in Ireland, *vice* Hale, dec.

*Whitehall*, April 1. Right hon. Charles viscount Newark, created earl of Manvers.—Right hon. Horatio baron Walpole, created earl of Orford, co. Suffolk.—Right hon. Charles lord Grey, of Howick, K. B. and general of his

majesty's forces, created viscount Howick, co. Northumberland, and earl Grey.—Joseph Scott, esq. of Great Barr, co. Stafford; Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, esq. of Lee and Cranwath; John Morris, esq. of Clafemont, co. Glamorgan; Alexander Ramsay, esq. of Balmain, co. Kincardine; and John Lubbock, esq. of Lamas, co. Norfolk, created baronets.

*Dublin-castle*, April 21. Right hon. Richard Heley, earl of Donoughmore, and the right hon. Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, appointed postmasters-general in Ireland.

*Carlton-house*, April 22. The marquis of Bute, the earl of Cafilis, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Breadalbane, and the earl of Moira; William Adam, esq. counsellor for the duchy of Cornwall; Adam Gillies, esq. advocate for the principality of Scotland; and D. Cathcart, esq. solicitor for the principality of Scotland; appointed (by the prince of Wales) state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

*Carlton-house*, May 1. The earl of Stair, appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

*Queen's-palace*, May 7. Right hon. Richard Heley, earl of Donoughmore, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

*St. James's*, May 21. Charles Montagu Ormsby, esq. knighted.

*Dublin-castle*, May 30. Cornelius baron Lismore, created viscount Lismore, of Shalibally, co. Tipperary; and Robert Edward baron Erris, created viscount Lorton, of Boyle, co. Roscommon.

*War-*

*War-office*, May 31. His royal highness William-Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. from the 6th foot, to be colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards, *vice* the duke of Argyll, dec.

*Queen's-palace*, June 11. Bushick Harwood, Esq. M. D. of Emanuel college, Cambridge, professor of anatomy in that University, and of medicine in Downing-college, knighted.

*Queen's-palace*, June 18. Right hon. Alexander marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall*, July 1. John Philpot Curran, esq. one of his majesty's counsel at law in Ireland, appointed keeper or master of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

*Queen's-palace*, July 2. Dupré earl of Caledon, sworn governor and commander in chief in and over the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, with its territories and dependencies.

*Dublin-castle*, July 7. Rev. Charles Warburton, D.D. dean of Clonmacnoise, promoted to the bishopric of Limerick, with the united bishoprick of Ardfert and Aghadoe, *vice* Bernard, dec.—Wm Fletcher, esq. appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Dublin, *vice* Johnson, resigned.

*Dublin-castle*, July 8. Henry Fitzgerald, esq. (commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald), sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council in Ireland.

*St. James's*, July 14. Henry Norton Willis, esq. appointed

comptroller and paymaster to the establishment of her R. H. the princess Charlotte of Wales.

*Whitehall*, July 15. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, *vice* lord Minto, and the right hon. John Joshua, earl of Carysfort, K. P. appointed and added to his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

*Queen's-palace*, July 21. Right hon. James earl of Lauderdale, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Downing-street*, July 21. Hon David Erskine, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.—Gen. the hon. Henry Edward Fox, to be commander of his majesty's forces in the Mediterranean.—Major-gen. the hon. Henry George Grey, to be lieutenant-governor of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and commander of his majesty's forces there.

*Whitehall*, July 29. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambrose Serle, James Bowen, John Douglas, esqrs. John Harness, M. D. and George Henry Towry, esq. appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, for the cure of sick and wounded seamen, and for the care of prisoners of war.

*Downing-street*, Aug. 1. Appointment of Mr. Wm. Lagemann to be agent and consul at London for his serene highness the duke of Sleswick-Holstein-Oldenburg, approved by his majesty.

*Dublin-castle*, Aug. 9. Right hon. Henry Grattan, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council of Ireland.

*Whitehall*, Aug. 2. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, K. B. and

and rear-admiral of the red, in consideration of his distinguished services on various important occasions, and particularly in the glorious and decisive victory off Cape Trafalgar, permitted by his majesty to bear certain honourable augmentations to his armorial ensigns.

*Downing-street*, Aug. 20. Right hon Henry Richard lord Holland, and right hon. William lord Auckland, appointed joint commissioners and plenipotentiaries for arranging and finally settling the several matters in discussion between his majesty's government and the government of the United States, with James Monroe and William Pinckney, esqrs. the commissioners appointed for similar purposes on the part of the said United States; and the hon. William Frederick Elliott Eden, and John Allen, esq. to be secretary and assistant-secretary to the said commission.

*Queen's-palace*, Aug. 27. Right hon. Henry Richard lord Holland sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

*St. James's*, Aug. 30. Nathan Egerton Carrick, esq. appointed lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, *vice* Philip John Ducarel, esq. resigned.—Philip Lake Godsal, esq. to be lieutenant of the hon. band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Roger Elliot Roberts, resigned,

*Whitehall*, Sept. 13. Major-general sir John Stuart, knight, created a knight of the Bath.—Robert Anstruther, esq. appointed conjunct-clerk to the bills in the office of his majesty's registers and rolls in Scotland, *vice* Sir Robert Anstruther, bart. dec.

*Queen's-palace*, Sept. 17. Ste-

phen Sharp, esq. his majesty's consul-general in Russia, knighted.

*Whitehall*, Sept. 23. Major-general sir John Stuart, K. B. permitted to accept the title of count of Maida, in Calabria, conferred upon him by Ferdinand the Fourth, king of the two Sicilies.

*Queen's-palace*, Sept. 24. Right hon. Charles Grey, commonly called lord viscount Howick, appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* Mr. Fox, dec.; and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Whitehall*, Sept. 27. Right hon Thomas Grenville, appointed first lord commissioner of the admiralty, *vice* right honourable lord viscount Howick.

*Whitehall*, Sept. 30. Right hon. George Tierney, appointed first commissioner for the management of the affairs of India, *vice* right hon. Thomas Grenville.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 5. The right hon. Charlotte baroness de Ros, wife of the right hon. Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, and her issue, authorized, out of respect to the ancient family in which the said barony originated, to assume the surname of De Ros, in addition to that of Fitzgerald, and bear the arms of De Ros, in addition to their paternal arms respectively.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 8. Henry viscount Sidmouth, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden, resigned.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 10. Wm. Mackworth Praed, serjeant at law, sir Charles William Rouse Boughton, bart. Francis Perceval Eliot, Richard Dawkins, Charles Moore, John



John Sargent, John Anstey, John Whishaw, Philip Deare, and Lewis Jenkins, esqrs. appointed commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 11. Horatia Nelson Thompson, an infant; authorized to assume and use the surname of Nelson only, in compliance with an injunction contained in a codicil annexed to the last will and testament of the late lord viscount Nelson.

*Carlton-house*, Oct. 11. Gilbert Blane, of Cleveland-row, M. D. F. R. S. appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his physicians in ordinary, *vice* Dr. Turton, dec.; and William Frazer, of Lower Grosvenor-street, M. D. and William Saunders, of Ruffel-square, M. D. to be his royal highness's physicians extraordinary.

*St. James's*, Oct. 14. Edward Dawson, esq. appointed standard-bearer to his majesty's honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Frederick, resigned.

*Queen's-palace*, Oct. 15. Right hon. Henry Richard lord Holland, sworn keeper of the privy seal.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 15. Right rev. William Cleaver, D.D. bishop of Bangor, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of St. Asaph, *vice* Dr. Horsley, dec.—Augusta Murray, (commonly called the right hon. lady Augusta Murray), second daughter of John earl of Dunmore, authorized, out of respect for her descent from the family of De Ameland, to take and use the surname of De Ameland, instead of her present surname of Murray.

*Treasury-chambers*, October 24. Right Hon. Charles Bathurst, appointed master and worker of the mint.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 25. Rev. John Martin, presented to the church and parish of Kirkaldy, in the presbytery of Kirkaldy, and county of Fife, *vice* rev. Dr. Thomas Freeling, promoted to the church and parish of lady Yester's, in Edinburgh.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 25. Thomas Francis Freemantle, and William Frankland, esqrs. appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty, *vice* sir Philip Stephens and sir Charles Pole, resigned; the former on a pension, the latter to have a command in the channel fleet.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 29. Sir George Hilario Barlow, bart. appointed one of the knights companions of the order of the Bath.

*Queen's-palace*, Oct. 29. Sir Philip Francis, invested with the order of the Bath.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 4. Right hon. Alexander Hamilton (commonly called marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale), summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of the baron of Dutton, co. Chester. Right hon. Archibald earl of Caecilis, created baron Ailfa, of Ailfa, co. Ayr. Right hon. John earl of Breadalbane, created baron Breadalbane, of Taymouth castle, co. Perth.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 7. Right hon. and rev. William Nelson, D.D. baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, co. Norfolk, viscount Merton, and earl Nelson of Trafalgar, and of Merton, co. Surrey, permitted to succeed to the title of duke of Bronte, in the kingdom of Further Sicily, granted by his Sicilian majesty to his late brother Horatio viscount and baron Nelson, duke of Bronte, &c. &c. dec.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 11. Wm. Frazer,

fer, esq. of Leadclune, co. Inverness, created a baronet; also, George Nugent, esq. of Waddesdon, co. Bucks, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces; sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, knt. of Hartshourne, Manor-place, co. Herts, captain in the royal navy, and comptroller of the navy; sir Edward Berry, knt. of Catton, co. Norfolk, captain in the royal navy; James Sibbald, esq. of Sittwood park, co. Berks, with remainder to his nephew, David Scott, esq. of Dunninald, co. Forfar; and Hugh Bateman, esq. of Hartington-hall, co. Derby, with remainders severally to the first of every other son and sons successively of Catharine Juliana Bateman, eldest daughter of the said Hugh Bateman, esq. and of Anne Amelia Bateman, another of his daughters.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 15. Right hon. Alan lord Gardner, created baron Gardner, of Uttoxeter, co. Stafford.

*Queen's-palace*, Nov. 19. Right hon. sir John Anstruther, bart. sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 25. Dugald Stewart, esq. appointed his majesty's writer, printer, and publisher of the Edinburgh gazetteer.

*Whitehall*, Dec. 13. Right rev. John Randolph, D. D. bishop of Oxford, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Bangor, *vice* Dr. Cleaver, translated to the see of St. Asaph.

*Admiralty-office*, Dec. 13. James Kempthorne, esq. Samson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Henry Frankland, esq. Arthur Phillip, esq. Sir William George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue. 6

*Whitehall*, Dec. 20. Rev. Henry Fitzroy, commonly called lord Henry Fitzroy, M. A. to be a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* the rev. sir Richard Cope, bart. D. D. dec.

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#### DEATHS for the Year 1806.

Jan. 3. In Stanhope-street, Mayfair, after a short illness, lady Vandeput, widow of sir George V. who died in 1784, and who was famous for his contest for Westminster in 1784.

4. Sir William Oglander, bart.

5. At his seat at Benham, near Newbury, Berks, after an illness of only three days, his serene highness Christian Frederick Charles Alexander, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, and Bayreuth, duke of Prussia, count of Sayn, &c. &c. born Feb. 24th 1736. He was nearly allied to our present royal family, his highness's grandmother, by his mother's side, having been a princess of England, and his great aunt was queen Caroline, wife to George the second. His mother was sister to Frederick II. of Prussia. His highness was married, first, to a princess of the house of Saxe-Cobourg, and secondly, in 1791, to Elizabeth, widow of the late lord Craven, and daughter of the late, and sister of the present earl of Berkeley, who survives him, and by neither of whom had he any issue. He chose rather to live like a private gentleman in England than to rule as an absolute prince in Germany. Shortly after his marriage with lady Craven, he sold his principality, with all its territory, revenue,

nue, and inhabitants, to the king of Prussia. Having thus relinquished all his power, importance, and rank, he came and spent the rest of his life in a country where he could have but a mere nominal title, without any one civil or political privilege. His goodness of heart and extreme affability endeared him to all ranks of people who knew him, either as a sovereign or an individual. His remains were interred in a sumptuous and splendid manner, the procession being very numerous and grand, in the church of Speen, near Newbury. The Margravine, so well known, acquires a personal property of near 150,000*l.* sterling by the death of the Margrave.

At Naver-house, Roxshire, general sir Hector Monro, K. B. and colonel of the 42d or royal highland regiment.

12. At Hackney, where he had been long confined in a state of derangement, aged 75, sir Wolstan Dixie, bart. of Bosworth, co. Leicester, fifth baronet of that family, who were thus rewarded for the loyalty of sir Wolstan in the civil wars, when he gave his majesty, among the gentry of the county, 1835*l.* for which he had a warrant for a baronet's patent, not taken out till after the restoration. He died in 1682, aged 80, and was succeeded by his eldest son, sir Beaumont; he by his eldest son, sir Wolstan; and he by his eldest son of the same name, who died in 1766, leaving his only son and namesake, the subject of this article, born 1737.

16. At Lisbon, where he went for the recovery of his health, sir John Hales, bart. of Coventry, who succeeded his father, sir Chris-

topher, in 1777; by whose death the title is extinct.

23. At his house at Putney, Surrey, in his 47th year, the right hon. Wm. Pitt, first lord of the treasury, chancellor of the exchequer, a lord of trade and plantations, a commissioner for the affairs of India, constable of Dover castle, warden, keeper, and admiral of the cinque ports, master of the Trinity-house, governor of the Charter-house, high steward of, and M. P. for, the university of Cambridge, and F.R.S. He was of a delicate constitution, and had long been complaining. The illness which he had in the summer of 1802 shook him very much; and he does not appear to have afterwards effectually recovered from it; and that illness which was the immediate cause of his death originated in an extreme debility, brought on by excessive anxiety and unwearied attention to business. By this debility his whole nervous system was so deranged that, for weeks together, he was unable to sleep; and this privation of rest augmented the cause, so as to lead to a general breaking-up of his constitution. An hereditary gout completed the whole, producing, according to its ordinary effect on a debilitated system, water in the chest, and such a weakness of stomach that he could neither admit nor retain sustenance. The unfortunate issue of the war on the continent, no doubt, contributed largely to hasten his death; and the failure of a plan for the deliverance of Europe, which his genius had formed and matured, must have been to him a source of great anxiety and mortification. By a solemn vote of the house of

commons (on the 27<sup>th</sup> inst.) he had a public funeral and monument in Westminster Abbey, at the national expence.

30. In his 81<sup>st</sup> year, Charles Cocks, lord Somers, baron of Evesham, co. Worcester, and a baronet. He was born June 29, 1725, at Castleditch, co. Hereford; and created a peer May 17, 1784. His lordship was grandson of Charles Cocks, M. P. for Worcester and Droitwich, by Mary, daughter of John Somers, esq. and sister of John lord Somers, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and nephew to the ladies of James Harris, esq. of Salisbury, and of Philip lord Chancellor Hardwicke. He married, 1, 1759, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Eliot, esq. of Port Eliot; by whom (who died 1771) he had issue his successor, John Somers, born 1760 (married, 1783, Margaret, only daughter of the Rev. Treadway Nash, D.D. of Beverly, co. Worcester); two twin-sons, Edward Charles and Charles Edward, the latter drowned at Westminster school, in 1781, aged 14; and two daughters; all died infants. His second lady, whom he married in 1772, was Ann, daughter of Reginald Pole, esq. by whom he had Philip James, born 1774; Reginald, born 1777; Anna Maria, born 1773, married to Philip Yorke, fourth son of the bishop of Ely; and John Frederick, born 1786.

Lately, at St. Petersburg, count Alexander Woronzoff. This eminent statesman was in the possession of shining talents, and distinguishing peculiarities, not generally understood. During the reign of the Great Catherine, he was president of the college of commerce; and in

this important department evinced a superior knowledge, not only of the trading interest of Russia, but of Europe in general. Assiduous and indefatigable in business, he was easy of access; but could not divest himself of a certain stiffness of deportment, which gave him the appearance of haughtiness. Though ardent in friendship, his enmity was remote from implacability; and amongst his greatest enjoyments he estimated an accidental meeting with an old acquaintance, to whom he could familiarly discourse of past occurrences. His negotiations with lord St. Helens and lord Whitworth, upon the subject of a commercial treaty, infused a suspicion that he was rather inimical to the interests of this country; a prejudice which was reported to have originated from some personal offence he had formerly experienced during a residence here. This bias, however, by no means operated unfavourably; for when count Woronzoff became chancellor of the empire and prime minister under Alexander, his mind rose to its natural elevation; he discarded all personal piques, and, by his wise and energetic counsels, proved himself the steady friend of England, and the firm supporter of the general cause of Europe. With dignified resentment he reprobated the ambitious systems and tyrannical schemes of Buonaparte. The licentious excesses of the French revolution were sincerely lamented by Woronzoff; and he predicted the fatal consequences with the same prophetic fidelity which inspired the celebrated Edmund Burke. He had a great respect and the warmest and sincerest affection for his brother

ther count Simeon, the ambaffador, to whose opinions and advice he paid the utmoft deference. The deceafe of this truly great man, if not immediately owing to, was no doubt accelerated by the fame ftroke which haftened the earthly diffolution of the minifter Pitt, viz. the difaftrous termination of the continental coalition. About two years fince, count Alexander Woronzoff, advanced in life, being upwards of 70, and afflicted with a fcorbutic complaint, retired to Mofcow. In private, he was temperate in his habits, and delivered his fentiments with unreftained freedom. Detefting parties and intrigue, he was revered as a true patriot, and regarded as almoft the only great man remaining from the time of Catherine. He fpoke German and French with the fluency and propriety of a native, and excelled in all the fashionable accomplifhments of his day. In reward for his fhining talents, and the eminent fervices he had rendered his country, count Woronzoff had the following diftinguifhed titles conferred upon him: chancellor of the empire, actual privy counfellor of the firft clafs, fenator, minifter for foreign affairs, actual chamberlain, knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of Alexander Nefky, and of St. Anne and Wolodimer, of the firft clafs.

At Madrid, the celebrated admiral and captain-general of the Spanifh navy, don Juan De Langara, who was taken prifoner by the late admiral Rodney, 1780. In confequence of his difregard of his private intereft, he died poor, and his widow was in the greateft embarrassment how to provide a funeral adequate to his rank. The

prince of the peace, being informed of this, wrote a letter to madame de L. in which he expreffed his regret at the deceafe of fuch a meritorious officer, and at the fame time informed her that he would defray the expences of the funeral, which was performed with the utmoft magnificence and fplendour.

Feb. 4. The hon. col. Carleton.

18. At her father's houfe in Piccadilly, in the 29th year of her age, lady Louifa Fitzroy, third daughter of his Grace the Duke of Grafton.

24. At Exmouth, Devon, in her 24th year, the hon. mifs Orde Powlett, daughter of lord Bolton. Her remains were deposited in a vault in Sidmouth church, where her late aunt, Mrs. Lifle, of Northumberland, was buried March 1, 1791.

Edmund lord viscount Pery. His lordfhip was born in April, 1719; married, firft, June 11, 1756, Patty, youngft daughter of John Martin, efq. who died without iffue; and, fecondly, Oct. 27, 1762, Elizabeth Vefey, eldeft daughter of John Denny, lord Knapton, (by Elizabeth, eldeft daughter of William Brownlow, efq. by the lady Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of James the 6th, earl of Abercorn), and fifter of Thomas the firft viscount de Vefci, and had iffue two daughters, viz. Diana Jane, born Oct. 27, 1764, married June 2, 1784, Thomas Knox, eldeft fon of Thomas Viscount Northland; and Frances, married, in January, 1789, Nicholas Calvert. His lordfhip was the eldeft fon of the Rev. Stackpole Pery, and Grandfon of Edmund Pery, efq. of Stackpole court,

court, in the county of Clare, whose family came originally from Lower Britany. His lordship was chosen speaker of the house of commons of Ireland in three successive parliaments, viz. March 7, 1771, June 8, 1776, and Oct. 14, 1783. He resigned his high office Sept. 4, 1785, owing to his increasing infirmities, with a farewell address, and received the thanks of the house of commons, who unanimously moved an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to confer on him some signal mark of his favour, in return for his long and faithful services. His majesty was pleased to grant him a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, and raise him to the peerage, by the title of viscount Pery, of Newton Pery, in the county of Limerick. His lordship dying without issue-male, the title becomes extinct; his personal and acquired property devolves to his two daughters and co-heiresses; but the family estate, amounting to 8000*l.* per annum, descends to his nephew, the earl of Limerick. The viscount's remains were interred in the family-vault of his son-in-law, Nicholas Calvert, esq. at Pelham, in Hertfordshire. Perhaps no man ever passed through a long life with such universal approbation in the sister kingdom. His name has never been mentioned in any society of any description for these last 40 years without some epithets expressive of that deference which undisputed wisdom and virtue must always command. He was born in Limerick, in 1719, of an antient family; and, applying himself to the practice of the law, soon arrived at the head of his profession, a situation which he main-

tained till he was called to the chair of the house of commons, in the year 1771.

26. At Bermuda, after a short illness, admiral sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. late commander in chief of the squadron upon the American station. He was buried, March 3, with military honours; the funeral procession consisting of his excellency the governor and council, the captains and officers of the squadron, the corporation and gentlemen of St. George, moved at half past eleven o'clock, from the admiral's house to the church, through two lines, formed by the Royal Artillery, Royal Fusiliers, Royal Marines, and St. George's Militia; the three last of whom, after the procession had reached the church, took post, and formed in open column of four divisions, in the rear of 11 field-pieces, upon the town-parade. At the moment of interment, three rounds were fired from the field-pieces by the detachment of Royal Artillery. The grenadiers and band of musick of the Royal Fusiliers, preceded the funeral procession, while moving to the church; during the whole of which time, and the burial service, minute guns were firing from the different ships of the squadron. His great and unwearied attention to the officers and seamen, while under his command, was well known; his humanity was great; he was universally respected, not only by the officers and seamen, but by every person who knew him; his death is a great loss; he was willing to succour all to the utmost of his power. Sir Andrew had shewn himself a brave and experienced officer. He was made captain in

1778; a rear-admiral in 1795; a vice-admiral in 1799; and an admiral in 1805.

March 4. By a fall from a ladder, in his library, fir Lionel Copley, bart.

6. At Bath, Elizabeth dowager lady Bradford, of Veston, co. of Stafford. She was daughter and heiress of John Simpson, esq.; married, 1755, to George Earl of Bradford, who died in 1800, and by whom she had, besides several children who died infants, Orlando, the present earl; John, who took the name and arms of Simpson; George, rector of Wigan; Anne Charlotte, deceased, married Henry Grefwold Lewis, esq. of Malvern-hall, co. Warwick; Elizabeth Diana, married George William Gunning, esq.; Diana, married John Sawbridge, esq. of Olantigh, in Kent.

6. At Madeira, whither she went for the recovery of her health, lady Georgiana Augusta Eliot, sister to the marquis of Stafford, and to the duchess of Beaufort.

At Vienna, in his 69th year, count Wurmbrand, an Imperial privy counsellor, and formerly ambassador to the courts of Denmark and Saxony.

10. At Vienna, of an inflammatory fever, in his 69th year, count Francis Colloredo, knight of the golden fleece, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen, late principal chamberlain, private state and conference minister, and president of the court and state chancery. At his death, eight persons were ill in his hotel; among whom were his lady, in imminent danger, and his only daughter. He has left two sons by a former marriage; and above 100,000

florins yearly revenue. During his illness their imperial majesties, and the whole imperial family, whose education he had superintended, manifested their concern by daily enquiries respecting his health.

11. At Dean's-court, co. Dorset, aged 80, the rev. fir James Hanham, bart. He was rector of Winterborn Zelston, co. Dorset, and of Pimperne, in the same county, 1800; succeeded his nephew in the title and estate in 1776; and married Jane, daughter of Edward Phillips, of Wimborne, co. of Dorset.

17. At his seat at Bunny park, Notts, aged 77, fir Thomas Parkyns, bart, born 1728; married, 1747, Jane, sole daughter and heiress of the grandson of fir Thomas P. the second baronet of that family; by whom he left Thomas Boothby Parkyns, the late lord Rancliffe, so created (and father of George Augustus Henry Anne, the present lord) in 1795. By two succeeding wives he has also issue.

19. At Brompton, aged 72, fir John Talbot Dillon, bart. under secretary of the board of agriculture.

22. At his lordship's house in Hume-street, Dublin, the most noble Charles, marquis of Ely, earl of Ely, viscount and baron Loftus, of Loftus-hall, in Ireland, and an English peer, by the title of baron Loftus of Long Loftus, in Yorkshire, knight of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, governor and custos rotulorum of the county of Wexford, one of his majesty's privy counsellors, and joint postmaster-general of Ireland. The marquis was born Jan. 23,

1738; married June 23, 1766, Jane, eldest daughter and coheir-ess of Robert Myhill, esq. by whom he has left issue two sons: 1. John viscount Loftus, born Feb. 15, 1770, colonel of the Wexford militia, and knight of the shire for the county of Wexford, now marquis of Ely; 2. Lord Robert, born Sept. 5, 1773, lord bishop of Killaloe. The marquis was the eldest son of sir John Tottenham, bart. by Elizabeth Loftus, sister of Henry earl of Ely, who died without issue, in 1783, leaving his estates to his nephew. The family of Loftus settled in Ireland in the reign of queen Elizabeth, since which it has been ennobled in three branches, and produced two lord chancellors. The family of Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor of Ireland in 1630, is extinct; as is also the family of Loftus, viscount Lisburne; which latter title became extinct in 1691. The first of the family in Ireland was Adam Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland and archbishop of Dublin. He was the son of Edward Loftus, esq. of Swinehead, in Yorkshire, whose family had flourished there from the reign of king Alfred, as appears by the archives of York minster, in which were registered various donations of lands given to the church and religious houses in that reign, and in several subsequent reigns, by the family of Lofthouse, the ancient mode of spelling the name.

24. Lady Catherine Finch, youngest daughter of the earl of Aylesford.

29. At Bath, Sir John Honeywood, bart.

At Edinburgh, lady Janet Traill.

30. This morning, at half

past three o'clock, at Devonshire-house, in Piccadilly, in the 49th year of her age, Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire. The disorder which terminated so fatally to this distinguished personage was an abscess in the liver, the attack of which was first perceived about three months since, while she sat at the table of the marquis of Stafford; and which from that period so increased its feverish progress, as eventually to resist all the efforts of the first medical skill. Her grace was the eldest daughter of John earl Spencer; was born June 9, 1757, and married to William, the present duke of Devonshire, June 6, 1774, by whom she had issue now living, 1. lady Georgiana, now viscountess Morpeth; 2. lady Elizabeth Henrietta Cavendish; and 3. the marquis of Hartington, who was born at Paris in 1790. The character of her grace is not to be classed with any of the ordinary ranks of fashion. Her qualities were of a rare and superior kind. Possessing a mind gracefully modelled as her person, she had stored it with many useful as well as ornamental endowments. She was well read in the history and polity of all countries; but the Belles Lettres had principally attracted her attention, which she has enriched with some compositions of poesy, that demonstrate a fanciful imagination, and an elegant taste. Though forced into female supremacy by that general admiration which a felicitous combination of charms had excited, and so long remained unrivalled, her grace of Devonshire found leisure for the systematic exercise of a natural benevolence, which yielding irresistibly, and perhaps too indiscriminately;



indiscriminately, to the supplications of distress, subjected her to embarrassments that the world sometimes imputed to causes less amiable and meritorious. In a word, she had a heart, which the flattering blandishments of fashion might sometimes beguile, but could never corrupt. The prince of Wales, who had the highest friendship and respect for her, when he heard of her death, exclaimed, "Then we have lost the most amiable and best-bred woman in England!!!" Her remains were interred, with great funeral pomp, in the family vault at St. Stephen's church, Derby. The hearse was met three miles from Derby by the whole of the country nobility, and the duke's tenantry residing there, who conducted it to the place of interment.

31. At his house in Curzon-street, May Fair, the right hon. George Macartney, earl Macartney, viscount Dervock, baron Macartney of Liffanore, in Ireland, baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in England, knight of the military order of the bath, knight of the Polish order of the white eagle, one of his majesty's privy counsellors in Great Britain and Ireland, custos rotulorum of the county of Antrim, trustee of the linen-manufacture for Ulster, and late ambassador to the court of China. The earl was born in 1737; and married, Feb. 1, 1768, the lady Jane Stuart, second daughter of John earl of Bute, by Mary only daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, by lady Mary Pierrepont, daughter of Evelyn duke of Kingston; but dying without issue, the titles become extinct. His lordship was descended from the

ancient family of Macartney of Auchinleck, in Scotland, who settled in Ireland in 1649, though the ancient estate of Auchinleck continued unalienated, and belonged to the late earl at the time of his decease. He was educated at Trinity college, Dublin, and proceeded M. A. there in 1759; appointed envoy extraordinary to the empress of Russia, August 22, 1764. In June, 1766, the most ancient and royal order of the white eagle was conferred on him by the king of Poland; appointed, Nov. 20, 1767, envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersburg; principal secretary of Ireland, under lord Townshend, Jan. 1, 1769; and sworn of the privy council there, March 30, following; nominated a knight of the Bath, June, 1772, and installed at Westminster, by proxy, on the 15th of that month; governor-in-chief, and captain-general of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, in December, 1775; governor and president of Fort St. George, in December, 1780; governor-general of Bengal, February 1785, which he declined accepting, and the East India Company settled on him 1500l. per annum. May 3, 1792, appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China; and the same day sworn of his majesty's privy-council at St. James's. He was chosen member for Cocker-mouth, in the British parliament, in April 1767; and for Armagh, in the Irish parliament, July following; in October 1774, member in the British parliament for the boroughs of Air, Irwin, Rothsay, Campbell-town, and Inverary; created

lord Macartney, baron of Liffanore, by patent dated July 19, 1776; chosen member for Bereairstone, in Devonshire, September, 1780; advanced to the dignity of earl of Macartney, and viscount Dervock, August 1, 1792; and created an English peer, June 8, 1796, by the title of baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in the county of Surrey. His lordship's remains were interred at Chiswick, quite privately, in compliance with his will. The Account of his Embassy, by sir George Staunton, was printed, 1797, in three volumes, 4to, with plates, and afterwards in four volumes, 8vo.—earl Macartney was indebted for his elevation in the world to lord Holland, the father of Mr. Fox. He was originally intended for physic, and was travelling abroad to improve himself in that science, when he formed an intimacy with Mr. Stephen Fox, the elder brother of the late secretary of state for the foreign department, and father of the present lord Holland. At this time Mr. Macartney rendered his friend some very essential service; what it was we do not pretend to state, but it was of a nature to awaken the most grateful sentiments of the then lord Holland, who, though he was not popular as a public character, had many private virtues; and among them may be numbered a never failing spirit of remuneration for good offices to himself, or any branch of his family. He, therefore, became the warm patron and friend of Mr. Macartney, whose qualities and talents justified that partiality which invited him to leave the pursuit of medicine for that of politics. At this time it was

thought adviseable to send a minister to St. Petersburg, whose personal qualifications might render him agreeable to the empress Catherine, and Mr. Macartney was accordingly appointed to succeed the earl of Buckinghamshire at that court. What his personal favour might have been, we are not exactly qualified to mention; but in the negociation of a commercial treaty between the two countries, which was attended with uncommon difficulties, he gave great satisfaction to the British merchants and government, and thereby acquired that political reputation, which occasioned his being afterwards employed in offices of great trust and importance, all of which he executed with so much understanding and ability, as successively to be honoured with the order of the Bath, a peerage of Ireland, and, at length, with a peerage of Great Britain. But these titles are now extinct. A cenotaph is to be erected in Liffanore church, county of Antrim, to his memory, by his niece, and sole heir of his estates, Mrs. Elizabeth Hume, relict of the late rev. Dr. Hume. The following inscription for it, is from the elegant and classical pen of the rev. G. H. Glasse.

“ P. M. S.

GEORGI COMITIS DE MACARTNEY;  
Vice comitis de Dervock;  
Baronis de Liffanore et Parkhurst;  
A Rege Sarmatiæ,  
(Ipse dum regno Stabat incolumis,) Equestri Ordine Aquilæ Argentiæ;  
Necnon apud suos,  
Ordine Balnei honoratissimo donati,  
Britanniarum Regis è consiliis, &c.

“ Illum ad Ladogæ paludem,  
Illum ad Occidentales Cycladas,  
Illum

Illum in sacrați Gangis peninsulâ,  
 Illum in Imperii Iovis Hammonis  
 Finibus,  
 Quid plura? Illum inter extremos  
 Seras,  
 Cæteris Mortalibus jam tum non  
 divisos,  
 Pro Rege, pro Patriâ, pro totius  
 Orbis emolumento,  
 Strenuè, piè, graviter, segerentem,  
 Sua ipsius admirata est ætas;  
 Mirantes commemorabunt posteri.  
 " Tali tanto que viro,  
 Post indefessos labores,  
 Urbe Londinii mortuo, suburbanis  
 sepulto,

EIZABETHA HUME,  
 Confanguinitate neptis,  
 Amore et adoptione filia,  
 Hoc cenotaphium, P. C."

April 1. At Berlin, his royal highness prince Frederick Julius Ferdinand Leopold, youngest son of the king of Prussia.

8. After a few days illness, in his 21st year, at the seat of John Tooker, esq. near Rotherham, in Yorkshire, where he was on a visit, Henry lord viscount Neville, of Birling, county of Kent, eldest son of the earl of Abergavenny. His lordship's second son, Ralph, now lord viscount Neville, was with lord Nelson on board the Victory, in the late glorious battle of Trafalgar, and is now lieutenant on board admiral lord Collingwood's flag-ship.

9. At Cork, sir James Chatterton, bart. his majesty's second serjeant at law, and keeper of the state papers in Ireland, and formerly representative for the borough of Doneraile. He was created a baronet of the united kingdom, August 3, 1801; in which title he is succeeded by his eldest son, sir William.

At Brunswick, in his 58th year, his serene highness the late stadtholder, William V. prince of Nassau Dietz; born March 8, 1748. His successor in the government of the principality of Nassau Dietz, is his son, William Frederick, the reigning prince of Fulda.

17. At his lordship's villa, near Dublin, Robert Herbert Butler, third earl of Lanesborough, viscount Lanesborough, baron of Newtown Butler. He was born August 1, 1759; eldest son of Brinsley, the second earl, by lady Jane, only daughter of Robert Rochfort, earl of Belvedere, and presumptive heiress to the estates of her brother, George earl of Belvedere. The earl married, Jan. 5, 1781, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the right hon. David Latouche, and had issue Brinsley lord Newtown, the present and fourth earl of Lanesborough, born Oct. 22, 1783, and David, born April 27, 1785, deceased. The earl of Lanesborough was a nobleman of most amiable manners, but had lived for many years in a state of seclusion, owing to grief for the untimely decease of his countess in the bloom of youth and beauty.

May 19. Suddenly, at the Admiralty, in his 58th year, sir Michael le Fleming, bart. It appeared from the evidence of lord Howick, and several gentlemen at the Admiralty, before the coroner's inquest, the next day, that the deceased, who was member of parliament for the county of Westmoreland, visited lord Howick to solicit the preferment of a *protégé* of his, an officer in the Navy, and at the moment of repeating, " We are apt to speak well of those

those we are partial to," he fell, and, in an instant, expired, without a groan. Mr. Andrews a surgeon of eminence, who was called in, after feeling the pulse and examining the body, pronounced the deceased past recovery; assigning the cause of his death to be an effusion of blood upon the brain. The late worthy baronet succeeded his father, sir William; and married Diana, only child of Thomas Howard, late earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, by whom he had two daughters; and dying without male issue, the title devolves on Daniel (eldest son of the late Roger Fleming, esq. of Whitehaven,) now sir Daniel le Fleming, bart.

In Seymour-place, the right hon. lord Monson. His lordship was in the 53d year of his age. His grandfather was created a baron in 1728, by his majesty Geo. II. The late lord married the hon. Miss Capel, daughter of the earl of Essex; and has left issue John-George, who succeeds to the title, and two daughters.

21. Of tubercular phthisis, the princess of Asturias.

23. At his house in Downing-street, sir Arthur Clarke, bart. By his death the title becomes extinct.

24. At Inverary castle, aged 85, the most noble John Campbell, fifth duke of Argyle, Marquis of Lorn, Kintyre, and Argyle, earl of Argyle, Campbell, and Cowal, viscount Lockhow and Glenilla, lord of Inverary, Mull, Morven, and Tyrie, in Scotland, baron Sundridge of Coombank, in England, hereditary master of the king's household in Scotland, admiral of the Western Isles, keeper of Dunstaffnage and Carrick, here-

ditary sheriff of Argyle, keeper of Denoon castle, a field-marshal in the army, and a colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards. His grace was born in 1720; and married, March 3, 1759, Elizabeth Gunning, second daughter of John G. esq. of Ireland (by Bridget youngest daughter of Theobald Burke, viscount Mayo), and widow of James duke of Hamilton, and who was created a peeress of England in her own right, May 14, 1776, by the title of baroness Hamilton, of Hameldon, co. Leicester, which title devolved to the marquis of Lorn (her ladyship's eldest son by the second marriage) on the death of his half-brother the duke of Hamilton, in 1799. The duke of Argyle has left issue by his duchess, Elizabeth Gunning, baroness Hamilton, as follows: 1. George, marquis of Lorn, the present and sixth duke, born Sept. 22, 1768; 2. the lord John-Douglas-Henry-Edward Campbell, born Dec. 24, 1777, married, 1804, to the daughter of William Campbell, esq. of Fairfield; 3. the lady Augusta, born March 31, 1760, married to capt. Clavering; and, 4. the lady Charlotte-Susan-Maria, born June 21, 1775, married, June 14, 1798, to capt. Campbell.— [The next morning died, at Roseneath, Colin Campbell, esq. an old and intimate friend and faithful servant of his grace, in the character of chamberlain and bailie of Roseneath. He had completed his 94th year in February last. His grace and bailie Campbell had both been of the old Highland Watch, and were the only survivors of that matchless corps.] His grace's remains were deposited in the burying-place of that illustrious family

at Kilmun. The following are the particulars of the ceremony, which was performed in the most private manner possible. About 10 o'clock the princess Elizabeth revenue brig, Henry Beatson, esq. commander, sailed from Roseneath, with the corpse of his grace; also, the Prince William-Henry, capt. Hamilton; Prince of Wales, capt. M'Kinnon, (acting) revenue cutters; and the Campbeltown packet Henrietta, having on board his grace George duke of Argyle, lord John Campbell, lady Augusta Clavering and daughter, lady Charlotte Campbell, sir Alexander Campbell, of Ardkinglas, with other friends, and the servants of the late illustrious nobleman. The whole came to anchor in Holy Loch between 12 and 1 o'clock, nearly opposite the family burying-place. The body of his grace was rowed in his barge by the crew of the Princess Elizabeth, dressed in nankeen, with crapes round their hats, and received on a platform, near which the present duke, lord John, &c. were landed. At a small distance, Lady Clavering and the other ladies came on shore, accompanied by sir Alexander Campbell, &c. and proceeded to the vault, where they waited for the procession. A part of capt. Hamilton's crew was placed on each side of the path that leads to it, dressed in white frocks, with black velvet caps trimmed with silver. The corpse of his grace was carried to the tomb, shoulder-high, by the Kilmun volunteers, upon entering which, it was laid next to the dutchess. All then returned from the vault, except those of the family, who, after remaining a few minutes, went on board capt. Ha-

milton's cutter, and proceeded to Ardincaple. A salute of nine guns was fired on their going ashore. The brig and the other cutter also fired a salute upon leaving the Holy Loch. The outer coffin was covered with crimson velvet, and had two coronets, one at the head, and another at the foot. The following is the inscription on the coffin-plate:

“ Field Marshal  
 JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLE.  
 &c. &c. &c.  
 Died 24th May, 1806,  
 Aged 85 Years.”

The mourners wore fashes, with a large knot upon the right shoulder, and another on the left thigh. The revenue cruisers commenced firing minute guns at the time the corpse left the brig, and continued so to do for about an hour. All the vessels in the harbour had their colours hoisted half-mast high.— There were upwards of 60 boats with spectators from Greenock, Port Glasgow, and Goulock, who all, impressed by the solemnity of the occasion, and respect for the character of the deceased, conducted themselves with perfect propriety and decorum.

30. At the house of her mother, lady Bagot, in Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the hon. Mrs. Paget, lady of the hon. gen. P. son of the earl of Uxbridge.

June 4, aged 69, and on the anniversary of his birth, sir Charles Davers, bart. of Rushbrooke-hall, near Bury, Suffolk, of which borough he was the faithful representative during five successive parliaments, elected since the year, 1774, and his family during the greatest part of the period from the revolution in 1688, being ever strenuously

ously

ously attached to true Whig principles. At the last general election, in 1802, he retired into private life, and received the unanimous thanks of the corporation for his steady and upright conduct during the several sessions he represented them. At his own express desire, his remains were privately interred in the family vault, at Rushbrooke. The title is become extinct.

7. At Wimbledon, Surrey, the seat of his son, Andrew Bernard, esq. Thomas Bernard, lord bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. His lordship was born in 1726; appointed dean of Derry in 1768; consecrated bishop of Killaloe in 1780; and translated to the bishoprick of Limerick in 1794, on the death of the right hon. and rev. lord Glentworth. His lordship married, first, the daughter of Wm. Brown esq. of Browne's-hill, co. Carlow; and secondly, in 1803, Jane Ross-Lewin, daughter of John Ross-Lewin, esq. of Fort Fergus, co. Clare. His lordship has left issue an only son, Andrew Bernard, esq. married to the lady Anne Lindsay, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Balcarras, and sister of Elizabeth countess of Hardwicke. The venerable prelate was a member of most literary societies in the united kingdom; but particularly of the club composed of Garrick, Johnstone, Burke, sir Joshua Reynolds, Cumberland, Goldsmith, &c. &c.; and was dean of Derry when the latter wrote his poem, of "Retaliation," in which he is thus noticed:

"Our Dean shall be venison, just fresh from the plains."

He was then a new member of the society; and, supposing him dead, the poet goes on:

"Here lies the good Dean, re-united to earth,  
Who mix'd reason with pleasure, and wisdom with mirth;  
If he had any faults, he has left us in doubt,  
At least in six weeks I could not find 'em out;  
Yet some have declar'd, and it can't be deny'd them,  
That flyboots was cursedly cunning to hide 'em."

14. At Cheltenham, in his 43d year, sir Wilfred Lawson, bart. of Brayton-house, and Irel-hall, both co. Cumberland; the last of one of the most ancient families in that county. Dying without issue the title becomes extinct.

15. At Browne's-hill, co. Carlow, lady Charlotte Browne, daughter of Joseph, third earl of Mayo, and archbishop of Tuam, and wife of W. Browne, esq.

21. Of a fever of very short continuance, at his seat at Lees-court, in Kent, in his 53d year, Lewis-Thomas, lord Sondes. He married Mary, daughter of Richard Milles, esq. of Nackington, co. Kent, by whom he has left four sons and two daughters. He is succeeded in title and estate by his son, Lewis-Richard.

At Dresden, in his 76th year, his royal highness Francis Xavier, prince-royal of Poland, duke of Saxony, and uncle of the reigning elector, during whose minority he acted as regent of the electoral states.

July 2. Suddenly at her house at Kensington-Gore, in her 70th year, the hon. Mary Leigh, only surviving sister and heiress of Edward lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh-abbey,

abbey, county of Warwick, which title became extinct at his death.

5. At his house in George-street, Portman-square, Arthur Richard Dillon, archbishop and duke of Narbonne, primate of the Gauls, president of the states of Languedoc, and commander of the order of the Holy Ghost. This venerable prelate, who was eminently distinguished for his knowledge, talents, and eloquence, was the youngest brother of Henry the eleventh lord viscount Dillon, of Ireland, and son of the honourable Arthur Dillon, third son of Theobald seventh viscount Dillon, a marshal-de-camp, and lieutenant-general in the French service. He was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, 1721; ordained bishop of Evreux, Oct. 28, 1753; archbishop of Thoulouse, 1758; archbishop of Narbonne, 1762; and commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, 1776. When the revolution took place in France, which was a total subversion of every principle that all good men hold dear and sacred, he retired to this country, where he has since constantly resided, preferring the sacrifice of his high rank and situation, to a dereliction of those principles of duty and honour which uniformly guided his conduct through a long and meritorious life. At half after nine in the morning of the 11th, all that remains in England of the ancient royal family and nobility of France, began to assemble at the French Catholic chapel, in Little George-street, King-street, Portman-square, to do honour to his obsequies. M. M. Colbert, bishop of Rhodes, performed the service in his full pontificals, in the presence of all the other emigrant French bishops now in

London, and a great number of the most distinguished of the French nobility, with the crosses and ribbons of the different orders to which they belong. After the usual prayers and anthems, the body was removed in a hearse and six, followed by four mourning-coaches, lord Dillon's, lord Trimblestown's, and a private gentleman's carriage, to St. Pancras church-yard, where prayers were again read by the bishop of Rhodes. In the carriages were several bishops and other ecclesiastics, as well as his relations and friends.

At Coburg, in his 53d year, of an inflammation of the lungs, prince Lewis-Charles-Frederick of Saxe-Coburg, brother of the reigning duke of that name, and lieutenant-general in the service of the emperor of Austria.

8. At his apartments at Haynesford, in the county of Norfolk, in his 58th year, sir Charles Playters, bart. He is succeeded in title by his half brother, William, now abroad.

15. Lady Mary Duncan.

17. At his seat, at Thames Ditton, sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, bart. M. P. for Seaford, in Suffex.

21. At Tunbridge Wells, in his 50th year, sir John Chardin Mufgrave, bart, of Eden-hall, co. Cumberland. He is succeeded by his eldest son, now a minor.

30. At Swansea, Francis earl of Landaff, viscount and baron of Thomastown, governor and custos rotulorum of the county of Tipperary. His lordship was born in 1738; and married, Sept. 6, 1764, Elisha, second daughter of James Smyth, esq. of Tinney park, co. Wicklow, sister of the right hon. sir

fr Edward Skeffington Smyth, bart. and grand-daughter of Edward Smyth, lord bishop of Down and Connor; by whom he had issue, 1. Francis-James, born Jan. 20, 1768, now earl of Landaff, married, July 10, 1797, Cecilia, daughter and coheirefs of John Latouche, esq. of Harristown; 2. Montague, born August 18, 1773, a colonel in the army; 3. George, born July 1779; 4. the lady Elizabeth. His lordship married, secondly, June 1784, the lady Catharine, second daughter of Clotworthy Skeffington, earl of Massereene, who died without issue Feb. 9, 1796. The earl of Landaff was descended from a family of great antiquity, originally resident at Rader in Glamorgan-shire, and possessed of the town of Landaff, where, in the cathedral church, are many ancient monuments to the Mathew family, particularly one of David Mathew the Great, standard-bearer to Edward IV. (see Willis's *Landaff*.) By intermarriage with the house of Ormond, his lordship's ancestors became possessed of large estates in Ireland, where, for nearly two centuries, they have resided at Thomas-town, in Tipperary, formerly reckoned the most magnificent demesne in Ireland. A curious account of the splendid manner of living of an ancestor of this noble family at Thomas-town, may be seen in Sheridan's life of Swift. The late earl was a nobleman of the most amiable and conciliating manners, and possessed, in an eminent degree, the united advantage of captivating address and personal beauty.

Aug. 3. Lady Ridley.

7. Hon. Mrs. Frederic Irby.

12. At Beckenham, in Kent, the

dowager lady Dacre, widow of Thomas Barret Lenhard, lord Dacre of Belhouse, Essex, and sister to the late earl Camden.

17. At Tunbridge-wells, Sophia countess of Mount-Edgewcombe, third daughter and coheirefs of John earl of Buckinghamshire; born March 26, 1768; and married, Feb. 25, 1789, to Richard earl of Mount-Edgewcombe, who, with five children, three sons and two daughters, have suffered, by her death, an irreparable loss. She was beautiful in her person; an exemplary mother; her heart was tender and benevolent; her manners aimable, gentle, and unassuming.

23. At Worthing in Suffex, of a fit of apoplexy, in his 54th year, the hon. William Henry Bouverie, of Betchworth-house, Surrey, second son of Jacob, late earl of Radnor, brother of the present earl, and in the last parliament, representative for the city of Salisbury.

29. Lady Frances Hay.

Sep. 2. In Norfolk, in consequence of his recent accident, of a fall from his horse, fr Jacob Heney Astley, bart. M. P. for that county. He was third son of the late fr Jacob, by his first wife, daughter of fr Francis Blake Delaval.

12. At Brixthelmstone, after an illness of two days, in the 71st year of his age, Edward lord Thurlow, baron of Ashfield, &c. He was born in 1735, and was son of the rev. Thomas Thurlow, rector of Ashfield, Suffolk, who died 1762, by his wife Elizabeth Smith, and brother to Thomas late bishop of Durham, who died in 1791. After remaining some time at Cambridge, which the *vivacity* of his conduct obliged him to leave, he came



came to London to pursue the profession of the law, with whose studies he blended the gay and sensual amusements of the metropolis. He was called to the bar in 1758, and rose into professional notice by a circumstance not generally known. Sir Fletcher Norton (at that time, and perhaps at any time, the first *Nisi Prius* lawyer), who not only made the bar, but the bench tremble, was, in a solemn argument, opposed, beat down, and overpowered, by the manly resolution and intrepid spirit of the young lawyer. This circumstance made a great noise at the time; and his prowess rendered him an object not only of applause, but of wonder. Indeed, it was a principle of his early life, that to act with confidence was to win regard, and to display courage was half the battle. He pursued this notion, as it might serve his purpose, to the end of his days. The able manner in which he pleaded the Douglas cause obtained him the silk gown. He was certainly one of the soundest lawyers of the age in which he lived, and reached the highest honour of his profession. He was in May 1770 appointed solicitor-general, and in 1771 succeeded sir William de Grey first lord Walsingham, as attorney-general; and was chosen member for Tamworth. At first he made little or no figure in the senate, but, at the commencement of the American disputes, he burst forth to the support of the then minister, lord North, in a manner which soon gave him not only the lead amongst the lawyers of the house, but raised him to the first rank of parliamentary orators. In June 1778, he was created a peer, by the style and

title of lord Thurlow, baron of Ashfield in Suffolk, and next day was constituted lord high chancellor of Great Britain. He continued in this situation till the year 1783, when, upon the success of the coalition ministry, he was ejected from his office, and the seals put in commission. However, upon the final triumph of Mr. Pitt, he was reinstated in the chancellorship, and possessed the seals to 1793, when, upon some quarrel with the premier, he resigned them, and was succeeded by lord Loughborough. Since that period, his lordship has retired to private life. His lordship has left three daughters; two of whom are married. As a lawyer, a man of sounder knowledge, quicker penetration, and more decisive and correct judgment,—of more independence of professional character, and firmness of opinion, never ascended the bench. But to these qualities, were certainly opposed a roughness of manner, a demeanor harsh and uncivil, sometimes barely decent, towards his brethren at the bar, and a considerable laxity in private life. As a politician, he was overbearing in the extreme, but firm to his party; and, in one instance, he evinced a regard for his sovereign, which it would be unjust not to distinguish by a higher name than that of mere loyalty and duty. As a patron to men of learning, he was one of the most munificent that ever sat upon the bench. In bestowing church preferment he was singularly honest and disinterested; and many anecdotes are related of him which place his character in a very shining light. As a general scholar, he possessed much more knowledge than the world gave

gave him credit for; and his profound acquaintance with Greek is testified in a dedication to him by his steadfast friend Bp. Horsley. As a man, he had his virtues and his failings. His speech on the American Declaratory Act is inserted in the *Gent.'s Mag.* vol. XLVIII. p. 399; on a cause tried in the House of Lords, vol. LIII. p. 446; on a Bill for Regulating the East India Company's Affairs, vol. LIV. p. 55, 207. The next time we trace him in the Debates was in that interesting one on the Regency, vol. LIX. p. 46, 48, 332, distinguished by his gratitude and loyalty to his sovereign, and truly characterized in the account of the 'Thanksgiving Procession, p. 367. His speech on the right of the Scotch Freeholders may be seen in vol. LXX. p. 625. The Thurlow Peerage is entailed in the first instance on the sons of the late bishop of Durham, whose eldest son (in the 26th year of his age) Edward, is now lord Thurlow. It is secondly entailed on the rev. South Thurlow, Prebendary of Norwich, the son of another brother of the late venerable peer, who has several children.

His remains were removed on the 25th at noon, from his house in Great George-street, Westminster, to the Temple Church. The procession moved down Parliament-street, and up the Strand, in the following order:

The plume of feathers, decorated with bandalors.

Six mutes on horseback.

His lordship's saddle-horse led by two servants, with the family arms on the black velvet trappings, and mounted by a gentle-

man of the herald's office, bearing his lordship's coronet.

THE HEARSE,

drawn by six horses, and adorned with escutcheons.

His lordship's supporters were placed on the horses' black velvet trappings.

Then followed, six mourning coaches, drawn by six horses.

In the first coach were, The duke of Newcastle, the lord chancellor, the dean of Windsor, and lord Ellenborough.

In the second, lord Eldon, Mr. Justice Le Blanc, Mr. baron Thompson, and sir William Scott.

In the third, the rev. T. S. Thurlow (his lordship's nephew) col. M'Mahon, col. Cunningham, and col. Terry.

In the other three coaches were some of his lordship's principal domesticks.

The procession was closed by ten private carriages.

The pall-bearers were, the lord chancellor, the duke of Newcastle, lord Eldon, the lord chief justice of the king's bench, the lord chief baron of the exchequer, and sir William Scott.

The funeral service was read by the dean of Windsor; after which was performed an Anthem, composed for the occasion. At half-past two the body was lowered into the vault, at the top of the South aisle, and deposited next to the remains of his brother, the late bp. of Durham. The lord chancellor and the rev. T. S. Thurlow rose from their seat, walked to the edge of the vault, and took their last farewell.

The

The concourse of people was so great, and the pressure into the church so violent, that it was found necessary to close the doors. The funeral was conducted with the greatest solemnity.

13. At Chiswick-house, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, where he had thrice (within 5 weeks) undergone the operation of tapping for a dropsy, the right hon. Charles-James Fox. After a consultation of the physicians on Friday, intimation was given, that Mr. Fox's death might be expected that evening, or next day. He received this declaration with his usual fortitude; and requested lord Holland to order messengers to the duke of Norfolk, earl Fitzwilliam, lord John Townshend, and sir Francis Vincent. Mr. Fox became more and more weak and languid. The night between Friday and Saturday was restless and uneasy; and the symptoms of an immediate dissolution appeared. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, not only his strength failed him, but his speech also. He became at last so weak and exhausted, that at 5 the vital spark was seemingly about to be extinguished. Soon after, he laid his head gently back on the pillow (supported by lord Holland and Mrs. Fox), and, in a state of the greatest tranquillity and most perfect resignation, breathed his last. Earl Fitzwilliam arrived at Chiswick-house about 4, in consequence of the express. Mr. Fox could not speak to him; but the overflowings of his heart were conspicuous in every feature. He pressed his lordship very cordially by the hand. The latter, incapable of witnessing the last scene, retired to an adjoining a-

partment; and, when he heard the affecting news, fainted away, and remained speechless for a considerable time. Soon after the death of Mr. Fox, messengers were sent with the intelligence to the following distinguished characters: his royal highness the prince of Wales, at Trentham-hall, Staffordshire; his grace the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland; earl Spencer, who was on a visit to his mother, at St. Alban's; lord Grenville, the lord Chancellor, lord Howick, lord Henry Petty, and the rest of the cabinet ministers. In announcing his death we announce the loss of one of our most eminent senators; a man who, during a long period of party violence and national panic, enjoyed the personal partiality of his country in a higher degree than any recorded statesman, whose opinions and conduct, under similar circumstances, had been equally distasteful to it—and who, perhaps on the other hand, appeared to possess, in a less degree than any other statesman of equally acknowledged talents, the nation's confidence.

“ Charles-James Fox was born Jan. 13, O. S. 1749. He was the second son of Henry the first lord Holland, who was also the second son of sir Stephen Fox. His mother was sister to the present duke of Richmond, and great granddaughter of King Charles the second. Perceiving in his son the beginnings of extraordinary genius, the father was anxious to promote his intellectual improvement, that the culture might be equal to the soil. He accustommed him to deliver his opinion on subjects of conversation; and Charles, when a boy, acquitted himself to the

astonishment of all present. Perhaps the early habit of thinking with freedom, and speaking with readiness, may have contributed to that *prompt exertion* of his great talents which made a considerable part of his senatorial excellence. He was accustomed to read his father's dispatches; and, though only in the ninth year of his age when Mr. Fox was secretary of state, his remarks on the contents are said to have been often just. One day he told his father, that a paper, which he had just read, was too feeble, and threw it into the fire. The secretary made out another copy, without the slightest reprimand. His father's indulgence sometimes led him to petulance. One day lady Holland saying something on a subject of Roman history, which Charles perceived to be erroneous, he immediately asked, with much contempt, what she knew about the Romans? and, with more knowledge and force of argument than filial reverence, he demonstrated her error; nor did his father chide his forwardness. Mr. Fox sent Charles first to Westminster school; at that excellent seminary he greatly distinguished himself; thence he was removed to Eton, where he gave a promise of those talents which has been since so amply fulfilled. His private tutor was Dr. Newcome, afterwards bishop of Waterford, and latterly archbishop of Armagh. It was at this seminary that he was the author of the periodical paper intitled, "The Spendthrift," published by Doddsley in 1766, 20 numbers. Here also he formed his early friendships with earl Fitzwilliam, lord Carlisle, his cousin the duke of Leinster, and

other distinguished men. The penetrating sagacity of lord Carlisle, in the companion of his studies and amusements, anticipated the future powers and efforts of Charles Fox, and addressed to him the following lines:

"How will my Fox, alone, by strength of parts,  
Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts  
Of fearful statesmen! while around you stand,  
Both peers and commons, listening your command,  
While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,  
His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words:  
What praise to PITT, to TOWNSHEND, e'er was due,  
In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you."

From Eton he proceeded to Oxford, where he resigned his classic pursuits to dramatic literature. It has been said, that during his residence at Oxford he read every play in the English language. He finished his education by the usual tour through Europe; and on his return to England was elected into parliament for Midhurst, a considerable time before he was of age; when he became the champion of ministers, voted against the Middlesex Election, and the first speech he made in parliament was against Mr. Wilkes. He was now appointed lord of the admiralty, resigned in disgust, was a second time appointed, and afterwards removed to the treasury board, from whence he was dismissed; and all these political vicissitudes befel him before he had completed his 25th year. It may also be added, as an unexampled circumstance in the career of politics, that, before he had attained the age of twenty-four years, he was the ablest sup-  
porter

porter of the minister throughout a whole session : and in the course of the succeeding year, one of his most powerful and dangerous opponents. His sudden removal from the treasury board was announced to him in the following laconic epistle : “ His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name.

NORTH.”

Mr. Fox next entered the lists of opposition, and throughout the American war proved a most powerful antagonist to the ministers of that period. His conduct in this was uniform and correct. He now sat on the same seat with a Saville, a Barre, a Dunning, and a Burke, with the last of whom he had frequently broken a lance, in the war of argument from the opposite side of the House ; and he has since avowed, that from this celebrated man he first imbibed those enlightened maxims of government on which he afterwards professed to act.—On the defeat of lord North by the Rockingham Party, Mr. Fox was nominated to a seat in the Cabinet, and appointed one of the Secretaries of State ; but very soon after, on the death of the marquis of Rockingham, lord Shelburne, ( the late marquis of Lansdowne ) who was then Secretary of State for the Home Department was immediately entrusted with the reins of administration ; and Mr. Fox retired from office with his friends. In the mean time lord Shelburne’s administration concluded a peace with America, France, and Holland ; but this administration proved of short duration, for a grand political confederacy was soon formed against them. This,

under the name of “ The Coalition,” soon subverted their power, and supplanted them in office.—No event, in our time, has produced more obloquy than the alliance between Mr. Fox and lord North. It was a stain in his life which all the ingenuity of his political advocates could never wipe away. The man whom Mr. Fox had described as a monster, with whom he would not trust himself in the same room, and whom he had promised to bring to the scaffold for his pretended political crimes, was now received to the bosom of Mr. Fox, and became his most intimate colleague. Such an union could not long succeed in the government of the state ; and the memorable India Bill proved the rock on which the vessel of the ill-paired colleagues struck and foundered. No sooner did the French revolution burst forth, than Mr. Fox hailed it as the auspicious dawn of rising liberty, and deprecated every opposition to its progress. On this occasion he found himself deserted by many of his former associates. Finding that he and his friends were reduced to an useless minority, Mr. Fox formed the resolution, upon which he immediately acted, of seceding from parliament : a step which drew upon him the censure of many, even of his supporters. His imprudent conduct at a meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, shortly after this secession, caused his name also to be erased from the list of privy counsellors. In 1803, Mr. Fox returned to his duty in the House of Commons, and in the beginning of the present year, on the death of his illustrious rival Mr. Pitt, his majesty, with the advice of lord Grenville,

ville, formed a new ministry, in which Mr. Fox was appointed secretary of state for the foreign department. Such is a brief statement of the political career of this eminent statesman.

It has not been without much thought and reflection that we have ventured to submit to our readers the following attempt at impartiality, to delineate both his public and private abilities. Mr. Fox it must be acknowledged, was one of the greatest men this country ever produced.—“I am ready to bow,” says one of the most eminent of his enemies, “and I do bow to his genius, to his political eloquence without an equal, to his knowledge, various, deep, and extensive.”—His command over a popular assembly was astonishing—with the disadvantage of a voice at times discordant, his eloquence was irresistible—it was vehement, it was at times sublime—it roused the most sluggish, and warmed the coldest—it was a torrent so impetuous, that it hurried and swept along his hearers in spite almost of themselves. His mind had a vastness, and a grasp which took in the whole of a subject at one view—he saw with a glance the weak and the strong parts of his antagonist’s position; he had great clearness of conception and arrangement; so that the leading characteristic of his oratory was a ready, and as it were intuitive power of analysis, which might be said to be peculiarly his own. Whilst he had a strength which made him able to contend with the most powerful, he had a plainness of reasoning which made him intelligible to the commonest understanding; he had a peculiar me-

thod of impressing any favourite point. If he saw, and he saw in a moment, that the first view in which he had placed it had not been attended with the desired effect, he re-produced it in another and another shape, till he had finally succeeded.—He had great dexterity in debate, and knew better than any man how to improve his advantage over an antagonist who had left himself open to attack.—If he possessed less splendour of imagination than Mr. Burke, he was on the other hand free from Mr. Burke’s dazzling profusion—With less elegance and less copiousness than Mr. Pitt, he had reasoning powers as strong, and a mind equal to either of those great men. It has been affirmed that he was too little solicitous, too careless of his language; his language, however, would always stand the test of the most critical examination; it was the best adapted to the expression of the particular idea or meaning he wished to convey; it was pure unadulterated English.—If he did not possess the wit of Mr. Burke or Mr. Sheridan, or the sarcasm of Mr. Pitt, he was not destitute of either of those qualities; but he rarely employed them. He seemed to disdain the idea of fretting his antagonist with a feather when he could knock him down with a club. He had an astonishing memory.—Often after a debate of many hours he has replied to the arguments of every speaker on the opposite side, not only in the order in which they spoke, but in the order in which they arranged their arguments. His manner, if not graceful, was peculiarly impressive. He animated the hearer, because the hearer saw he was animated

mated himself. His voice, though shrill, assisted wonderfully in rousing and fixing the attention of the house. In the heat and ardour of debate his eye was peculiarly commanding. He was always greatest in reply—it was then, when hard pressed and assailed by his antagonists, that all the man was roused, and all the powers and faculties of his great mind were brought into action. It was the irreparable misfortune of Mr. Pitt, that he went into office at an age so early that it was impossible his mind could be stored with general knowledge, and that he continued in office without any intermission, which could allow him time to repair that disadvantage. Accordingly, though there was more correct judgment in his speeches than in those of Mr. Fox, there was not the same rich supply of ideas and information, the same familiar converse with mankind, and that deep knowledge of the human character which Mr. Fox possessed. In a profound acquaintance with the domestic and foreign politics of the different European courts, he was unrivalled: the testimony of his great opponent was, on this point, public and decisive.

In private life, there never was a character more beloved. His pleasantries, his social friendly disposition, and the good temper of his private conversation, are universally acknowledged. In all situations and circumstances he was dear to his friends: those who knew him longest appear to have loved him best; and it was a remarkable circumstance, that those who attended and wept round his death-bed had been the companions of his youth, and the friends of his

whole life. He possessed in an high degree the talent which distinguishes man, and the genius that elevates him; nor was he without a portion of that virtue which is superior to them both. As Mr. Burke has observed, and when he was in intimate friendship with him, “his faults, though they might tarnish the lustre, and sometimes impede the march of his abilities, were not formed to extinguish the fire of great virtues. In his faults there was no mixture of deceit, of hypocrisy, of pride, of ferocity, or complexional despotism.” Having attempted thus briefly to delineate the character of this eminent man, we wish impartiality bid us here draw to a close—we have been proud in many parts of the attempt to exemplify it by comparison with his great rival Mr. Pitt, and certainly there never were two characters opposed to each other of more transcendent ability and talent; but, as it is in the application of the powers which the Almighty has favoured us with, and the portion of good and evil we have performed, by which we are rendered estimable in the sight of God and man, so must we again contrast the conduct of these great men, ere we fairly decide upon the opinion they now hold and are likely to maintain with posterity. The obloquy which the celebrated coalition threw upon Mr. Fox's character we have before mentioned; and it is upon some of the last acts of his life, which appear equally as inconsistent and opposite to his general professions, that we expect posterity to decide on his character. “There is something,” said Mr. Burke, on that celebrated night

when he changed sides with his old political friend, "there is something in that *curfed French revolution*, which envenoms every thing." And few, we believe, of Mr. Fox's warmest admirers will venture to deny, but that this was the rock on which he split, and on which the mind of his country was alienated from him. It was through this dark labyrinth, this unknown and unprecedented storm, that we had Mr. Pitt for our guide, in opposition to Mr. Fox--and, heaven be thanked, he was the pilot who weathered the storm. Mr. Fox, however, so long the strenuous champion of popular right, the jealous observer of ministers, became in office an accommodating colleague, and the pliant imitator of his predecessor. To the fame of Mr. Pitt he has raised a lasting monument; but, we fear, on himself he has affixed a stain of inconsistency. It is fair, however, to add, that his friends and admirers excuse him from the charge, and would attribute it to an excess of benignity in his personal concerns, which often induced him to waive his own judgment in compliance with the opinion of others; and to this facility of temper they attribute many important events in his political life."

*Farley's Bristol Journal.*

20. At his house at Bonavista, near Lymington, Hants, sir Matthew Blackiston, bart. In 1782 he married Miss Rochfort, daughter of John R. esq. of the county of Carlow, in Ireland, whom he has left a widow, with six sons.

Suddenly, of a nervous colick, his serene highness the hereditary

prince Charles-George-Augustus of Brunswick. He was born at London, Feb. 8, 1766; and married, Oct. 14, 1790, to her serene highness the princess Frederica-Louisa-Wilhelmina, of Nassau Orange.

30. At his house on the Steyne, at Brighthelmstone, William-Henry Fortescue earl of Clermont, viscount and baron of Clermont, in the county of Louth, knight of St. Patrick, and governor of the county of Monaghan. His lordship was born August, 5, 1722; chosen knight of the shire for Louth in 1745; sworn of the privy council, and appointed postmaster general of Ireland in 1767; customer and collector of the port of Dublin in 1787. He married, Feb. 29, 1752, Frances Murray, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Col. John Murray, M.P. for the county of Monaghan (by Mary only daughter and heiress of sir Alexander Cairns, bart. and widow of Cadwallader, the seventh lord Blayney); by whom his lordship having no issue, the earldom of Clermont, and the first barony of Clermont, granted in 1770, become extinct; but the titles of viscount and baron Clermont (which were granted July 23, 1776, with special remainder to his brother, the right hon. James Fortescue, of Ravensdale park, county of Louth, and his heirs male) devolve to his nephew, William Charles Fortescue, of Ravensdale, M.P. for the county of Louth, now lord viscount Clermont. The deceased lord was the father of the turf, and ranked among the most intimate friends of the prince. His remains were interred



erred in the family vault at Cuffingham, county of Norfolk.

October 2. The hon. Miss Cholmondeley.

4. At Brighthelmstone, of a complaint in his bowels, Samuel Horsley, LL.D. bishop of St. Asaph, to which he was translated, June 26, 1802, on the death of the Hon. Dr. Bagot. He was son of John Horsley, M.A. many years clerk in orders at St. Martin's in the Fields, rector of St. Mary Newington, Surrey, and of Thorley, Herts, where he died in 1777, aged 78, and Mary daughter of George Leslie, esq. of Kimraugie in Scotland, his second wife, who died 1787, aged 77, at Nasing, Essex, at Mr. Palmer's, who married her daughter; another son, who married the widow of Mr. Rich, lives at Beach-hill, near Woodford, whose son is the subject of a tract in the *Gent. Mag.* vol. LXXV. 1223: and another son is now in the East Indies. Dr. H's father's first wife was Anne, daughter of Dr. Hamilton, principal of the college of Edinburgh. By both wives he had four sons and four daughters. His grandfather was a dissenter, but conformed, and had the living of St. Martin's in the Fields, and was looked on with an evil eye by his quondam brethren. *Gent. Mag.* LVI. 96. Samuel was born in St. Martin's church-yard; was of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, LL. B. 1758. About the year 1768 he went to Christ-church, Oxford, as private tutor to the earl of Aylesford, and there proceeded to the degree of LL.D. His first mathematical publication was printed at the Clarendon press. This was an elegant edition of the "In-

clinations of Apollonius." He succeeded his father at Thorley, in the gift of Dr. Lowth, bishop of London (to whom he was chaplain) 1778; but he began his career with the rectory of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey, which he exchanged for that of South Weald, Essex, 1782, in which he was succeeded, 1793, by F. J. H. Wollaston. He was many years an active member of the Royal Society; was some time one of their secretaries; and a liberal contributor to their *Transactions* from 1767 to 1782. He took the principal lead in the contest in 1783, with sir Joseph Banks, respecting his conduct as president; delivered several very eloquent speeches on the occasion, printed with others in "An authentic Narrative of the Diffensions in the Royal Society, 1784;" in "Observations on the late Contests in the Royal Society, by Dr. Kippis, 1784," who with great semblance of moderation bestowed his praises on the president, and his personalities on the secretary. Dr. H. withdrew from the Society, in consequence of a certain high appointment taking place, of which he disapproved. His concluding words on retiring were, "I quit that temple where Philosophy once presided, and where Newton was her officiating minister!" He attracted, about the same time, very considerable notice by his controversy with Dr. Priestley; remarks on which may be seen in *Gent. Mag.* vol. LIV. p. 590, LVI. 225; on his explanation of Greek words, LIII. pp. 842, 943. The learning and abilities which he displayed in this important contest, the able and dexterous manner in which he ex-

posed the fallacy of Dr. P's tenets, and turned even his own polemic weapons against himself; the unanswerable arguments which, with uncommon care and diligence, he selected in defence of the most essentials truths of christianity; and, finally, the complete and decisive victory which he gained over that champion of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity, gained him the respect and admiration of every friend to christianity. The controversy was opened by a charge delivered to the clergy of the district of St. Alban's, of which he was archdeacon (for which see *Gent. Mag.* LIII. p. 856); and was followed up by Dr. H. in two pamphlets, in rejoinder to the objections of Dr. P.; and nine letters to Dr. P. 1790. "Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's second Letter to the Archdeacon of St. Alban's, 1787," 8vo; which produced "The Calvinism of the Protestant Dissenters asserted, in a letter to the Archdeacon, by Samuel Palmer, pastor of the independent congregation at Hackney, 1787." 8vo. He was afterwards presented by his pupil lord Aylesford, to the rectory of Albury in Surrey; and was promoted by lord chancellor Thurlow to a prebendal stall in the church of Gloucester; and afterwards, on the death of Dr. Smallwell, 1788, was made bishop of St. David's by the interest of the same noble lord, who was much pleased with his letters to Dr. Priestley, and said, that "those who defended the church, ought to be supported by the church." In his episcopal character he in a great measure answered the high expectations of eminent usefulness which his elevation to the mitre so

generally excited. His first act in the Diocese of St. David's was to increase the salaries of the poor curates, many of whom had not more than 8l. or 10l. *per ann.* He permitted none to officiate for less than 15l. *per ann.* His first charge to the clergy of that diocese, delivered 1790, was greatly and deservedly admired. This is what we suppose L. L. in the *Gent. Mag.* LX. p. 204, calls "a pastoral letter to the clerical burghesses of Caermarthen," on the approach of a general election, to make them "vote against their sitting member, because he had been thanked for wishing to extend the toleration to dissenters." It, however, occasioned his subsequent promotion to the see of Rochester, 1793, and deanry of Westminster; which proved considerably beneficial to the country at large, in times when its religion, its government, and even its morality, were so manifestly in need of support. His lordship has been exposed to a considerable share of vulgar and illiberal abuse on account of his opposition to the turbulence of democratic rage. Some incautious and perhaps intemperate speeches, which he made in the house of lords during the discussion of lord Grenville's bill, &c. were most severely reprimanded, and occasioned, for a time, a popular clamour against him. Yet the steady uniformity, consistency and decision of his conduct, were of considerable utility to government, and procured him the good-will of every friend to order, decency, virtue and religion. Of his publications, the most conspicuous in size is his edition of sir Isaac Newton's works, in 5 vols. 4to, the first of which appeared in

1779 (see *Gent. Mag.* vol. XLVI. p. 72); to which, however, it was objected that the size was an impediment to the sale\*, and that the commentary can afford but a slender assistance to the learner. That it is an elegant monument of our typographical perfection will be readily allowed; but those who have consulted the edition of the *Principia* by the Jesuits, do not hesitate to give it the preference. His tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley were reprinted, with considerable additions, in an 8vo. volume, 1793. The rest of his publications, together with his various single public sermons, are hereafter enumerated; and likewise his charges to his clergy; the last of which, to the diocese of Rochester, contains the most salutary advice to the clergy in general. A pamphlet, intitled, "An Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England," published in the beginning of 1790, and marked with considerable strength of reasoning against some respectable members of the community, was by many ascribed, from certain internal evidence, to this prelatial Hercules. It was answered with great severity by Gilbert Wakefield. Perhaps it is to be regretted that the native vigour of his lordship's faculties, his distinguished share of learning, his elegant and nervous style, and his ingenuity of invention, should have been sometimes dislocated by too warm a spirit, occasionally displaying itself in his writings.

No man of the age perhaps possessed more of what is generally understood by the idea of *recondite*

learning, or was more profoundly versed in classical chronology. He not only edited and illustrated some of the most important of Sir Isaac Newton's works, but was himself the author of several esteemed mathematical as well as theological productions. As a senator, he was deservedly considered in the first class. There were few important discussions in the house of lords, especially when the topics referred to the hierarchical establishments of this country; to that stupendous (and, in its effects, most calamitous) event the French revolution; or to the African slave-trade (of which he was a systematic opponent), in which his lordship did not participate. No man could reprobate more than he did the destructive excesses of the French revolution. On the 30th of January, 1793, which was a few days after the news of the murder of the unfortunate Louis was received in this country, he was appointed to preach before the house of peers in Westminster Abbey; an occasion on which his forcible and impressive eloquence was warmly admired by a numerous auditory. His voice was deep, full-toned, and commanding; his enunciation distinct; and his delivery in other respects highly advantageous. His manner was rather dictatorial; he was, notwithstanding, an argumentative speaker, equally clear and strong, and his positions were frequently illustrated by historical reference. His mind grasped all the learning of the ancient and modern world; and his heart was as warm and generous towards all whom he had

\* It was published at *five* guineas, and now sells for *ten*;—this proves its value.

the ability to serve, as his head was capable of advocating their cause. His charity to the distressed was more than prudent; he often wanted himself what he gave away; but in money matters, no one was more careless than the bishop, and no one so easily imposed upon. We could give many instances of this, if we had room. Though he was irascible, passionate, and easily moved to anger, yet he had much of the milk of human kindness in his composition. By his most intimate friends he was allowed to be at his table, and in the hours of relaxation from severe studies, a very pleasant and agreeable companion. He often bent both his mind and his body to partake of the juvenile amusements of children, of whom he was particularly fond.

His sermons are, on Mal. xvi. 21, providence and free agency, for Good Friday 1778. Luke i. 28, on the incarnation, 1785; criticised, *Gent. Mag.* vol. LVI. 638, as levelled too pointedly at Dr. Priestley, and which laid the foundation of his fame. Before the sons of the clergy, 1786. 1 Cor. ii. 2. "The analogy between the light of inspiration, and the light of learning, as qualifications for the ministry; preached at the cathedral church of Gloucester, at a public ordination of priests and deacons, Sept. 9, 1787," 4to; which produced "Remarks," &c. by Gilbert Wakefield. Eccles. xii. 7, "Principle of vitality in man, as described in the Holy Scriptures, and the difference between true and apparent death;" before the

Royal Humane Society, of which he was a vice-president, 1789, *Gent. Mag.* (LIX. 547). This was a most admirable, philosophical and appropriate discourse; and, when printed by desire, ran through several editions, has been admired by the learned world, and resorted to by the able divines that have preached for that excellent institution. He dictated also in that year an appropriate address, which was presented by the society to their royal patron on his recovery, *ibid.* 273. Before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, 1789. Rom. xiii. 1. A sermon before the lords spiritual and temporal, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, Jan. 30, 1793; Matth. xxiv. 12. with an Appendix concerning the political principles of Calvinism, 1793," 4to: which produced an ingenious "Reply," and "Strictures on the Reply." Before the Philanthropic Society\*; "the abounding of iniquity no just ground for distrusting the prophecies or promises of holy writ." Luke iv. 18, 19, at the yearly meeting of the charity children, 1794 *ibid.* (LXIV. 157.) 1 John iii. 3, before the Magdalen charity, 1795 *ibid.* (LXV. 678). On Christ's descent into hell, 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20, 1805, *ibid.* (LXXV. 146). Letter from a country vicar on it *ibid.* (1033.) The watcher and the holy ones, a thanksgiving sermon, Dec. 5, 1805, on the victory off Trafalgar *ibid.* (LXXVI. 347).

He mistook the Calvinism of the dissenters, as if only "the

\* This society must recollect with gratitude the services of the bishop in their cause, particularly on a late occasion.

very dregs of methodism among them" held it, LVI. 44. See observations on certain queries of Dr. Horsley on Newton's chronology, *ibid.* 1070. Called by Dr. Priestley to defend the Trinity, LIX. 11. Strictures on Horsley's translation of *idolatry*, *ibid.* 884. His speech on the Roman Catholic bill, 1791, LXI. 826. Remarks on the charge of Bishop Horsley, in his tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley, by Dr. Lickorish, LXIV. 107. A false alarm raised on the scarcity of wheat, 1796, both by him and the archbishop (LXVI. 300.). In 1796, he published a charge at his primary visitation at Rochester (*ib.* 766); and in the same year he published, without his name, a most celebrated treatise "On the properties of the Greek and Latin Languages," 8vo; with a dedication expressed in the warmest terms of friendship to his steady patron lord Thurlow, who is with great propriety complimented on his taste and skill in the subject of this profound investigation. Critical disquisition on the xviii<sup>th</sup> chapter of Isaiah, in a letter to Edward King, esq. 1799 (LXIX. 497, 549). Substance of his Speech on the Slave-trade, 1800 (LXX. 646); and on the third reading of the bill for preventing the crime of adultery, May 23, 1800 (LXX. 1211, LXXVI. 144). Charge at the second visitation of Rochester diocese, 1800 (LXX. 1078); the sermon at which was preached by his chaplain, Mr. Robson. Letter to him, on his opinion concerning Antichrist, by

a country clergyman, 1801 (LXXI. 921). His translation of Hosea, 1801 (*ibid.* 1016). Republished, with large additions, in 1804. Address to him from the church of Westminster \*, on his quitting the deanery, in which he was succeeded by Dr. Vincent, 1802 (LXXII. 596); his character defended (*ibid.* 595). Circular letter to the diocese of St. Asaph, on the war, 1803 (LXXIII. 800). Answer to some passages in it, 1804 (LXXIV. 447). Speech on the bill for the relief of London incumbents, 1804 (*ibid.* 945). On Virgil's two seasons of honey, 1806 (LXXVI. 141).

The bishop's last journey to Brighton was a most melancholy one. He left the capital in good health, and went to Brighton to spend some time with his old friend and patron lord Thurlow, whom on his arrival he found dead!—he was seized with the fatal disorder of which he died on the Wednesday, and did not survive the following Saturday. He had, for the benefit of his family, made an insurance on his life to the amount of 5000l. The policy unfortunately expired two days before his death. His lordship meant to have renewed it if he had not been prevented by his fatal illness. He has left four sisters; three of whom are single, and one married to Mr. Palmer; and two brothers, the above-named John Horsley, and Francis Horsley, esq. high in the civil service of the East India company at Bengal, and about returning to England with a good fortune, honourably acquired.

\* The members of the choir of the church of Westminster have every reason to respect his lordship's memory. He gave them *substantial proofs* of his attention to their comforts.

The bishop was buried in the family vault at Newington church, from the house of Mr. Palmer, his brother-in-law, in Queen Anne-street West, on the 14th instant. The coffin was very superb; the mitre, key, and crozier, and various ornaments in gold, were placed on the top and sides of the outer case, which was covered with black cloth. The gold plate, containing the arms of the deceased, is inscribed:

“ The  
Right Rev. SAMUEL HORSLEY,  
Lord Bishop of St. Asaph,  
Died 4th of October,  
1806,  
Aged 73 Years.

The following gentlemen attended by invitation: the rev. Mr. Giffardiere, rector of Newington; the rev. Mr. Dickinson curate. The bishop's chaplains, viz. the rev. Dr. Crawford, the rev. W. Palmer, and the rev. W. W. Dakins\*, preceded the corpse into the church; his other domestic chaplain, the rev. George Robson, not being in town, but resident on his living of Chirk in Denbighshire, to which, and to a stall in the cathedral church of St. Asaph, he was collated by the late bishop. The chief mourner was John Hor-

sley, esq. the bishop's brother; the other mourners were, W. Palmer, esq. the bishop's brother-in-law, and Mr. J. Newbeggin, the husband of the sister of the late bishop's wife. The following gentlemen of the church of Westminster voluntarily attended, from motives of the most sincere respect for the bishop's memory, Mr. Sale, Mr. Nield, Mr. J. Sale, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Marquet. After a service and funeral anthem sung in Westminster-abbey on the solemn occasion, Dr. Busby attended at Newington church, and played a dirge as the corpse entered. The scene was truly solemn, and most affecting. Had the time of the bishop's funeral been more generally known, we believe it would have been attended by many persons high in office, many literary characters, and many private friends.

Dr. Horsley was twice married. His first wife (who is elegantly commemorated in Newington church) was Miss Botham, the daughter of his predecessor at Aldbury, by whom he had a daughter, who died young, and is buried at Newington, and one son, the reverend Heneage Horsley, who was married June 25, 1801,

\* For the last ten years no person, it is believed, was more in the bishop's confidence, not excepting any one of his lordship's family, than Mr. Dakins. He transcribed most of the bishop's works during that period, and looked over the proofs as they came from the press, by the bishop's own desire. The bishop died at the moment when he was about to reward Mr. D.'s services; and, since his Lordship's death, the Secretary at St. Asaph has confirmed Mr. D.'s expectations, by furnishing him with an extract of a letter lately written by the bishop, wherein his lordship says, speaking of a living reported then vacant, “ That living has its irrevocable destination, and I shall collate my friend before I leave London.” Mr. Dakins had the honour to be that friend; for the bishop wrote for information respecting the living when he was in his lordship's house in Charles-street, Middlesex Hospital, where Mr. D. was his lordship's constant companion, and where he attended to the bishop's most confidential affairs. Mr. D. loved him as his own father; and he followed, with the bishop's family, his lordship's remains to the grave.

to Miss Frances Emma Bourke; and preached a sermon at a general ordination at St. Asaph, in September, 1804. He was collated by his father to the valuable living of Gresford in Denbighshire, and to a stall in the cathedral church of St. Asaph. The bishop's second wife was a most excellent woman, and the *protégé* of his first, and very kind and attentive to his son from his earliest infancy. She died of a dropsy, after a lingering illness, April 2, 1805, without ever having had a child, and is buried in the church of Newington.

For some time before the bishop died, he had adopted a rigid plan of œconomy, in order to liquidate some pecuniary burthens. If he had lived a few years longer, he would have enjoyed an annual income of 7000*l.* by the operation of his prudent measures. We have heard that a complete edition of the bishop's works, of which some valuable sermons, never published, make a part, together with several curious mathematical disquisitions, will be presented to the public, when his lordship's papers are arranged, by proper persons appointed by his family.

5. Lady Buckworth Heron.

9. Hon. Mrs. Hunter.

16. In Portman-square, Mary countess of Kenmare, eldest daughter of Michael Aylmer, esq. of Lyons, co. Kildare; and married August 24, 1783, to Valentine earl of Kenmare, one of the few noblemen of Ireland still adhering to the Roman catholic faith. The following is perhaps a correct list: the earl of Wexford and Waterford (earl of Shrewsbury in England;) the earl of Fingal; the earl of Kenmare; the viscount

Gormanstown; the viscount Southwell; the viscount Taaffe; the lord Trimblestown; and the lord French.

19. At Farnham, Surrey, being on the road to their house at Winchester, lady Amelia Gamon, wife of sir Richard G. bart. M. P. daughter of the late and sister of the present duke of Athol.

24. At a very advanced age, lady Alva, grandmother to the marchioness of Stafford.

Nov. 1. At Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, in her 87th year, the right honourable Anna Maria baroness Sandys, widow of the late lord Sandys. By the death of this lady, all the large possessions of her husband have devolved upon his niece, the marchioness of Downshire, who is the sole heiress, lineal descendant, and only remaining branch of his lordship's family, as well as of those of the last earl of Stirling, the lord viscount Stirling, the celebrated statesman and scholar sir William Trumbull, and other ancient families. Soon after the decease of the late much lamented, truly noble, and patriotic marquis of Downshire, whose memory will long be dear to Ireland, his Majesty was pleased to revive the title of Sandys, by creating the marchioness of Downshire baroness of Sandys in her own right, with remainder to her ladyship's second son lord Arthur Hill, and her three other younger sons, and their issue successively. The marchioness may, therefore, now be considered one of the richest of her sex in the empire.

5. In Seymour-street, William Brabazon Ponsonby, lord Ponsonby of Imokilly, a privy counsellor in Ireland, a governor of the coun-

ty of Kilkenny, &c. His lordship was born Sept. 15, 1744; and was much distinguished in the parliament of Ireland, in which he sat for many years as member for the county of Kilkenny, and for his steady adherence to the principles of Mr. Fox. After the union took place, he sat in the imperial parliament for Kilkenny, until elevated to the English peerage, by the title of baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly, co. Cork. His birth was illustrious, being the grandson of Brabazon earl of Besborough, and eldest son and heir of the right honourable John Ponsonby, speaker of the house of commons in Ireland, by the lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William third duke of Devonshire. His lordship married, Dec. 20, 1769, Louisa, daughter of the third viscount Molesworth, by whom he has left issue, 1. John, now lord Ponsonby, of Imokilly, who is married to lady Frances Villiers, sister to the earl of Jersey; 2. Richard, in holy orders; 3. George; 4. Frederick; 5. Mary Elizabeth, married to Charles Viscount Howick, eldest son of earl Grey. The right hon. George Ponsonby, lord chancellor of Ireland, is his lordship's only brother; the countess of Shannon and lady Lismore are his surviving sisters. He bore his long and very severe illness with the same equanimity that governed all his actions; nor did it forsake him in his last moments. His bed was surrounded by his distressed relatives, viscount and viscountess Howick, the hon. George and Frederick Ponsonby, his lordship's younger sons, and lady Lismore; all of whom sat up with him the preceding night. Aware that

death was approaching, he took an affectionate leave of each, shook hands with them, and, turning on his pillow, died without a groan. Lady Ponsonby, worn out with fatigue, had been carried out of the room. Until his fatal illness, which commenced about two years since, he was a man of the most active and lively mind, remarkably fond of the chase, and kept the best hunting establishment in Ireland, at his seat, Bishop's Court, co. Kildare, where he lived in the most hospitable and princely style. No man was more beloved by his relatives and friends, as an affectionate husband, a fond father, a kind and most indulgent landlord and master. Nor was his political character less amiable, as a man of strong mind and sound sense; in the many parliaments in which he represented the county of Kilkenny, he never gave a vote his conscience did not approve. His remains were, on the 10th, removed in a hearse and four, towards Holyhead, there to be embarked for Ireland. His lordship's carriage, viscount Howick's and lady Lismore's, followed for some miles. The hon. and rev. Richard Ponsonby, his lordship's second son, who resides on his living in the county of Kildare, attended by two servants, accompanied the hearse.

#### 6. Lady Duntze.

10. At Altona, in consequence of the wound he had received in the battle of Auerstadt, on the 14th ult. and its truly disastrous consequences, his serene highness William Ferdinand duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, a general in the king of Prussia's service, and K. G. He escaped the pain of knowing the cala-



calamities which resulted from the battle, having, from the moment of his wound, been totally insensible to every thing about him. His son, the duke of Brunswick-Oels, who capitulated with general Blucher, and so heroically defended the gate of Lubeck, arrived at his father's house the day after his death. His highness was the companion in arms of the great Frederick, and esteemed a general of the most consummate judgment. On his retreat from his capital, he assumed the title of count of Wertheim. His horses were sold, on the 13th, by public auction; his jewels, and other effects, on the 15th. His body was opened and embalmed on the 12th. On opening the skull it was found that the wound would certainly and inevitably prove mortal from the first. His heart is preserved in a silver box. His remains, dressed in the regimentals of the Brunswick dragoons, booted and spurred, with a large Prussian cocked hat, and on the left breast the star and insignia of the British order of the garter, lay in state till the evening of the 18th. The coffin was plain, covered with black velvet. An *es-tafette* was sent to Buonaparte, at Berlin, requesting that the duke's remains might be deposited in the family vault of his ancestors; but nothing can exceed the brutality with which he refused the application. "Tell the duke of Brunswick," said Buonaparte, "that I would rather cede Belgium, would rather renounce the crown of Italy, than allow him, or any of his sons, ever again to set foot within the territory of Brunswick. Let him take his money and jewels, but let

him go to England!!" Notwithstanding this brutality, however, in the triumphant Usurper, the name of the duke of Brunswick will be mentioned with honour in the *cordatior ætas*, when the crimes of his successful antagonist will be held up to execration. Our gracious sovereign had given orders for apartments in Hampton court palace to be prepared for the reception and asylum of his unfortunate brother-in-law. His unhappy and much-afflicted consort, as soon as the state of her highness's health will permit, removes to this country.

13. At his seat, Galloway-house, near Dumfries, Scotland, of the gout in his stomach, John Stewart earl of Galloway, viscount Garlies, and baron Stewart, knight of the Thistle, and lord-lieutenant of Wigtownshire. His lordship first married Charlotte Mary Greville, daughter of the first earl of Warwick; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of the late sir James Dashwood, bart. by whom he had issue eight sons and eight daughters. Six of his lordship's sons are now living, and also six daughters, all married; namely, lady Catherine Graham, the marchioness of Blandford, lady Harriet Spencer Chichester, lady Elizabeth Inge, lady Charlotte Crofton, and lady Caroline Rushout. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, viscount Garlies, a captain in the royal navy, who is married to a daughter of the earl of Uxbridge. His lordship was much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and was long remarkable for his attendance at the opera, where he was generally to be found, when  
in

in town, in the pit, close to the orchestra, loud in applause of any favourite performer.

At William Wingfield's, esq. in Montague-street, Russell square, in her 26th year, lady Elizabeth Digby, daughter of the late and sister of the present earl of Digby.

18. Sir John Mordaunt, bart. of Walton, county of Warwick, many years one of the grooms of the bedchamber to his Majesty, and M. P. for the county of Warwick.

23. At the seat of Henry Duncombe, esq. at Copgrove, co. York, in consequence of a fall some weeks before, lady Muncafter, wife of lord M. of Muncafter-house, in the same county.

At his seat at Arbury, co. Warwick, after an illness of less than a week, aged upwards of 88, in the enjoyment of his faculties unimpaired almost to the last, sir Roger Newdigate, bart. many years one of the representatives in parliament for the university of Oxford, to which he has long been a liberal benefactor. He was owner of one of the finest estates of coal in the kingdom; and his extensive coal-works near Bedworth have for a long time been very productive. He several years ago cut many miles in length of navigable canal through his collieries and woods, to join the Coventry canal; by far the greatest length of canal, solely belonging to an individual, in the kingdom. He was an active promoter of the Coventry, the Oxford, and Grand Junction canals, and of the turnpike-road from Coventry to Leicester, which has so much benefited those parts of the country. He was also a libe-

ral benefactor to the poor, particularly in finding them employment.

Sir Roger Newdigate possessed a fine estate at Harefield, in Middlesex, where his remains were interred in the family vault on the 5th of December. He was the seventh and youngest son of sir Richard N. bart. by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of sir Roger Twisden, bart. Sir Richard died in 1727; and was succeeded in title and estate by his fifth (then the oldest surviving) son, sir Edward Newdigate, who died 1734, in his 18th year, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Roger, who was at that time a king's scholar at Westminster school, where, by his own choice, he continued three years, and became a member of University college, Oxford, and made the tour of France and Italy. Soon after his return, he had the honour to be unanimously elected knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, upon a vacancy by the creation of the right hon. William Pulteney earl of Bath, in 1742; and in 1743 he married Sophia, daughter of Edward Conyers, of Copt-hall, in co. Essex, esq. who, after a long continued state of ill health, died in 1774, and was buried at Harefield, where is her monument, a white marble vase, with a female figure in basso relievo recumbent; on the top an angel leaning on an extinguished torch; on the plinth are these lines from Petrarch.

“Di me non pianger piu: ch'e' miei di ferri,  
Morendo, eterni; e nell' eterno  
lume,  
Quando mostrai di chiuder, gli  
occhi aperi.”

On a tablet underneath :

“ In memory  
of his most truly amiable,  
much and long-loved wife,  
Sophia, lady Newdigate,  
daughter of Edward Conyers,  
of Copped-hall, Essex, esquire,  
by Matilda, daughter of  
William Baron Lempster,  
born Dec. 20th, 1718,  
married May 31st, 1743,  
died July 9th, 1774,

Sir Roger Newdigate, baronet,  
with many tears, erected this mo-  
ment.”

In 1749, sir Roger Newdigate was admitted to the degree of LL.D. at Oxford; and on the 31st of January, 1750, upon a vacancy made by lord Cornbury's being called to the house of peers, he had the high honour to be returned the first upon the poll for a burges for the university of Oxford. Such is the noble example of independence and untainted purity in elections, set to all electors by that most learned and most respectable body, that to declare, to canvass, to treat, or even to be seen within the limits of the university, during a vacancy, would be, in any candidate, a forfeiture of all favour, and an utter exclusion. By this distinguished conduct, invariably pursued, by the honour they confer on the object of their choice, they reflect the highest honour on themselves. Thus honoured was sir Roger Newdigate, not knowing that he was proposed, supported, and elected, till he received a letter from the vice-chancellor by one of the esquire beadles; and in the same manner, without application or expence whatsoever, he was re-elected in 1754, and again in 1761, and in 1768; and for the fifth time

in 1774, being then absent in Italy, which he had revisited that summer. On the dissolution of that parliament, in 1780, after 35 years service in parliament, advanced in years, and his health affected by a town life, much ill health in his family, and wishing for repose, he solicited his dismissal, and retired from public life. In 1776 he married his second lady, Hester, daughter of Edward Mundy, of Shipley, in Derbyshire, esq. and sister to Edward Miller Mundy, esq. knight of the shire for that county, who died Sept. 30, 1800. In 1786 he built a villa, in a beautiful situation, which overlooks the valley of the river Colne, within a mile of Uxbridge.” *Betham's Baronetage*, vol. III. pp. 21, 23.

Two royal visits to the lord Keeper Egerton at Harefield are recorded in the third volume of “Queen Elizabeth's Progresses,” 1601 and 1602; where we find also that the late worthy baronet (sir Roger Newdigate) was once possessed of an account in MS. of this visit, with a collection of the complimentary speeches with which, as was customary on these occasions, she was addressed. The MS. is unfortunately lost; but sir Roger Newdigate recollected that the queen was first welcomed to a farm-house, now called *Derw's farm*, by several allegorical persons, who attended her to a long avenue of trees leading to the house, which obtained from this circumstance the name of *The Queen's walk*. Four trees of this avenue still remain, and the greater part were standing not many years ago. *Warton's Milton*, p. 46.

At his house in Devonshire-

place, Mary-la-Bonne, in his 86th year, and after a few days illness, admiral sir Richard King, bart.; a most distinguished and gallant officer, whose services have richly adorned our naval history. He was twice returned to parliament for Rochester, and is succeeded in title by his only son, capt. King of the *Achille*, of 74 guns, which he commanded in the ever-memorable and glorious victory off Trafalgar. His remains were interred, Dec. 4, in the west aisle of St. Mary-la-Bonne church, attended by a great number of his relatives and friends. The chief mourners were, his son-in-law, Mr. Babbs, Mr. James Barnett (banker,) and James Horton, esq.

26. Rev. sir Richard Cope, bart.

Dec. 7. At his seat at Tredegar, co. Monmouth, in his 82d year, beloved and respected by all who knew him, the right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. (so created Oct. 30, 1792) LL.D. many years military judge advocate general, and representative in six parliaments for the county of Brecon. No man was more attached to his sovereign, or more zealous for the good of his country; in private life most honourable, sincere in his friendship, charitable and humane. He is succeeded in title and estate by his son, Colonel Morgan, of Ruperra, M. P. for the county of Monmouth.

The hon. George Lyon Bowes.

9. At Cobourg, in his 57th year, Francis reigning Duke of Saxe-Saalfeld-Cobourg; born, July 15, 1750. He succeeded his father in 1800; and by his marriage with Augusta Carolina Sophia, daughter of Henry XXIV.

reigning count of Raufs d'Ebersdorf, has left several children. He is succeeded by his eldest son, prince Ernest Frederick Antony, born in 1784, major-general in the service of Russia.

20. At Fregenwalden, the princess Wilhelmina Frederica Paulina, of Nassau-Dietz, daughter of the reigning prince of Fulda, born in 1800, and grand-daughter of Frederick William II. king of Prussia.

26. At Chester, lady Arabella Rawdon, heiress of the late sir John Cheshyre, of Hallwood in Cheshire, aunt to the earl of Moira, and cousin to countess Fauconberg.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1806.

*Bedfordshire.* Wm. Long, of Kempston, esq.

*Berkshire.* J. I. Libenrood, of Tilehurst, esq.

*Buckinghamshire.* Philip Hoddle Ward, of Tickford Abbey, esq.

*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* L. Reynolds, of Sturtlow, esq.

*Cheshire.* Sir Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, bart.

*Cumberland.* J. B. D. Dykes, of Dovenby, esq.

*Derbyshire.* Francis Bradshaw, of Barton, esq.

*Devonshire.* Wm. Jackson, of Cowley, esq.

*Dorsetshire.* Edward Williams, of Herringstode, esq.

*Effex.* James Urmston, of Chigwell, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* W. Lawrence, of Shurdington, esq.

*Here-*

*Herefordshire.* Samuel Davies, of Wigmore, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* G. S. Martin, of Sandbridge Lodge, esq.

*Kent.* John Marrison, of Denne Hill, esq.

*Lancashire.* Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, of Huntroyd, esq.

*Leicestershire.* F. W. Wollaston, of Shenton, esq.

*Lincolnshire.* W. Reeve, of Longleadonham, esq.

*Monmouthshire.* W. Phillips, of Whitson, esq.

*Norfolk.* Henry Lee Warner, of Walsingham, esq.

*Northamptonshire.* T. Carter, of Edgcott, esq.

*Northumberland.* W. Lynskill, of Tynemouth Lodge, esq.

*Nottinghamshire.* Sir T. W. White, of Wallingwells, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* G. F. Stratton, of Great Tew Park, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* T. Hotchkin, of Telover, esq.

*Shropshire.* W. Botfield, of Maylin Lee, esq.

*Somersetshire.* Clifton Wheaton, of Corfe, esq.

*Staffordshire.* W. P. Inge, of Thorpe Constantine, esq.

*Southampton.* John Hanbury Beaufoy, of Upton Gray, esq.

*Suffolk.* M. W. Le Heup, of Bury St. Edmunds, esq.

*Surrey.* Kennard Smith, of Cheam, esq.

*Suffex.* W. Gorringe, of Kingston by the Sea, esq.

*Worcestershire.* Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, of Stamford Court, bart.

*Warwickshire.* George Lloyd, of Wellcombe, esq.

*Wiltshire.* John Paul Paul, of Ashton Keynes, esq.

*Yorkshire.* J. B. S. Morrit, of Rokesby Park, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

*Brecon.* Osborn Yeates, of Llan-gattock Court, esq.

*Carmarthen.* G. P. Watkins, of Broadway, esq.

*Cardigan.* Lewis Bailey Wallis, of Peterwell, esq.

*Glamorgan.* Anthony Bacon, of Cyfartha, esq.

*Pembroke.* Hugh Webb Bowen, of Camrofs, esq.

*Radnor.* Thomas Stevens, of Kinnerton, esq.

NORTH WALES.

*Anglesey.* Sir Hugh Owen, of Bodewen, bart.

*Caernarvon.* William Williams, of Llangwstennin, esq.

*Denbigh.* R. Jones, of Bellamplace, esq.

*Flint.* Thomas Thomas, of Downing, esq.

*Merioneth.* Hugh Jones, sen. of Dolgelly, esq.

*Montgomery.* William Owen, of Bryngwin, esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for the year 1806.

*Cornwall.* T. Graham, of Penquite, esq.

## APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

[*Extracts from the London Gazette.*]

*Capture of the Cape of Good Hope.*

*Downing-street, Feb. 28.*

THE dispatches contained in this Gazette are dated Cape Town, Jan. 12, and announce the capitulation of the town and garrison. The expedition sailed from San Salvador on the 26th of November, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January.—After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops any where nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha and Lospards Bays, of which event gen. sir D. Baird gives the following particulars:—

“ The surf along the shore of Lospards Bay having considerably abated the ensuing morning, I determined, with the concurrence of commodore sir Home Popham, to make an effort to get the troops on shore; and accordingly the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments effected that object, under the command of brig-gen. Ferguson.—The shore had been previously very closely inspected by the brigadier, and by his spirited exertions and example our efforts were crowned with success: although a

confined and intricate channel to the shore, which had been accurately pointed out by beacons laid down by the diligence and activity of the boats of the Diadem, and a tremendous surf, opposed the passage of the troops. The enemy had scattered a party of sharpshooters over the contiguous heights, and commanded the landing; but the casualties of this service arose principally from natural difficulties, and it is with the deepest concern I have the honour to inform your lordship that we lost 35 rank and file of the 93d regiment by the oversetting of one of the boats, notwithstanding every possible effort to rescue these unfortunate men. The remainder of the troops could only be brought on shore on the succeeding day, when the extraordinary obstacles to all intercourse with the fleet, which nothing but the courage and perseverance of British seamen could surmount, barely enabled us to obtain the indispensable supplies of water and provisions for immediate subsistence.—On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, about 4000 strong, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved off towards the road which leads to  
Cape

Cape Town; and, having ascended the summit of the Blawberg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, I discovered their main body, drawn up in two lines, prepared to receive us, and even in motion to anticipate our approach.—The enemy's force apparently consisted of about 5000 men, the greater proportion of which was cavalry, and 23 pieces of cannon, yoked to horses, the disposition of which, and the nature of the ground occupied by the enemy's troops, made it evident that they intended to refuse their right wing, and with their left attempt to turn our right flank; but, to frustrate their design, I formed the army into two columns, the second brigade under brig.-gen. Ferguson keeping the road, whilst the first struck to the right, and took the defile of the mountains. Having accomplished my purpose, our line was formed with equal celerity and order; and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step, under a very heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musquetry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader brig.-gen. Ferguson; and the number of the enemy who swarmed the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. The enemy received our fire, and maintained his position obstinately; but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat. The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded, in the absence of brig.-

gen. Beresford, by lieut.-col. Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by their situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights on our right flank. This brilliant achievement, however, was clouded by the loss of capt. Foster, of the grenadiers, whose gallantry is best recorded in the bosoms of his brother-soldiers, and the universal regret of the army. It is utterly impossible to convey to your lordship an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance, and retarded the success, of our army; but it is my duty to inform your lordship, that the nature of the country—a deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, and scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry; and above all, the total privation of water under the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted our gallant fellows in the moment of victory, and with the utmost difficulty were we able to reach the Reit Valley, where we took our position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries with which we started, had been lost during the action, and we occupied our ground under an apprehension that even the great exertions of sir Home Popham and the navy, could not relieve us from starvation."

After some warm and well-merited compliments to the seamen for their zealous co-operation, the general thus continues:—

“The loss of the enemy in this engagement is reputed to exceed

700 men in killed and wounded; and it is with the most sensible gratification that I contrast it with the enclosed return of our casualties. Your lordship will perceive the name of lieut.-col. Grant among the wounded; but the heroic spirit of this officer was not subdued by his misfortune, and he continued to lead his men to glory, as long as an enemy was opposed to his majesty's 72d regiment. I have the cordial satisfaction to add, that his wound, though very severe, is not pronounced dangerous; and I indulge the hope and expectation of his early recovery and resumption of command.—On the morning of the 9th, recruited by such supplies as the unwearied diligence and efforts of the navy could throw on shore, the 59th regiment, however, being almost completely destitute of food, we prosecuted our march towards Cape Town, and took up a position south of Salt River, which we trusted might preserve a free communication with the squadron; for our battering train, as well as every other necessary, except water, was to pass to us from his majesty's ships. In this situation a flag of truce was sent to me by the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town (the governor-general Jansens having retired after the action of the 8th into the country, moving by Hottentots Holland Kloof), requesting a suspension of hostilities for 48 hours, in order to negotiate a capitulation. In answer to this overture, I dispatched brig-gen. Ferguson, accompanied by lieut-col. Brownrigg, to stipulate, as the condition of my acquiescence, the surrender of the outer works of the town within six hours, al-

lowing 36 hours for arranging the articles of capitulation. My proposition being assented to, the 59th regiment marched into Fort Knokke, and the next day, in conjunction with sir Home Popham, the terms were agreed upon, and his majesty's forces were put in possession of the several defences of the town. Of the modified capitulation, as ratified by us, I have the honour to inclose a copy. The cordial, able, and zealous co-operation of commodore sir Home Popham, emulated by all the officers under his command, merits my warmest acknowledgments and commendations; and I have the satisfaction to add, that no united service was ever performed with more true harmony than has uniformly been manifested by both branches of his majesty's forces. Such of his majesty's ships as could be spared from the service of Loopard's Bay, constantly coasted the enemy's shore, throwing shot among his troops and people, and contributing to keep him ignorant of the actual place of our disembarkation, and a very spirited effort was made by the marines of the fleet, and a party of seamen from the Diadem, under the commodore's immediate command, to occupy a position in Reit Valley, and co-operate with the army."

[The remainder of the general's letter consists of praises of the company's recruits, headed by lieut-col. Wellet, of the Bengal establishment, and regret for the absence of brig-gen. Beresford, the 20th dragoons, the 38th regiment, and of maj. Tucker, who was absent from illness. Much praise is bestowed on lieut-col. Brownrigg, and the different officers commanding corps.]

Total



*Total killed, wounded, and missing, in landing at Lospard's Bay, Jan. 6.*

—Highland brigade, 71st regiment, 1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.—N. B. 1 drummer, and 35 rank and file, of the 93d, drowned in landing.—Officers wounded: brev-maj. Weir, brig.-major, slightly; lieut.-col. Pack, of the 71st, slightly.

W. H. TROTTER,

Acting deputy-adjutant-general.

*Total killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of Jan. 8, at Blarwberg.*

—1 captain, 14 rank and file, killed; 3 field-officers, 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 3 drummers, 170 rank and file wounded; 8 rank and file missing.—Officer killed, 24th regiment, captain Andrew Foster.—Officers wounded, 59th regiment, Alexander M'Pherson, badly. 71st. brevet lieut.-col. Campbell. 72d, lieut.-col. Grant; lieut. Chisholm. 93d, brev.-lieut.-col. Honeyman. 78th, lieuts. Scoble and Strachan, attached to 93d regiment. 86th, ensigns Heddrick and Craig.

W. H. TROTTER,

Acting deputy-adjutant-general.

The articles of capitulation state, that the garrison of Cape Town shall become prisoners of war; such officers as are married to natives, or are domiciliated, being allowed to remain in the town on their parole. The French subjects belonging to two stranded ships, are included in the surrender. The inhabitants of the town who have borne arms, to be allowed to return to their former occupations.—Articles 6 to 13, contain the following regulations:—All *bona fide* property shall remain free and un-

touched. Public property of every description shall be faithfully delivered up, and proper inventories given as soon as possible. The burghers and inhabitants shall preserve all their rights and privileges. Public worship, as at present in use, shall be maintained without alteration.—The paper money in circulation shall continue current, until the pleasure of his Britannic majesty is known.—The lands and houses, the property of the Batavian republic, which must be delivered up, shall remain as security for that part of the paper money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals.—Prisoners of war comprehended in the present capitulation, shall not be pressed into his Britannic majesty's service. The inhabitants of Cape Town shall be exempted from having troops quartered on them. Two ships having been sunk in Table Bay, to the great detriment of the roadstead, either after the Batavian republic had sent out a flag of truce, or whilst it was in contemplation so to do, they are to be raised, and delivered over in an entire state of repair. This having been done without the sanction of the commandant, the raising of the said ships shall be incumbent on those who sunk them.

*General Return of Ordnance in the several Batteries of Cape Town, and its Dependencies, Jan. 12, 1806.*

—Total, 113 brass, and 343 iron pieces of ordnance—456.

W. SPICER.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Sir D. Baird, dated Cape Town, Jan. 13.*

General Janffens has retired to  
\* P 4 Hottentots

Hottentots Holland Kloof, and advices this instant received state him to have sent his forces over the Kloof, estimating them at 1200 men, with 28 pieces of artillery, and 200 waggons. He has discharged the farmers from the service, and dismissed 50 waggons, which are said to be coming towards the town, and consequently will be soon in my possession. This account of his force is probably exaggerated, and particularly with regard to his artillery.—The general himself is still on this side the Kloof, but his intentions seem matter of conjecture, and probably he meditates a movement towards Zwart Kopt's River.—His resources, with respect to subsistence, are of a kind not very susceptible of interruption, from the disposition of the farmers, or the means I can immediately oppose to him, unless he should experience a deficiency of ammunition by our possession of some of his *depôts*. The farmers are by no means likely to assist him heartily for any length of time, for the devastation of their property must be the inevitable consequence of a prosecution of the contest in the interior. To augment, or even preserve his actual, and, I trust, but temporary superiority in that particular, it will be necessary for general Janssens to move, in a northerly direction, into the district of Stellesbosch; but as the measure is of a most desperate tendency, and requires that his heart should be steeled against those sensations which are said to govern his actions, I indulge a sanguine expectation that consequences so dreadful may be averted. With this view, and from the posture of our relative affairs, I have deemed it both honour-

able and expedient for his majesty's government, to make an overture to general Janssens, a copy of which is inclosed, deprecating the destructive result of his farther opposition to his majesty's arms, and treating him with the generosity and distinction due to his character. But in order to give weight to the anxious desire I entertain, of inviting general Janssens to a pacification, I have at an early hour this day, detached brigadier-general Beresford, with the 59th and 72d regiments, two howitzers, and four six-pounders, to possess himself of the village of Stellesbosch, and thence to forward my letter to the general, accompanied by such additional arguments as the brigadier may consider expedient to submit to him, and with full powers to conclude whatever treaty existing circumstances might exact.

Cape Town, Jan. 11.

Sir,

You have discharged your duty to your country as became a brave man at the head of a gallant though feeble army. I know how to respect the high qualities of such a man; and do not doubt that the humanity which ever characterises an intrepid soldier, will now operate in your breast, to check the fatal consequences of a fruitless contest. The naval and military forces of his Britannic majesty, which have possessed themselves of the seat of your recent government, are of a magnitude to leave no question respecting the issue of farther hostilities; and, therefore, a temporary and disastrous resistance, is all you can possibly oppose to superior numbers. Under these circumstances, nothing can result,

but

but the devastation of the country you casually occupy; and such a consequence can never be contemplated without anguish by a generous mind; or be gratifying to the man who feels for the prosperity and tranquillity of the colony, lately subject to his administration. But if, unhappily, your resolution is formed to oppose an enemy of such superior force, by protracting a contest which must entail misery and ruin on the industrious and peaceably disposed settlers of this colony, I shall be exonerated from the reproach of my own conscience by this frank overture; and you must justify to yourself, and to your countrymen, the farther effusion of blood, and the desolation of the country.—You are necessarily so well acquainted with the extent of the calamities in which the interior of the country may be involved, that I shall not enlarge upon your power of causing mischief to be done to all its inhabitants; but, I persuade myself that considerations of a more laudable nature will influence your decision on this occasion; and that you will manifest an immediate disposition to promote a general tranquillity.—I have the honour to subscribe, with sentiments of the highest respect and consideration,

Sir, your's, &c.

D. BAIRD.

Maj.-gen. commander in chief,  
To lieut.-gen. Janssens, &c.

A letter from sir H. Popham to W. Marsden, esq. gives a detail of the expedition, to the same effect as that in the dispatch of sir D. Baird.—It appears, that every exertion was made by the naval forces to facilitate, with safety, the landing of

the troops; and that the cause of the upsetting of one of the boats was their anxiety to be first ashore.—Sir Home, after paying the highest compliments to captains Rowley, Byng, Butterfield, and the whole of the officers and men under his command, regrets that no brilliant service fell to the lot of the squadron, which maintained with unabated zeal the most laborious duty that could be experienced.

*A Dispatch received from Major-General Sir D. Baird, at the Cape of Good Hope, dated Jan. 26, containing the Capitulation of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.*

I had the honour to address your lordship on the 19th inst. relative to the situation of affairs in this colony; and I now proceed to submit to your lordship the subsequent operations against the Batavian forces, commanded by lieut.-gen. Janssens, and which have terminated in the subjection of the whole colony.—According to my orders, brig.-gen. Beresford advanced with a detachment of the army on the 13th inst. to occupy the village of Stellebosch, and secure the strong pass of Roode Sand, with a view to exclude the Batavian forces from that productive portion of the district, and to preserve to ourselves an undisturbed intercourse with the farmers below the Kloof. Lieut.-gen. Janssens made no efforts to dispute these objects, but contented himself with moving his forces to the summit of Hottentot Holland's Kloof, and there took post, waiting, apparently, to receive some overtures of pacification. Brig.-gen. Beresford

Beresford availed himself of this aspect of affairs to transmit to lieutenant-general Janssens a letter from me, and took that occasion of announcing that he was vested with powers to come to an accommodation with the lieutenant-general. This proposition produced a truce for the purpose of carrying on a negotiation; but it were superfluous to occupy your lordship's time by detailing the various pretensions and arguments urged by lieutenant-general Janssens in objection to the terms I offered to his army; but the result thereof afforded so little prospect of accommodation, that I deemed it proper to move the 59th and 72d regiments to the Rode Sand Kloof, and the 93d regiment towards Hottentot Holland, with a view to a combined operation with the 83d regiment, which had failed on the 14th inst. for Mosell Bay, in order to throw itself into the enemy's rear, possess the Attiquos pass, and, from that position, cut off his retreat through the district of Zwellendam.—Brig-general Beresford had acquiesced in the prolongation of the truce with general Janssens for a few hours, in the hope that further deliberation might dispose him to listen to the very honourable and advantageous terms I had offered him; and at the moment when every expectation of his renewing the negotiation had ceased, his military secretary, capt. Debittz, waited upon me, and presented a modified draught of the terms originally proposed by me. On my declining to vary the conditions, capt. Debittz solicited permission to refer my ultimatum to general Janssens; and was at length authorized to notify his acceptance of them.—In conse-

quence of this notification, I dispatched brig-general Beresford with directions to execute a treaty on the conditions first offered to general Janssens.

*The Capitulation agreed to is as follows.*

Articles of capitulation proposed by lieutenant-general Janssens, governor and commander in chief of the Batavian forces at the Cape of Good Hope, to brigadier-general Beresford, duly authorized by major-general sir David Baird, K. G. and commodore sir Home Popham, K. M. commanding the military and naval forces of his Britannic majesty.

Art. I. As soon as this capitulation is signed, the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, will be considered as surrendered by the governor, lieutenant-general Janssens, to his Britannic majesty.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. II. The Batavian troops are to march with all their baggage, arms, &c. to a place hereafter to be agreed upon, and retain every thing, as well what belongs to the state as to individuals, and be at liberty either freely to dispose of the same, or, if they prefer, take every thing away with them.—Ans. The Batavian troops shall march from their present camp within three days, or sooner if convenient, with their guns, arms, and baggage, and with all the honours of war, to Simon's Town. They shall retain all private

vate property, and the officers their swords and horses.

But their arms, treasure, and all public property of every description, together with the cavalry and artillery horses, must be delivered up. In consideration, however, of their gallant conduct, the troops will be embarked and sent straight to Holland at the expence of the British government, and shall not be considered as prisoners of war, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, until they have been landed in Holland.

Art. III. The battalion of Hottentot light infantry shall, with the rest of the troops, march to the place to be agreed upon, and there, being disbanded by general Janssens, shall be at liberty to return to their own country.—Ans. The Hottentot soldiers are to march to Simon's Town with the other troops, after which they will be either allowed to return to their own country, or be engaged in the British service, as they may think proper.

Art. IV. Under this capitulation shall be comprehended all military men, who, being wounded, have not been able to follow the army, and have fallen into the hands of the British.—Ans. These persons being already prisoners of war, any decision respecting them belongs only to the British commander in chief.

Art. V. The officers and men belonging to the Batavian army are to be subsisted at the expence of the British government until they are embarked.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. VI. The troops shall be transported to such ports of the

Batavian republic as shall be selected by lieut-gen. Janssens.—Ans. The troops, as in answer to the second article, shall be sent to some port in Holland.

Art. VII. The sick who cannot be removed with the other soldiers are to be attended at the expence of his Britannic majesty, and when recovered sent to Holland.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of the colony who are comprehended in this capitulation, are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as have been granted to those in Cape Town, according to the capitulation of the 10th instant.—Ans. Agreed to, with the exception of not quartering troops, the country not having the same resources as the town, and this right having been always an appendage to the Batavian government.

Art. IX. The troops whilst on board ship are to be accommodated and fed according either to the Dutch or English method, as is most beneficial to them.—Ans. The troops, when embarked, will be treated in every respect as British troops when on board transports.

Art. X. Lieut-gen. Janssens shall be at liberty to send home a dispatch to Holland, and will receive assistance from the British commanders in forwarding the same.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. XI. The baron of Hogen-dorp having expended a great deal of money for the execution of agricultural plans, he shall be supported by the British government in carrying his plan into execution; and the British government shall grant unto him all such rights and privileges as, from the public records,

it shall appear the Batavian government meant to have given him.—Ans. This article must be left entirely to the discretion of the future British governor or commander.

Art. XII. If in this capitulation any thing doubtful may occur, it shall be bona fide construed to the benefit of the Batavian government.—Ans. If any doubt should arise as to any article contained in this capitulation, it shall be decided according to what shall appear to be just and honourable, without any preference to either party.

Given under our hands and seals, this 18th day of January, 1806, at the Hottentots Holland,

(Signed) J. W. JANSSENS,  
W. C. BERESFORD,  
Brig. gen.

Executed in the presence of  
(Signed) J. A. TRUTER,  
J. C. SMITH.

Ratified and confirmed in the Castle of Good Hope, this 19th day of January, 1806.

(Signed) DAVID BAIRD,  
Major-gen. commander in chief.  
HOME POPHAM,  
Commodore, commanding his majesty's naval forces.

*Letters from Admiral Adam Dacres, Commander in Chief at Jamaica, introduce the following,*

*Franchise, at anchor, off Campeachy, January 7.*

Sir,

Having received information from a neutral, that several Spanish vessels had very lately arrived in the Bay of Campeachy, and conceiving it practicable, from the

local knowledge I had of that place, that they might be cut out without running much risk; I have presumed, in consequence, to extend the limits of the orders with which you honoured me, and proceeded to this anchorage; and, although I am well aware of the great responsibility, yet, as it was undertaken solely with a view of forwarding the king's service, by distressing his enemies, so I have the vanity to hope it will be sanctioned with your high approbation. I have, therefore, the honour to report, that I last evening anchored the Franchise in quarter-less-four fathoms, a-breast the town of Campeachy; and as it was impossible, from the shallowness of the water, to approach nearer to the shore than five leagues, I dispatched the senior officer, lieut. John Fleming, accompanied by lieut. P. G. Douglas, the third lieut. Mends, of the marines, and Messrs. Daly, Lamb, Chalmers, and Hamilton, midshipmen, in three boats, with orders to scour the Bay, and bring off such of the enemy's vessels as they might fall in with. But, from the distance they had to row, joined to the darkness of the night, and the uncertainty of their position, it was four o'clock in the morning before they could possibly arrive, long after the rising of the moon, which unfortunately gave the enemy warning of their approach, and ample time for preparation, even to the tricing up of their boarding nettings, and projecting sweeps, to prevent the boats from coming along-side; and although the alarm was thus given from one end of the Bay to the other, and instantly communicated to the castle on shore, yet nothing could damp the ardour and gallantry

try of the officers and crew, who had volunteered on this (as it ultimately proved) hazardous service; for that instant, two of his catholic majesty's brigs, one of 20 guns, and 180 men, the other of 12 guns and 90 men, accompanied by an armed schooner of eight, and supported by seven gun-boats, of two guns each, slipped their cables, and commenced a most severe and heavy cannonading on the three boats, which must soon have annihilated them, had not lieut. Fleming, with great presence of mind, and unchecked ardour, most boldly dashed on, and instantly laid the nearest brig on-board. He was so quickly supported by his friend lieut. Douglas in the barge, and Mr. Lamb in the pinnace, that they carried her in ten minutes, notwithstanding the very powerful resistance they met with. The whole of this little flotilla pursued them for some distance, keeping up a constant firing of guns and musquetry, which was so smartly returned both by the brig and boats, that they soon retired to their former position, leaving lieut. Fleming in quiet possession of his prize, which proved to be the Spanish monarch's brig *Raposa*, pierced for 16, but only 12 guns mounted, exclusive of cohorns, swivels, and numerous small arms, with a complement of 90 men, but only 75 actually on board; the captain, Don Joaquin de la Cheva, with the senior lieutenant, the civil officers, and a boat's crew, being absent on shore. She appears almost a new vessel, coppered, sails well, and, in my humble judgment, is admirably calculated for his majesty's service. It is with the most heart-felt satisfaction I have to announce, that this service

was performed without the loss of a single man, and only seven slightly wounded. But I lament to say, that that pleasure is in a great measure damped by the great effusion of blood on the part of the enemy, they having had an officer and four men killed, many jumped overboard and drowned, and the commanding officer and 25 wounded, many of whom, I am sorry to add, are, in the surgeon's opinion, mortally. I have, therefore, from motives of humanity, sent the whole of them on shore, with a flag of truce, where the brave but unfortunate wounded can be better taken care of, which, I trust, you will approve. Lieut. Fleming speaks in the highest terms of approbation of the prompt and gallant support he met with from lieuts. Douglas and Mends, as well as the other officers and crew under his orders. Indeed there was not a man on board but was anxious to be of the party; and I am sorry I could not indulge lieut. T. J. Peschell, the second; but his presence was absolutely necessary on board. To an officer of your discriminating judgment, I trust I shall stand excused if I take the liberty of recommending lieut. Fleming to your notice, for his meritorious conduct on this occasion. He appears to me to be an officer of distinguished merit and bravery, and I understood he was highly respected by his late captain, the good, the amiable, and my gallant predecessor, the hon. John Murray.

C. DASHWOOD.

*To Admiral Dacres, &c.*

*Magicienne, Mona Passage, Feb. 4.*

Sir,

On the 25th ult. his majesty's ship

ship under my command captured, after a chase of 12 hours, El Carmen Spanish packet, commanded by an officer of the same rank as a commander in the British navy; she is pierced for 14 guns; but had only two mounted, and 18 men; the Penguin sloop was in company.

ADAM MACKENZIE.

*Adm. Dacres.*

*Admiralty-office, March 24.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, from vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. commanding a squadron of his majesty's ships, addressed to William Marsden, esq. and brought to England by captain Nathaniel Day Cochrane, were yesterday received at the Admiralty:—

*Superb, to leeward of the town of St. Domingue, about twelve leagues, Feb. 7, 1806.*

Sir,

As I feel it highly momentous for his majesty's service, that the lords commissioners of the admiralty should have the earliest information of the movements of the squadron under my command, and as I have no other vessel than the Kingfisher that I feel justified in dispatching, I hope neither their lordships or vice-admiral lord Collingwood will deem me defective in my duty towards his lordship by addressing you on the happy event of yesterday; and as you will receive my letter of the 3d inst. herewith, I shall only say, I lost not a moment in getting through the Mona Passage, and on the 5th in the afternoon was joined by the Magicienne, with a further corro-

boration from various vessels spoken, of an enemy's force of ten sail of the line, with as many frigates and corvettes, being in these seas; I therefore continued under easy sail for the night, in my approach off the town of St. Domingue, having given orders to capt. Dunn, of the Acasta, whose zeal and activity I have experienced for a series of years, to make sail with the Magicienne, capt. M'Kenzie, two hours before day-light, to reconnoitre; when at six o'clock the Acasta, to our great joy, made the signal for two of the enemy's frigates; and before seven, for nine sail at anchor: at half past, that they were getting under weigh. The squadron under my command then in close order, with sails set, and the Superb bearing my flag, leading, and approaching fast, so as to discover, before eight o'clock, that the enemy were in a compact line, under all sail, going before the wind for Cape Nilot, to windward of Ocoa Bay; and as they consisted of only five sail of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, (which hereafter will be named), I concluded, from the information I was in possession of, that they were endeavouring to form a junction with their remaining force, and in consequence shaped my course to render abortive such intention, which was completely effected by a little after nine, so as to make an action certain. I therefore telegraphed the squadron, that the principal object of attack would be the admiral and his seconds, and at three quarters past nine, for the ships to take stations for their mutual support, and engage the enemy as they got up, and a few minutes after, to engage as

close



close as possible; when, at a short period after ten, the *Superb* closed upon the bow of the *Alexander*, the leading ship, and commenced the action; but after three broadsides she sheered off: the signal was now made for close action, and we were enabled to attack the admiral in the *Imperial* (formerly *Le Vengeur*), the fire of which had been heavy on the *Northumberland*, bearing the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane's flag. By this time, the movements of the *Alexander* had thrown her among the lee division, which rear-admiral Louis happily availed himself of, and the action became general, and continued with great severity till half-past eleven; when the French admiral, much shattered, and completely beat, hauled direct for the land, and not being a mile off, at twenty minutes before noon ran on shore, his foremast then only standing, which fell directly on her striking: at which time the *Superb*, being only in seventeen fathom water, was forced to haul off to avoid the same evil; but not long after the *Diomede*, of 84 guns, pushed on shore near his admiral, when all his masts went; and I think it a duty I owe to character and my country to add, from the information of sir Edward Berry, after she had struck, and the *Agamemnon* desisting from firing into her, from the captain taking off his hat, and making every token of surrender; and captain Dunn assures me, both ensign and pendant were down, to comment on which, I leave to the world. About fifty minutes after eleven the firing ceased, and upon the smoke clearing away, I found *Le Brave*, bearing a com-

modore's pendant, the *Alexander* and *Le Jupiter*, in our possession.

When I contemplate on the result of this action, where five sail of the line had surrendered, or were apparently destroyed, in less than two hours, I cannot, though bound to pay every tribute to the noble and gallant efforts of the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, rear-admiral Louis, the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines under my command, be vain enough to suppose, that without the aiding hand of Providence, such result would have been effected, and with a loss so comparatively small; and though I shall ever sympathise with the connections of those that fell, the reflection on the cause will, I hope, afford much consolation.

To speak individually to the conduct of any one, would be injurious to all; for all were equally animated with zealous ardour in support of their king and country. Yet, possessed of these feelings, I cannot be silent without injustice to the firm and manly support for which I was indebted to captain Keats, and the effect that the system of discipline and good order, in which I found the *Superb*, must ever produce; and the pre-eminence of the British seamen could never be more highly conspicuous than in this contest.

After the action, the water being too deep to anchor in the Bay of St. Domingue, it was requisite to bring-to with the prizes to repair damages, put the ships in a manageable state, and shift the prisoners, which took me till this afternoon, when I detached the hon. captain Stopford, in the *Spencer*, with the *Donegal* and *Atlas*, which latter

latter had lost her bowsprit, with the prizes to Jamaica; and being anxious, with rear-admiral Cochran, that he should return to his command, where his services must be wanted, a jury mainmast is fitting to the Northumberland, under this island, to enable her to get to windward, when I shall order the Agamemnon, which is staying by her, to accompany the rear-admiral to his station: and I am now proceeding with the Canopus, rear-admiral Louis, Acasta, and Magicienne, off St. Domingue, to make certain of the Imperial and Diomedé being completely wrecked, after which I shall repair to Jamaica.

Having recited the transactions of this glorious combat, which will fairly add another sprig of laurel to our naval history, and assist in promoting our country's good,

I am, sir, &c,

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*Superb, off St. Domingue,  
Feb. 7, 1806.*

Sir,

For the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I send you herewith a list of the killed and wounded in the squadron under my command during the action of yesterday; but as it was hastily collected, should I find any errors they shall be amended by a subsequent opportunity. You will also have the French captain's statement of their loss in the captured ships; and I can venture to say, the French admiral's will not be in a less proportion; and the striking of the Diomedé implies she did not escape the irresistible fire of his majesty's ships. A copy of my public thanks given to the ad-

mirals, captains, &c. for having so gallantly performed their duty in this truly decisive action, I request you will lay before their lordships.

I am, sir, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*To W. Marsden, esq.*

#### BRITISH LINE.

##### WEATHER DIVISION.

Superb, - - -	of 74 guns.
Northumberland, -	74
Spencer, - - -	74
Agamemnon, - -	64

##### LEE DIVISION.

Canopus, . - -	of 84 guns.
Donegal, - - -	74
Atlas, - - - -	74

Frigates—Acasta, Magicienne, Kingfisher, and Epervier.

#### FRENCH LINE.

L'Alexandre, of 84 guns; 300 killed and wounded—taken.

L'Imperial, of 120 guns; number of killed and wounded not known, but certainly many—on shore, and completely wrecked.

Le Diomedé, of 84 guns; number of killed and wounded not known, but certainly many—on shore, and completely wrecked.

Le Jupiter, of 74 guns; 200 killed and wounded—taken.

Le Brave, of 74 guns; 260 killed and wounded—taken.

Frigates.—La Felicité, escaped; La Comete, escaped.

Corvette.—La Diligence, escaped.

Imperial,	{	contre adm. Le Siegle.
	{	capitaine Le Pigot.
Alexandre,		capitaine Garreau.
Brave,	—————	Conde.

Diomedé,

Diomede, capitaine Henry.  
 Jupiter, ——— Laignel.  
 British.—Killed, 64—Wounded,  
 294—Total, 358.

*Admiralty-office, April 15.*

*Letter from sir J. T. Duckworth  
 to W. Marsden, esq. dated Superb,  
 Port Royal, Feb. 16.*

Sir,

Captain Henry, of the French ship Diomede, which ran on shore, and I afterwards ordered to be burnt, being, with his officers, among the prisoners rescued, the afternoon of the 9th, before that event took place, he approached to offer captain Keats his sword, which he, from the report which had been made to me by sir Edward Berry, and, except in the act of hailing, confirmed by capt. Dun, that the ship had struck before she run on shore, disdainfully refused. This of course made explanation necessary on my side; and I acquainted capt. Henry, that I had marked his dishonourable conduct in my public letter; when feeling, as he appeared to do, like a man of honour, and referring to his officers and ship's company, they gave the strongest testimony that the pendant was always flying, though the ensign was shot away; and this, from strict investigation since my arrival here, appears to be the case; and as sir E. Berry is not present to refer to, and the commodore in the Braave allows he hailed the Agamemnon, and what has been recited passed between them, I have no doubt that the Diomede has been mistaken for the Braave, by her ensign being down. I therefore, sir, feeling that character is much more valuable than life, am

to beg the heavy charge on capt. Henry may be done away in such a manner as in their lordships' judgment may appear most proper.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*Letter from Lord Cochrane, dated  
 Pallas, off Chasseron, April 8.*

Sir,

Having received information, which proved correct, of the situation of the corvettes in the river of Bourdeaux, a little after dark on the evening of the 5th, the Pallas was anchored close to the shoal of Cordovan, and it gives me satisfaction to relate, that, about three o'clock, the national corvette La Tapageuse, of 14 long 12-pounders, and 95 men, which had the guard, was boarded, carried, and cut out, about 20 miles above the shoals, within two heavy batteries, in spite of all resistance, by the first lieutenant, Mr. Haswell, Mr. Sutherland, the master, Messrs. Perkins, Crawford and Thompson, together with the quarter-masters, and such of the seamen, the serjeants, and marines, as were fortunate enough to find place in the boats. The tide of flood ran strong at day-light. La Tapageuse made sail; a general alarm was given; a sloop of war followed, and an action continued, often within hail, till, by the same bravery by which the Tapageuse was carried, the sloop of war, which had been before saved by the rapidity of the current alone, after about an hour's firing, was compelled to sheer off, having suffered as much in the hull as the Tapageuse in the rigging. The conduct of the officers and men will be justly appreciated. With confidence I

shall now beg leave to recommend them to the notice of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. It is necessary to add, that the same morning when at anchor, waiting for the boats (which, by the bye, did not return till this morning), three ships were observed, bearing down towards the Palas, making many signals; they were soon perceived to be enemies. In a few minutes the anchor was weighed, and, with the remainder of the officers and crew, we chased, drove on shore, and wrecked, one national 24 gun ship, one of 22 guns, and *La Malicieuse*, a beautiful corvette of 18 guns; their masts went by the board, and they were involved in a sheet of spray. All in this ship shewed good zeal for his majesty's service. The warrant-officers, and Mr. Tattual, midshipman, supplied the place of those commissioned. The absence of lieut. Mappleton is to be regretted; he would have gloried in the expedition with the boats. The assistance rendered by Mr. Drummond, of the royal marines, was such as might have been expected. Subjoined is a list of the wounded, together with the vessels captured and destroyed since the 26th ultimo.

COCHRANE.

*Adm. Thornborough.*

*Killed.*—None. *Wounded.*—Three.

*Vessels taken or destroyed.*—*Le Deffaix*, chassé-maree, taken; *L'Isle D'Aix*, ditto, taken; *La Pomone*, brig, taken; a large brig, burnt; a chassé-maree, wrecked.

*National ships.*—*La Tapageuse*, of 14 guns and 95 men, taken; *La Malicieuse*, of 18 guns, wrecked; imperial ship, of 24 guns, wrecked; imperial ship, of 22 guns, wrecked.

*Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, commander in chief in the Mediterranean, to W. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Ocean, off Cadiz, May 29.*

Sir,

I inclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter which I have this day received from capt. Prowse, detailing the proceedings of his majesty's ship the *Sirius*, in an encounter he had with a very formidable flotilla of the enemy off the Tiber, in which the commander of it was captured. The exertion and zeal of capt. Prowse has on every occasion been distinguished, and highly honourable to himself; on this he has performed an important service, in disabling so formidable a flotilla of the enemy. I also inclose a list of the enemy's vessels, and of the killed and wounded on board the *Sirius*.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

*His majesty's ship Sirius,  
Malta, April 29.*

My lord,

Being six or seven leagues to the eastward of Civita Vecchia on the 17th instant, at two P. M. I gained intelligence that a French force was to have sailed that morning from thence, and were to proceed to Naples. I crowded a press of sail in the same direction; and at a quarter past four they were seen from the mast-head near shore. On closing with them just after sunset, I had the satisfaction of seeing one ship, three brigs (corvettes), and five heavy gun-vessels, (a list of which is annexed), formed in a compact

compact order of battle, within two leagues of the mouth of the Tiber, and near a dangerous shoal, lying-to, with a resolution to await our attack. At seven, within pistol-shot, commenced firing with vigour on both sides, and continued closely engaged with the squadron for two hours, when the commodore, in the ship, hailed "he had surrendered." His gallant and determined resistance, together with the dangers of the shore, and the crippled condition of his majesty's ship (the smoothness of the water admitting the enemy to use their guns with the greatest effect), prevented me from pursuing the remainder of the flotilla, although several were much disabled, and compelled, a short time before the ship struck, to cease firing, and make off. Had it been day-light, I have no doubt, from the firm and gallant conduct evinced by the officers and ship's company, that we should have succeeded in capturing more of the enemy's vessels. I have deeply to lament the loss of my nephew, the only officer, and eight seamen and marines killed in the above contest; and three officers and seventeen seamen and marines wounded, nine of whom are in a very dangerous state. The ship captured is called La Bergere, mounts eighteen long 12-pounders, manned with 189 men, and was commanded by Chaney Duolvis, capitaine de frégate, and commodore of the flotilla, and belonging to the Legion of Honour. She is a remarkably fine vessel, sails well, and is fit for his majesty's service.

I beg particularly to recommend to your lordship's notice lieutenant William Hepenstall, who was the

senior lieutenant in the actions of the 22d of July and 21st of October, and who has been in the ship nearly five years, as an officer deserving promotion. The gallantry and good conduct of the other officers and ship's company likewise deserves my warmest acknowledgments.

I inclose lists of the killed and wounded; and have the honour to be, &c.

W. PROWSE.

*The right hon. lord Collingwood, commander in chief.*

*List of the enemy's force opposed against his majesty's ship Sirius.*

Ship La Bergere, of 18 twelve-pounders, 1 thirty-pounder carronade, and 189 men.

Brig L'Abeille, of 18 nine-pounders, 2 thirty-six-pounder carronades, and 160 men.

Brig La Legere, of 12 nine-pounders.

Brig Le Janus, of 12 nine-pounders.

Bombard La Victoire, of 12 eighteen-pounder carronades, and 2 sixty-eight-pounder carronades.

Cutter La Gauloise, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Jalouse, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six-pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Gentille, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six-pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Provençale, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six-pounder carronade.

*List of killed on board the Sirius.*

Mr. William Adair, master's-mate; Richard Berry, able; George Wyatt,

Wyatt, quarter-gunner; Edward Mooney, ordinary; Neil M'Cormack, able; Joseph Bray, armourer; Edward Nott, private marine; John Reed, ditto; Charles Bom-mell, ditto.

*List of wounded on board the Sirius.*

Mr. James Brett, acting master, slightly; Mr. Meyricke Lloyd, midshipman, badly; Mr. John Robinson, master's mate, ditto; James Bartlett, carpenter's crew, ditto; Thomas Herbett, ordinary, ditto; William Thomas, landman, badly; John Horrell, ordinary, ditto; John Drennon, landman, ditto; Richard Johnson, able, slightly; Edward Clark, quarter-master, since dead; John Shea, able, slightly; John Cornish, able, ditto; John Dunn, purser's steward, ditto; William Phipps, ordinary, ditto; Charles Jackson, able, Thomas Burgefs, private marine, ditto; Peter Scott, private marine, slightly; Joel Franklin, private marine, badly; John M'Dermott, private marine, slightly; Thomas Chidlow, private marine, ditto.

W. PROWSE.

*Dispatch from Lord Cochrane, dated Pallas, St. Martin's-Road, Isle Ree, May 10.*

Sir,

The French trade having been kept in port of late, in a great measure by their knowledge of the exact situation of his majesty's cruizers, constantly announced at the signal-posts, it appeared to me to be some object, as there was nothing better in view, to endeavour to stop this practice. Accordingly, the two posts at La Pointe de la Roche were demolished; next that

of Caliola; then two in L'Ance de Repos, one of which lieut. Haswell and Mr. Hillier, the gunner, took in a neat style from upwards of 100 militia. The marines and boats crews behaved exceedingly well; all the flags have been brought off, and the houses built by government burnt to the ground.—Yesterday too, the zeal of lieut. Norton, of the Frisk cutter, and lieut. Gregory, of the Contest gun-brig, induced them to volunteer to flank the battery on Point d'Equillon, while we should attack it by land in the rear, but it was carried at once; and one of 50 men, who were stationed to three 36-pounders, was made prisoner, the rest escaped. The battery is laid in ruins, guns spiked, carriages burnt, barrack and magazine blown up, and all the shells thrown into the sea. The signal-post of L'Equillon, together with the house, shared the fate of the gun-carriages; the convoy got into a river beyond our reach.—Lieut. Mappleton, Mr. Sutherland, the master, and Mr. Hillier, were with me, who, as they do on all occasions, so they did at this time, whatever was in their power for his majesty's service.—The petty officers, seamen, and marines, failed not to justify the opinion that there was before reason to form; yet it would be inexcusable were not the names of the quarter-masters Barden and Casey particularly mentioned, as men highly deserving any favour that can be shewn in the line to which they aspire.

I am, &c.

COCHRANE.

Seamen slightly wounded, Wm. Barden, quarter-master; Wm. Coburn,

burn, seaman. Marine slightly wounded, Robert Boulden.

This letter is followed by another from lord Cochrane, dated off the Isle of Oleron, May 14, and giving an account of a very gallant action with a French frigate and three brigs, which the Pallas cut out from the harbour, though supported by the batteries ashore. The Pallas being reduced to a mere wreck, was obliged to abandon the contest, in consequence of three other French frigates arriving in sight. The French frigate which sustained the action, was beaten almost to pieces.—In this affair the Pallas had one marine, named Thompson, killed; and Mr. Andrews, midshipman, with four seamen, slightly wounded.

*Letter from Sir Sidney Smith, dated Pompee, at anchor off Scalia, May 24, containing an account of proceedings in Calabria.*

My Lord,

I arrived at Palermo in the Pompee on the 21st of last month, and took on me the command of the squadron your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. I found things in the state that may be well imagined, on the government being displaced from its capital, with the loss of one of the two kingdoms, and the dispersion of the army assembled in Calabria. The judicious arrangement made by capt. Sotheron of the ships under his orders, and the position of the British army under sir J. Stuart at Messina, had, however, prevented farther mischief.—I had the satisfaction of learning that Gaeta still held out, although as yet without succour, from a mistaken idea, much

too prevalent, that the progress of the French armies is irresistible. It was my first care to see that the necessary supplies should be safely conveyed to the governor. I had the inexpressible satisfaction of conveying the most essential articles to Gaeta, and of communicating to his serene highness the governor (on the Breach battery, which he never quits), the assurance of farther support to any extent within my power, for the maintenance of that important fortress, hitherto so long preserved by his intrepidity and example. Things wore a new aspect on the arrival of the ammunition; the redoubled fire of the enemy with red hot shot into the Mole (being answered with redoubled vigour) did not prevent the landing of every thing we had brought, together with four of the Excellent's lower deck guns, to answer this galling fire, which bore directly on the landing place. A second convoy, with the Intrepid, placed the garrison beyond the immediate want of any thing essential; and the enemy, from advancing his nearest approaches within 250 yards, was reduced to the defensive, in a degree dreading one of those sorties which the Prince of Hesse had already shewn him his garrison was equal to, and which was become a much safer operation, now that the flanking fire of eight Neapolitan gun-boats I had brought with me, in addition to four his highness had already used successfully, would cover it, even to the rear of the enemy's trenches. Arrangements were put in a train for this purpose; and, according to a wise suggestion of his serene highness, measures were taken for the embarkation of a small party from

the garrison, to land in the rear of the enemies batteries to the northward. I confided the execution of the naval part of this arrangement to capt. Richardson, of H. M. S. Juno, putting the Neapolitan frigate and gun-boats under his orders. His serene highness, possessing the experience of European warfare, and a most firm mind, having no occasion for further aid on the spot, I felt I could quit the garrison without apprehension for its safety in such hands, with the present means of defence, and that I could best co-operate with him by drawing some of the attacking force off for the defence of Naples. I accordingly proceeded thither with the line-of-battle ships named in the margin\*. The enemy's apprehension of attack occasioned them to convey some of the battering train from the trenches before Gaeta to Naples. The city was illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte proclaiming himself king of the two Sicilies! The junction of the Eagle made us five sail of the line, and it would have been easy for their fire to have interrupted this ceremony and shew of festivity: but I considered that the unfortunate inhabitants had evil enough on them; that the restoration of the capital to its lawful sovereign and fugitive inhabitants would be no gratification, if it should be found a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones; and that as I had no force to land and keep order, in case of the French army retiring to the fortresses, I should leave an opulent city a prey to the licentious part of the community, who would not fail to profit by the confusion the

flames would occasion: not a gun was fired. But no such consideration operated on my mind to prevent me dislodging the French garrison from the Island of Capri, which from its situation, protecting the coasting communication southward, was a great object for the enemy to keep, and by so much one for me to wrest from him. I accordingly summoned the French commandant to surrender: on his non-acquiescence, I directed capt. Rowly, in H. M. S. Eagle, to cover the landing of marines and boats' crews, and caused an attack to be made under his orders. That brave officer placed his ship judiciously; nor did he open his fire till she was secured, and his distance marked by the effect of musquetry on his quarter-deck, where the first lieutenant, J. Crawley, fell wounded, and a seaman was killed; although capt. Rowley regretted much the services of that meritorious officer in such a critical moment, he has since recovered. An hour's fire from both decks of the Eagle (between nine and ten o'clock), with that of two Neapolitan mortar-boats under an active officer, lieut. Rivers, drove the enemy from the vineyards within their walls; the marines were landed, and gallantly led by capt. Bunce; the seamen in like manner, under lieut. Morrell, of the Eagle; and lieut. Redding, of the Pompee, mounted the steps: for such was their road, headed by the officers, nearest to the narrow pass by which alone they could ascend.—Lieut. Carrol had thus an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Capt. Stannus, commanding the Athenienne's marines, gallantly

\* Pompee, Excellent, Athenienne, Intrepid.



pressing forward, gained the heights, and the French commandant fell by his hand; this event being known, the enemy beat a parley, a letter from the second in command, claimed the terms offered, but being dated on the 12th, after midnight, some difficulty occurred, my limitation as to time being precise; but on the assurance that the drum beat before twelve, the capitulation annexed was signed, and the garrison allowed to march out and pass over to Naples with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander with due respect. We thus became masters of this important post. The enemy not having been allowed time to bring two pieces of heavy cannon, with their ammunition, to Capri, the boat containing them, together with a boat loaded with timber for the construction of gun-boats at Castellamare, took refuge at Massa, on the main land opposite to the island, where the guard had hauled the whole upon the beach. I detached the two mortar-boats and a Gaeta privateer, under the orders of lieutenants Faliverne and Rivera, to bring them off, sending only Mr. Williams, midshipman of the Pompee, from the squadron, on purpose to let the Neapolitans have the credit of the action, which they fairly obtained; for, after dislodging the enemy from a strong tower, they not only brought off the boats and two 35-pounders, but the powder (20 barrels) from the magazine of the tower, before the enemy assembled in force. The projected forties took place on the 13th and 15th in the morning, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the part of the garrison and naval force employed.

The covering fire from the fleet was judiciously directed by captains Richardson and Vicuna, whose conduct on this whole service merits my warmest approbation. I inclose captain Richardson's two letters, as best detailing these affairs, and a list of the killed and wounded on the 12th.—On the 19th ult. the boats of the Pompee, under lieut. Beaucroft, brought out a merchant vessel from Scalvitra, near Salerno, although protected by a heavy fire of musquetry. That officer and Mr. Sterling distinguished themselves much. The enemy are endeavouring to establish a land carriage there to Naples. On the 23d, obtaining intelligence that the enemy had two 36-pounders in a small vessel on the beach at Scalia, I sent the Pompee's boats in for them; but the French troops were too well posted in the houses of the town for them to succeed without the cover of the ship. I accordingly stood in with the Pompee; sent a message to the inhabitants to withdraw; which being done, a few of the Pompee's lower-deck guns cleared the town and neighbouring hills, while the launch, commanded by lieut. Mouraylian, with lieut. Oats, of the marines, and Mr. Williams, drove the French, with their armed adherents, from the guns, and took possession of the castle, and of them. Finding, on my landing, that the town was tenable against any force the enemy could bring against me from the nearest garrison in a given time, I took post with the marines; and, under cover of their position, by the extreme exertions of lieut. Carrol, Mr. Ives, master, and the petty officers and boats' crews, the guns were conveyed to

the Pompee, with 22 barrels of powder.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

[The articles of capitulation for Capri, state that the troops are to march out with all the honours of war, and their arms to be conveyed to Pozzuoli.]

*Killed and wounded in taking Capri,  
May 12.*

Eagle, lieut. J. Crawley, first lieut. slightly wounded; 1 seaman and 1 marine killed; four seamen and six marines wounded.

[Then follows a letter from capt. Richardson, of the Juno, announcing the capture of a battery of 4 guns, on the point of Madona della Catterra, without any loss on our side.—His subsequent letter details the particulars of the sortie from Gaeta, in which the British and Neapolitans took the Serapo battery, spiked the guns, and made some prisoners, with upwards of 100 muskets. The boats had two men killed, and five wounded.]

The Gazette likewise contains a letter from capt. Fellowes, of the Apollo, stating the capture of a French brig of six 24-pounders, in the gulph of Tarento;—and another from capt. Brown, of the Morne Fortunée, to admiral Cochrane, mentioning the capture of the Hope French privateer, off Martinique.—Also a notification that the port of Venice is blockaded.

*Dispatch from the Camp on the Plain of Maida, July 6, with the Detail of the memorable Battle of Maida.*

Sir,

It is with the most heartfelt sa-

tisfaction that I have the honour of reporting to you, for the information of his majesty, the particulars of an action, in which the French army quartered in this province have sustained a signal defeat by the troops under my command.—General Regnier, having been apprised of our disembarkation at St. Eutemia, appears to have made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking, and, with his characteristic confidence, of defeating us. On the afternoon of the third instant I received intelligence that he had that day encamped near Maida, about ten miles distant from our position; that his force consisted at the moment of about 4000 infantry and 900 cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and that he was in expectation of being joined within a day or two by 3000 more troops, who were marching after him in a second division.—I determined therefore to advance towards his position; and, having left our four companies of Watteville's regiment under major Fisher to protect the stores, and occupy a work which had been thrown up at our landing-place, the body of the army marched the next morning, according to the following detail:

Advanced corps, lieut.-colonel Kempt, with two 4-pounders. Light infantry battalion. Detachment royal Corsican rangers. Detachment royal Sicilian volunteers.—1st brigade, brig. gen. Cole, with three 4-pounders. Grenadier battalion. 27th regiment.—2d brigade, brig. gen. Auckland, with three 4-pounders. 78th regiment. 81st regiment.—3d brigade, col. Oswald, with two 4-pounders.

58th regiment. Watteville's regiment, five companies. 20th regiment, lieut.-col. Kofs, landed during the action.—Reserve of artillery, major Lemoine, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers.—Total: rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4795.

General Regnier was encamped on the side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, sloping into the plain of St. Eutemia; his flanks were strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. The Amato, a river perfectly fordable, but of which the sides are extremely marshy, ran along his front; my approach to him from the sea side (along the borders of which I directed my march, until I had nearly turned his left) was across a spacious plain, which gave him every opportunity of minutely observing my movements. Had general Regnier thought proper to remain upon his ground, the difficulties of access to him were such, that I could not possibly have made an impression upon him. But quitting this advantage, and crossing the river with his entire force, he came down to meet us upon the open plain—a measure to which he was no doubt encouraged by a consideration of his cavalry, an arm with which, unfortunately, I was altogether unprovided. After some close firing of the flankers to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world, and the superiority was greatly and gloriously decided to be our own. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line, was the battalion of light in-

fantry commanded by lieut.-col. Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with 150 chosen battalion-men of the 35th regiment, under major Robinson. Directly opposed to them was the favourite French regiment the 1st Legere. The two corps, at the distance of about 100 yards, fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order, and awful silence, they advanced towards each other until their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.—Briggen. Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, with great spirit availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in his front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by lieut.-col. Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded.—The enemy being thus completely discomfited on their left, began to make a new effort with their right, in the hopes of recovering the day. They were resisted most gallantly by the brigade under brig-gen. Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under lieut.-col. O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under lieut.-col. Smith. The cavalry, successively repelled from before their

their front, made an effort to turn their left, when lieut.-col. Rofs, who had that morning landed from Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up to the army during the action, having observed the movement, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon their flank, and by a heavy and well-directed fire entirely disconcerted this attempt.—This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who now, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with carnage. Above 700 bodies of their dead have been buried upon the ground.—The wounded and prisoners already in our hands (among which are gen. Compere, and an aid-de-camp, the lieut.-col. of the Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) amount to above 1000. There are also above 1000 men left in Monteleone and the different posts between this and Reggio, who have mostly notified their readiness to surrender whenever a British force shall be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the people.—The peasantry are hourly bringing in fugitives, who dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. In short, never has the pride of our presumptuous enemy been more severely humbled, nor the superiority of the British troops more gloriously proved, than in the events of this memorable day. His majesty may, perhaps, still deign to appreciate more highly the achievements of this little army, when it is known that the second division, which the enemy were said to be expecting, had all joined them the night be-

fore the action; no statement that I have heard of their numbers places them at a less calculation than 7000 men.—Our victorious infantry continued the pursuit of the routed enemy as long as they were able; but, as the latter dispersed in every direction, and we were under the necessity of preserving our order, the trial of speed became unequal.—The total loss occasioned to the enemy by this conflict cannot be less than 4000 men. When I oppose to the above our own small comparative loss, as underneath detailed, his majesty will, I hope, discern in the fact the happy effects of that established discipline to which we owe the triumphs by which our army has been latterly so highly distinguished.—I am now beginning my march southward, preparatory to my return to Sicily, for which station I shall re-embark with the army, as soon as his Sicilian majesty shall have arranged a disposition of his own forces to secure those advantages which have been gained by the present expedition.—There seldom has happened an action in which the zeal and personal exertions of individuals were so imperiously called for as in the present; seldom an occasion where a general had a fairer opportunity of observing them. The general officers, and those who commanded regiments, will feel a stronger test of their merits in the circumstances which have been detailed of their conduct, than in any eulogium I could presume to pass upon them. The 58th and Watteville's regiment, commanded by lieut.-cols. Johnstone and Watteville, which formed the reserve, under col. Oswald, were ably directed in their application to that essential

essential duty.—The judgment and effect with which our artillery was directed by major Lemoine was, in our dearth of cavalry, of most essential use; and I have a pleasure in reporting the effective services of that valuable and distinguished corps.—To the several departments of the army, every acknowledgement is due; but to no officer am I bound to express them so fully, on my part, as to lieut.-col. Bunbury, the deputy-quarter-master-general, to whose zeal, activity, and able arrangements in the important branch of service which he directs, the army as well as myself are under every marked obligation. From captain Tomlin, the acting head of the adjutant-general's department, and from the officers of my own family, I have received much active assistance. Among the latter I am to mention lieut.-colonel Moore, of the 23d light dragoons, who being in Sicily for his health at the time of our departure, solicited permission to accompany me on this expedition; he was wounded in the execution of my orders.—From the medical department, under the direction of Mr. Grieves, the deputy inspector, I am to acknowledge much professional attention; the more so as their labours have been greatly accumulated by the number of wounded prisoners who have become, equally with our own, the subject of their care. The scene of action was too far from the sea to enable us to derive any co-operation from the navy; but admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the bay the evening before the action, had directed such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have greatly favoured us had events obliged us to retire. The solicitude,

however, of every part of the navy to be of use to us, the promptitude with which the seamen hastened on shore with our supplies, their anxiety to assist our wounded, and the tenderness with which they treated them, would have been an affecting circumstance to observers even the most indifferent. To me it was particularly so.—Captain Fellows, of the Apollo, has been specially attached to this expedition by the rear-admiral; and, in every circumstance of professional service, I beg leave to mention our grateful obligations to this officer, as well as to captains Cocket and Watson, agents of transports, who acted under his orders.—Captain Bulkeley, my aid-de-camp, who will have the honour of presenting this letter to you, has attended me throughout the whole of the services in the Mediterranean, and will therefore be able to give you every additional information on the subject of my present communication.

J. STUART, maj-gen.

*Total killed and wounded of the British troops, July 4.*

One officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file, killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file, wounded.

*Names of Officers killed and wounded.*

Killed, light infantry battalion, captain M'Leane, 20th foot.—Wounded, grenadier battalion, major Hammill, of royal regiment of Malta. Light infantry battalion, major Paulett, 44th foot, severely. 78th foot, 2d battalion, lieutenant-colonel M'Leod; major D. Stuart; captains D. M'Pherson and D. M'Gregor;

M'Gregor; lieutenant J. M'Kay; ensigns C. M'Kenzie and P. M'Gregor.—81st foot, 1st battalion, capt. Waterhouse; lieutenant and adjutant Ginger.—Staff, lieutenant-col. Moore, 23d light dragoons, acting aid-de-camp to sir J. Stuart.

R. TOMLIN, assist.-adj.-gen.

Sept. 7. A dispatch from H. Elliot, esq. to Mr. Fox, dated Palermo, Aug. 5, incloses the following from sir John Stuart. Mr. Elliot observes, "That every fort along the coasts, all the depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the attack of Sicily, are become the prey of the victors; and what, perhaps, may be considered as even of still more consequence than those advantages, an indelible impression is established of the superior bravery and discipline of the British troops."

*Extract of a Dispatch from sir John Stuart, to Hugh Elliot, esq. dated Messina, August 3.*

"Having occasion to send an express to my aid-de-camp, captain Bulkeley, at Palermo, I avail myself of the opportunity to acquaint you with another fortunate result of our auspicious day at Maida. Cotrone, with all its stores, magazines, &c. and 600 troops (now prisoners) capitulated on Wednesday evening last, to the land and naval forces of his Britannic majesty, under lieutenant-col. M'Leod, of the 78th regiment, and capt. Hoste, of the Amphion, who were assisted in their operations against that place, and upon the adjacent coasts, by the gun-boats of his Sicilian majesty. 300 prisoners, who prove to be survivors of the wounded after the ac-

tion of the 4th ult. are already arrived in this fort. General Regnier, who had endeavoured to hold his position, under much embarrassment for some time past, between Cotrone and Catanzaro, has retreated precipitately towards Tarento; and it was reported, when the transport left Cotrone, that he had been attacked by the masse, and had lost 6 or 700 of his flying people. I am now to congratulate you on the total evacuation of Calabria Ultra, in which single province, previous to the action of the 4th, we have every certainty that the enemy had a distributed force of at least 9000 men; of these, when general Regnier quitted his position near Cotrone, certainly not 3000 remained. The losses of the French in Upper Calabria have also borne a proportion. A great deal of heavy ordnance, lately transported by the French to Cotrone, besides what was found mounted on the castle, amounting in the whole to about 40 pieces, have fallen into our hands."

A dispatch from general Fox to Mr. Windham, dated Messina, Aug. 3, incloses extracts from two letters received from lieutenant-col. M'Leod, of the 78th regiment, which give a detail of the operations that led to the surrender of Cotrone. Much praise is bestowed on captain Hoste, for the judicious manner in which he brought his frigate and the gun-boats to the annoyance of the enemy. In the second letter, speaking of the enemy's retreat from before Cotrone, in which a garrison was left of 1000 men, it appears that they retired precipitately amongst the mountains, endeavouring to pass by Cosenza. He adds—"The enemy's route from this city has been marked

marked by circumstances of the most cruel devastation. The village of Strongoli, with several others within our view, which he conceived hostile to his cause, have been ransacked, and burnt to the ground. Our information of yesterday stated, that 1000 men had been left to garrison the town and city of Cotrone; but several deserters, who joined us this morning, having mentioned that the greatest part of this force had marched to join their army in the course of the night, captain Hoste agreed with myself in the propriety of summoning the town and citadel to surrender to the force under our orders, conceiving that the immediate possession of what we understood to be the enemy's sole *depôt*, and his *dernier resort* in Lower Calabria in point of position, together with the removal of his stores, &c. might contribute to prevent his attempt to re-enter the province."

[The terms were, that the French should march out with the honours of war, and deposit their arms; after which they shall be sent to Messina as prisoners of war. The private property of the officers and soldiers to be respected, and the public property to be delivered up.]

*Dispatches from Major-general Beresford, in South America, with an account of the capture of Buenos Ayres, dated July 2.*

Sir,

I had the honour to communicate to you, by my letter dated the 30th of April, the circumstances of my arrival at St. Helena, and the result of the application to the governor of that place for troops.—

The fleet sailed thence the 2d of May, and, after a most unexpected long passage, made Cape St. Mary on the 8th of June. The *Narcissus* had been dispatched from the fleet on the 27th of May, and sir Home Popham thought it right to proceed in her, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, that no delay might occur in proceeding immediately on the arrival of the troops, to such place as our information should induce us to attack first. I had sent captain Kennet, of the royal engineers (not liking myself to leave the troops) in the *Narcissus*, to make such reconnoitring of the enemy's places on the river, as circumstances would admit; and to collect every possible information concerning them, and the strength of the enemy at the several places. From fogs and baffling winds, we did not meet the *Narcissus* until the sixth day after our arrival in the river; and I had there the satisfaction to see, in company with her, the Ocean transport, which had parted from us previous to our going to St. Helena. Sir Home Popham and myself immediately consulted, whether it would be better first to attack the town of St. Philip of Monte Video, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the province; and, after much reasoning, we determined to proceed against Buenos Ayres, which made it necessary to remove from the line-of-battle ships, the troops and marines, and such seamen as were incorporated with the latter, and others that had been practised to arms during the passage, into the transports, and his majesty's ship *Narcissus*; which was effected on the 16th ult. And though then only about 90

miles

miles from Buenos Ayres, still, though to his skill sir Home Popham added the most persevering zeal and assiduity, yet from fogs, the intricacy of the navigation, and continual opposing winds, it was not until the 24th, at night, that we reached opposite to it. We found ourselves the next morning about eight miles from the Point of Quilmes, where I proposed landing, having been informed by an Englishman, who was pilot for the river, and had been taken by the *Narcissus* out of a Portuguese vessel, that it was an excellent place, and an easy access from it into the country. As soon as the wind would permit, on the 25th, sir Home Popham took the shipping as near as it was possible for them to go, and at a convenient distance for disembarking, which was effected in the course of the afternoon and night, and without any opposition, the enemy remaining at the village of Reduction, on a height about two miles from us in our front; the whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, being a perfect flat: but my guide informed me, that though in winter it was impassable, it was then very practicable, and easy for us to pass. It was eleven o'clock in the morning of the 26th, before I could move off my ground; and the enemy could,

from his position, have counted every man I had; the numbers as per margin\*. He was drawn up along the brow of a hill, on which was the village of Reduction, which covered his right flank; and his force consisted principally of cavalry (I have been since informed 2000) with eight field-pieces. The nature of the ground was such, that I was under the necessity of going directly to his front; and to make my line, as much as I could, equal to his, I formed all my troops into one line, except the *St. Helena* infantry, of 150 men, which I formed 120 yards in the rear, with two field-pieces, with orders to make face to the right or left, as either of our flanks should be threatened by his cavalry. I had two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of the first line. In this order I advanced against the enemy; and, after we had got within range of his guns, a tongue of swamp crossed our front, and obliged me to halt, whilst the guns took a small circuit to cross, and which was scarcely performed, when the enemy opened their field-pieces on us, at first well pointed; but, as we advanced at a very quick rate, in spite of the boggy ground, that very soon obliged us to leave all our guns behind, his fire did us but little injury. The

\* *Actual state of the Troops under the command of Major-general Beresford, at the Point de Quilmes, June 26th.*

After specifying the number of officers and men in each corps, the following is given as the total.—1 major-general, 1 major of brigade, 1 aid-de-camp, 1 assistant quarter-master-general, 1 assistant commissary; 1 surgeon, and 1 assistant-surgeon (of the staff); 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, and 4 midshipmen, (of the royal navy); 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 15 captains, 20 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 paymaster, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 2 surgeons, 4 assistant-surgeons, 72 serjeants, 27 drummers, 1466 effective rank and file, 16 effective horses, 1 wheeler, 1 collar-maker, 4 artificers, 2 five and half-inch howitzers, 4 light six-pounders, and 2 light three-pounders.

W. C. BERESFORD, major-general.



71st regiment reaching the bottom of the heights in a pretty good line, seconded by the marine battalion, the enemy would not wait their nearer approach, but retired from the brow of the hill; which our troops gaining, and commencing a fire of small arms, he fled with precipitation, leaving to us 4 field-pieces, and 1 tumbril, and we saw nothing more of him that day. I halted two hours on the field, to rest the troops, and to make arrangements for taking with us the enemy's guns and our own, which had now, by the exertions of capt. Donnelly, of the *Narcissus*, been extricated from the bog.—He had accidentally landed, and accompanied the troops on seeing them advance to the enemy; and I am much indebted to him for his voluntary assistance. I then marched, in hopes of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the Rio Chuelo, a river at this season of the year not fordable, and which lay between us and the city; distant from it about three miles, and eight from our then situation; and, though I used every diligence, I had the mortification to see it in flames long before I could reach it. I halted the troops for the night, a mile from it, and pushed on three companies of the 71st, under lieutenant-col. Pack, with two howitzers, to the bridge, to endeavour to prevent its total destruction. I accompanied this detachment; but, on reaching the bridge, I found it entirely consumed; and as the enemy, during the night, was heard bringing down guns, I withdrew the detachment before light, as their position was thought too open, and exposed to the enemy's fire, who had, at nine o'clock, on hearing

some of our soldiers go to the river to get water, opened a fire from their guns, and a considerable line of infantry. As soon as it was light, I sent captain Kennet, of the engineers, to reconnoitre the sides of the river; and found that on our side we had little or no cover to protect us, whilst the enemy were drawn up behind hedges and houses, and in the shipping on the opposite bank, the river not 30 yards wide. As our situation and circumstances could not admit of the least delay, I determined to force the passage, and for that purpose ordered down the field-pieces, which, with the addition of those taken from the enemy the day before, were 11, (one I had spiked and left, not being able to bring it off), to the water's edge, and ordered the infantry to remain in the rear, under cover, except the light company and grenadiers of the 71st. As our guns approached, the enemy opened a very ill-directed fire from great guns and musketry: the former soon ceased after our fire opened, the latter was kept up for more than half an hour; but, though close to us, did us but little or no injury, so ill was it directed. We then found means, by boats and rafts, to cross a few men over the Rio Chuelo; and, on ordering all fire to cease, the little of them that remained ceased also. The troops which opposed us during these two days, appear to have been almost entirely provincial, with a considerable proportion of veteran officers. The numbers that were assembled to dispute our passage of the river, I have been since informed, were about 2000 infantry. I had no reason from their fire to suppose their numbers so great; the  
opposition

opposition was very feeble; the only difficulty was the crossing the river to get at them. I cannot omit reporting to you, that I had the most just cause to be satisfied with the conduct of every officer, and all the troops under my command: to lieut.-col. Pack, of the 71st, every praise is due, as well as to that excellent regiment. The battalion of marines, commanded by captain King, of the royal navy, not only behaved with the utmost good conduct, but with a discipline in the field much beyond what could have been expected, though every exertion to effect it had been used by commodore sir Home Popham, and every officer of the royal navy during the passage. A corps of seamen, who had been drilled to small-arms, were also landed; they were between eighty and ninety in number, and I was under the necessity of attaching them to draw the guns, which they did with a cheerfulness and zeal that did them great credit; and I was under great obligation to captain King, for his activity in preparing rafts, boats, &c. to pass the Rio Chuelo. Lieut-colonel Lane, and the St. Helena troops, also merit my thanks for their good conduct; as does capt. Ogilvie, commanding the artillery, for the manner in which the guns were conducted and served. Capt. Kennet, of the royal engineers, was particularly serviceable by his intelligence and zeal; as were the honourable major Deane, my brigade-major, and the honourable ensign Gordon, of the 3d guards, my aid-de-camp. By eleven o'clock, A. M. I had got some guns, and the greatest part of the troops, across the river, and seeing no symptoms of farther opposition, and

learning that the troops in general had deserted the city, motives of humanity induced me to send, by the honourable ensign Gordon, a summons to the governor to deliver to me the city and fortress, that the excesses and calamities which would most possibly occur, if the troops entered in a hostile manner, might be avoided; informing him that the British character would insure to them the exercise of their religion, and protection to their persons, and all private property. He returned to me an officer, to ask some hours to draw up conditions; but I could not consent to delay my march, which I commenced as soon as the whole had crossed the Rio Chuelo; and, on arriving near the city, an officer of the governor again met me, with a number of conditions, to which I had not then time to attend, but said I would confirm by writing what I had promised, when in possession of the city; and the terms granted and signed by sir Home Popham and myself, I have the honour to annex. I also transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 26th and 27th of June, as well as the return of the ordnance taken.—I cannot conclude without assuring you, of the unwearied zeal and assiduity of commodore sir Home Popham, in whatever could contribute to the success of this expedition, and of the cordial co-operation, and great assistance which I have received from him.

W. C. BERESFORD, maj.-gen.  
*Sir D. Baird, commanding in chief,*  
*&c.*

*Killed, wounded, and missing, on the  
 26th and 27th of June.*

*St. Helena artillery, 1 rank and  
 file*

file wounded.—7th reg. 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.—St. Helena infantry, 1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer missing.—Royal marines, 3 rank and file wounded.—Corps of seamen, 1 rank and file killed.

*Officers names.*—Capt. Le Blanc, of the 71st regiment, shot in the leg, since amputated above the knee.—Assistant-surgeon Halliday, of the medical staff, attached to St. Helena regiment, missing.

[The terms granted to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, consist of 10 articles. After the usual stipulations respecting the entrance of the troops, &c. and the marching out of the prisoners with the honours of war, they state that all *bona fide* private property, whether belonging to the people, the churches, or the public institutions, shall be unmolested; that all the inhabitants shall receive protection: that the different taxes shall be collected by the magistrates, &c. as usual, until his majesty's pleasure be known; that every protection shall be afforded to the exercise of the Catholic religion; that the coasting vessels in the river shall be delivered to their owners, and that all public property shall be surrendered to the captors.]

*Ordnance, &c. captured.*

Iron ordnance, of different calibres, from 18 to 3-pounders, 45 pieces.—Brass ordnance, from 32 to 3-pounders, including mortars and howitzers, 41 pieces. Total 86.—550 whole barrels of powder, 2064 muskets with bayonets, 616 car-

bines, 4019 pistols, 31 musketoons, 1208 swords.

J. E. OGILVIE, capt. commanding Royal and St. Helena artillery.

Since the above return was sent to sir D. Baird, the following guns, left by the viceroy in his flight, have been taken, and arms, &c. received, brass ordnance, 7 pieces; 139 muskets with bayonets; 71 muskets without bayonets, 85 pouches, and 39 swords.

*Extract of a Letter from Major-general Beresford, to Lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 11.*

“ I trust the conduct adopted towards the people here has had its full effect, in impressing upon their minds the honour, generosity, and humanity of the British character. His majesty's ministers will see by the detail of our proceedings, that after the army had passed the Rio Chuelo, the city of Buenos Ayres remained at our mercy, and that, in fact, the only conditions on which I entered, were such as I pleased to offer, and which humanity, and a regard to our national character, would naturally induce me to give under any circumstances. However, to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, we not only consented to put in writing my promises, but acceded to many conditions not expected by them; and, contrary to direct stipulations, gave up to the proprietors all the coasting vessels captured, with their cargoes, of which I annex a return\*, and the value of

\* It has been found difficult to procure the return of vessels here alluded to, at least the names of all. They are of various classes, from 150 tons downwards, and amount in the whole to 180 in number.

which amounted to one million and a half of dollars, and which, being done with the views already exposed, will, I trust, meet with his majesty's approbation. I have the honour to inform his majesty's ministers, that I had detached captain Arbuthnot, of the 20th light dragoons, on the 3d inst. with a party consisting of seven dragoons and twenty infantry (the whole mounted) to a place called Luxan, 50 miles distant. My principal object was to have the country reconnoitred, and to see what were the dispositions of the inhabitants; but with the avowed object of escorting back some of the treasure which had been taken from here, and to prevent its following the viceroy, which I had reason to suspect was intended, though it was said to be all private property; and in which case we had declared, if brought back, it should be given to its owners, if of this city. Capt. Arbuthnot returned last night, and I am glad to say, with information of a pleasing nature; for your lordship will see, by this detachment passing so easily through the country, that whatever their present inclinations may be, there is no very great danger from any hostile intentions against us; and capt. Arbuthnot reports rather favourably of the general dispositions of the people. The country to Luxan, as I have already represented, in general the whole of it, is a perfect flat, and the view of the horizon is obstructed by nothing but the immense herds of horses and cattle—but principally horned cattle. Luxan is situated on a river of the same name, and where there is a bridge over it, and the route leading to all the interior provinces; and I rather think it

will be adviseable, on many accounts, that I possess myself of it, which I can do by a small detachment. Much of the treasure was caught actually going to Cordova; and the rest, but for the opportune arrival of the party, would have been pillaged. The waggons conveying this treasure may be expected here to-morrow. Those with the royal treasure, and that of the Philippine Company, arrived some time since, and is already embarked. The honourable major Deane, who is the bearer of these dispatches, will give any farther information to his majesty's ministers that they may desire; and I beg to recommend him as an officer deserving of any mark of favour that his majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow on him."

[Then follows a proclamation, issued by general Beresford to the inhabitants, inviting them to shew their allegiance to their new sovereign, and repeating the offers of protection held out in the terms of the capitulation.] The proclamation thus continues:—"The major-general thinks it necessary to acquaint the general and commercial interests of the country, that it is his majesty's most gracious intention that a free trade shall be opened and permitted to South America, similar to that enjoyed by all others of his majesty's colonies, particularly the island of Trinidad, whose inhabitants have felt peculiar benefits from being under the government of a sovereign powerful enough to protect them from any insult, and generous enough to give them such commercial advantages, as they could not enjoy under the administration of any other country." It concludes with

with inviting the farmers to supply the markets with provisions, for which they shall be immediately paid; and it adds a promise, that such duties as are found to bear too hard on the enterprize of commerce shall be taken off.— [This proclamation is followed by another, giving up to the inhabitants all the ships, barges, and craft, and calling upon the owners to see that no imposition is practised on the captors for their liberality.]

*Extract of a Dispatch from Major-general Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 16.*

I am now able to transmit nearly an account of the money which has been received as prize, under the terms of my agreement with the acting governor of the place, previous to my entering the town. The statement shews the various departments and public bodies, whence the sums forming the total has been derived. The sum of 1,086,208 dollars, is going home in his majesty's ship *Narcissus*, and sir Home Popham and myself have thought it right to reserve here, for the exigencies of the army and navy, a considerable sum; and for the purpose of keeping down the exchange on bills, drawn by the respective services, and which would otherwise bring the dollar to an enormous price. It is estimated that the merchandize in the king's stores, principally Jesuits' bark and quicksilver, and which is in the Philippine company's stores, with the little that is retained of floating property, will amount, if it can be disposed of, to between two and

three millions of dollars. Of the bullion delivered in, some is claimed as private property, and which shall be delivered in the same spirit of liberality with which, we trust, it will be considered we have acted here. The 61,797 dollars were yesterday delivered to the consular, on their assurance only that it belonged to the people of this town; and they have a claim upon 40 or 50,000 dollars more, which will be settled this day.

*Total amount of monies, &c. received in consequence of an agreement on June 28.*

Embarked on board the *Narcissus*, 1,086,208. Remain in the Treasury, 205,115. Total, 1,291,323<sup>d</sup> dollars.

*Dispatch from Commodore Sir Home Popham, off Buenos Ayres, July 6.*

Sir,

In the letter which I had the honour to address you from St. Helena, on the 30th of April, I fully explained, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the motive that induced me to press so strongly the urgency and expediency of undertaking an expedition against the enemy's settlements in the Rio de la Plata. I have, therefore, only to give you a short detail of the proceedings of the squadron, previously congratulating their lordships on his majesty's forces being in full possession of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America. To the commerce of Great Britain it exhibits peculiar advantages, as well as to the active industry of her manufac-

turing towns. And when I venture, in addition, to assure their lordships of the extreme healthiness of the climate, I trust I only hold out a consolation that the friends of every person employed on this expedition are justly entitled to, and which I am satisfied will be equally gratifying to the feelings of every British subject. As I considered it an object of material consequence to obtain the earliest local information in the river, I placed the squadron under the direction of capt. Rowley on the 27th of May, and preceded it in the *Narcissus* for that purpose. On the 8th ult. we anchored near the island of Flores; and, after passing Monte Video the following day, we detained a Portuguese schooner, by whom the intelligence we had formerly received was generally confirmed. On the 11th, we fell in with the *Encounter* and *Ocean* transports, near the south coast of the river, and on the 13th we joined the squadron. It was immediately determined to attack the capital; and no time was lost in removing the marine battalion to the *Narcissus*, the *Encounter*, and the transports, for the purpose of proceeding to Buenos Ayres, while the *Diadem* blockaded the port of Monte Video, and the *Raisnable* and *Diomedé*, by way of demonstration, cruized near Maldonado, and other assailable points. Our progress up the river was very much retarded by the shoalness of the water, adverse winds and currents, continual fogs, and the great inaccuracy of the charts; but, by the unremitting and laborious exertions of the officers and men I had the honour to command, these difficulties were surmounted, and the squadron anchored, on the afternoon

of the 25th, off Point Quelmey & Potichin, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. As it was impossible for the *Narcissus* to approach the shore, on account of the shoalness of the water, the *Encounter* was run in so close as to take the ground, the more effectually to cover the debarkation of the army, in case of necessity: the whole, however, was landed in the course of the evening, without the least opposition, consisting of the detachment of troops from the Cape, and that from St. Helena, with the marine battalion, under the orders of captain King, of the *Diadem*, which was composed of the marines of the squadron, augmented by the incorporation of some seamen, and three companies of royal blues, from the same source of enterprize; which had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform. The enemy was posted at the village of Reduction, which was on an eminence, about two miles from the beach, with the appearance of a fine plain between the two armies, which, however, proved on the following morning to be only a morass in a high state of verdure. This in some measure checked our advancement, nor did the enemy open his field-train till the troops were nearly in the middle of the swamp, from whence he thought it was impossible for them to be extricated. The able and excellent disposition of general Beresford, and the intrepidity of his army, very soon satisfied the enemy that his only safety was in a precipitate retreat; for we had the satisfaction of seeing from the ships near 4000 Spanish cavalry flying in every direction, leaving their artillery behind them, while our

troops were ascending the hill with that coolness and courage which has on every occasion marked the character of a British soldier, and has been exemplified in proportion to the difficulties and dangers by which he was opposed. I have probably trespassed on a line that does not immediately belong to me, but I could not resist the gratification of relating to their lordships what I saw; assuring myself, at the same time, they will be convinced, if the enemy had given the squadron an equal opportunity, I should have had the pleasing duty of reporting an honourable issue to the effect of their eminent zeal and exertions. On the 27th, in the morning, we saw some firing near the banks of the river Chuelo, but it blew so hard that it was totally impracticable to have any communication with the shore during that day. Early on the 28th a royal salute was fired from the castle of Buenos Ayres, in honour of his majesty's colours being hoisted in South America, and instantly returned by the ships lying off the town. I now consider it to be a proper moment for acknowledging, in terms of the sincerest gratitude, my high sense of the zealous and animated conduct of every officer and man in the squadron which I have the extraordinary good fortune to command. Capt. Rowley, with captain Edmonds, under his orders, continued, as long as the weather would permit, an advantageous demonstration off Maldonado. Capt. Donnelly, who did me the favour of requesting I would go up the river in the Narcissus, and to whom, from his rank, no specific service could be assigned in our small scale of operations, applied himself

in every occasion where he could promote the objects of the expedition: and, as he is charged with this dispatch, I take the liberty of recommending him to their lordship's protection, under a full conviction they will obtain, through him, every information which they have a right to expect from an officer of great intelligence, and long meritorious service. I consider captain King, with the officers of the marine battalion, so completely under the report of general Beresford, that I shall only state to their lordships my extreme satisfaction, on hearing personally from the general, how highly he appreciated every part of their conduct, particularly the celerity with which they transported the artillery and troops across the Rio Chuelo, after the bridge was burnt by the enemy. Lieutenant Talbot, of the Encounter, manifested great zeal in every instance where it was necessary to call on him; Lieutenant Groves, of the Diadem, was also very active in landing the ordnance and ordnance stores; and I think it highly proper to state to their lordships, that the masters and crews of the different transports behaved with great attention during the whole of this service. I inclose a copy of the terms granted to the inhabitants, after the capture of the city, by which their lordships will see that the coasting vessels in the river, supposed with their cargoes to amount to one million and a half of dollars, were restored to the proprietors, for an early record to the country of the great liberality of his majesty's government.

I am, &c.

H. POPHAM.

I have sent lieutenant Groves to take possession of Ensenaba de Barragon, a port to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, where I understand there are two gun-vessels, and two merchant ships. H. P.

The Gazette of Sept. 20, contains an order of council, declaring that a lawful trade may be carried on to Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, or native inhabitants of that country, upon paying a duty of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem*, upon importation into the same; and that all commodities, the growth of that country, shall be permitted to be imported into the United Kingdom, in ships aforesaid, upon the same terms as from the West India islands. Also an order in council for permitting the importation in neutral vessels into our West India islands, for twelve months ensuing, of lumber, staves, and all kinds of provision, with the exception of beef, pork, and butter; and also the exportation of rum, molasses, and all other commodities, except sugar, indigo, cotton, coffee, and cocoa.

*Dispatch from Captain Brisbane, with an account of the capture of the Pomona, and twelve gun-boats, at the Isle of Cuba.*

*Arethusa, off the Havannah,  
Aug. 23.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of a successful attack having been made by his majesty's ships Arethusa and Anson, on the enemy near the Moro castle, in the island of Cuba, on the morning of the 23d instant. The result has been

the capture of the Spanish frigate Pomona, of 38 guns, with a complement of 347 men, and the destruction of 12 gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder, with a complement of 100 men each, and the explosion of a castle mounting 16 36-pounders. On the morning of the 23d instant I discovered the enemy within two miles of the Moro castle, rather to leeward, carrying all possible sail to get into the Havannah. I therefore made the signal to lay the enemy on board on my coming up with her, but my design was frustrated by the Pomona bearing up, having been joined by 12 gun-boats from the Havannah, and anchoring within pistol shot of a castle mounting 16 36-pounders, in three fathoms and a half water. The gun-boats advanced from her in a line abreast. These boats were sent out expressly to protect the Pomona at her anchorage. At 10 A. M. I anchored his majesty's ship Arethusa close alongside the Pomona, in one foot water more than the ship drew; the Anson on my larboard bow; when the action became general, but not of long duration. The Pomona having struck her colours in 35 minutes, two gun-boats blew up, six were sunk, and three driven on shore on the breakers.—Notwithstanding the severe fire from the castle, the Pomona was instantly taken possession of by lieut. Parish, first of the Arethusa, and followed by lieut. Sullivan, first of the Anson.—The castle had now commenced firing red-hot shot, which occasioned the Arethusa to be set on fire, but it was soon extinguished by the very proper arrangements of lieuts. Higman and Griffith, commanding the main deck. Shortly after,



after, a melancholy and dreadful explosion took place in the castle, after which all firing ceased. It now becomes a pleasing part of my duty to recommend to your particular notice the steady and gallant conduct of capt. Lydiard, the officers and men of both ships, all appearing to be animated with the same enthusiastic zeal.

CHARLES BRISBANE,

*Vice-admiral Dacres.*

Arethusa, 2 killed and 32 wounded.—Anson, none.

Spanish frigate Pomona, captain and 20 men killed; 2 lieutenants and 30 men wounded. — Gun-boats, the loss of men must have been considerable, as very few of them reached the shore, from those boats which were blown up and sunk.

(Signed) C. BRISBANE.

The Pomona was from Vera Cruz, bound to the Havannah, laden with specie and merchandize. The money belonging to the king was landed at the castle by the governor of the Havannah, and the Spanish admiral, who had previously come out to place the Pomona in safety, as they considered her under the protection of the castle, and had only left her ten minutes before the action commenced. The freight belonging to the merchants, with plate, and various kinds of merchandize, I have captured.

C. BRISBANE.

*Officers wounded.*—Capt. Brisbane, but did not quit his deck; lieut. Higman, of the navy; lieut. Fennel, of the marines.

*Ceremonial of the public Funeral of the late Vice-admiral Horatio Viscount Nelson, K. B. &c. &c. &c.*

“ — Mourne ye for him; let him be regarded  
As the most noble corse that ever herald  
Did follow to his urn ” SHAKESPEARE.

On Wednesday the 8th of January, the first part of this grand funeral ceremony, and national tribute of respect to the remains of the immortal Nelson, was carried into execution. At half past seven, A. M. the heralds, and the naval officers who were to assist at the procession by water, assembled at the Admiralty, and thence proceeded, about eight, to Greenwich. At ten, they assembled at the governor's house within Greenwich-hospital; where they were met, in the council-chamber, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and the committee especially appointed on this occasion by the corporation of London; and proceeded to their several barges.

The hero's body was then carried from the saloon, where it had laid in state, through the Great Hall, out at the eastern portal, round the Royal Charlotte Ward, to the north gate, and placed on board the state barge. The coffin was covered with a velvet pall, adorned with escutcheons. During the procession from the Great Hall to the barge (which was by far the most affecting part of this day's ceremony) a very noble band of music played the Dead March in Saul; minute guns were fired; and the bells tolled in unison. The sun at that particular period shone delightfully; and the hills in Greenwich.

Greenwich-park reverberated the solemn sound between the lofty domes of the royal hospital.

The procession moved, in the following order, about twelve o'clock :

Capt. Wood, } } Capt. Ludlam,  
harbour master. } } harbour master.  
Water bailiff.

Rulers of the Company of Watermen, &c.

Chaplain and staff of the River Fencibles.

Boat with drums muffled.

Officer commanding gun-boats.

Ten gun-boats, two and two.

River Fencibles flanking.

Row-boat with officer.      Row-boat with officer.

**FIRST STATE BARGE.** Drums—Two trumpets, with their banners, in the steerage—The standard, at the head, borne by captain sir Francis Laforey, bart. supported by lieutenants W. C. Barker and G. Antram—The guidon, at the door-place, borne by captain H. W. Bayntun (in the absence of captain Durham) supported by two lieutenants of the royal navy; all in their full uniform coats, with black waist-coats, breeches, and stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.—Rouge Croix and Blue Mantle, pursuivants of arms, in close mourning, with their tabards over their cloaks; and hat-bands and scarves.

**SECOND BARGE.** Four trumpeters in the steerage—Heralds of arms, bearing the surcoat, target and sword, helm and crest, and the gauntlet and spurs of the deceased.

The banner of the deceased as a knight of the bath, at the head, borne by capt. Edward Rotheram.

The great banner, with augmentations, at the door-place, borne by capt. Robert Moorfom, supported by lieutenants D. Keys and N. Tucker.

**THIRD BARGE,** covered with black velvet (the other barges being covered with black cloth), the top adorned with plumes of black feathers; and in the centre, upon four shields of the arms of the deceased, joining in point, a viscount's coronet. Three bannerrolls of the family lineage of the deceased, on each side, affixed to the external parts of the barge—Six trumpets, with their banners as before, in the steerage—Six officers of the royal navy, habited as those in the other barges; one to each bannerroll; viz. lieutenant (now captain) John Pasco, lieutenant (now captain) John Yule, Thomas Atkinson, master of the Victory, lieutenant (now captain) — Williams, lieutenant George Browne, lieutenant James Uzuld Purches.

The **BODY,**

covered with a large sheet, and a pall of velvet, adorned with six escutcheons—

Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), bearing, at the head of the body, a viscount's coronet upon a black velvet cushion.

At the head of the barge, the union flag of the United Kingdom.

Attendants on the body while at Greenwich, in mourning.

**FOURTH BARGE,** covered with black cloth. The chief mourner, sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the fleet, with his two supporters, admiral Samuel viscount Hood, and admiral William lord Radstock; six assistant mourners; admirals B. Caldwell, sir R. Curtis, knt. and bart. R. R. Bligh, sir C.

C. M. Pole, bart. and vice-admirals C. E. Nugent and C. P. Hamilton; four supporters of the pall; vice-admirals J. H. Whitshed and Thomas Taylor, admiral sir John Orde, bart. (in the absence, by indisposition, of vice-admiral H. Savage, who had been nominated to this station) and rear-admiral E. Harvey; six supporters of the canopy, rear-admirals Thomas Drury, sir W. H. Douglas, bart. T. Wells, sir I. Coffin, bart. J. Aylmer, and W. Domett; and the train-bearer of the chief mourner, the hon. Henry Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*; all in mourning cloaks, over their respective full uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, crape round their arms, and crape hatbands.

Windfor Herald (acting for Norroy king of arms), habited as the other officers of arms.

The Banner of Emblems, at the door-place, borne by captain T. M. Hardy, of the *Victory*, supported by lieutenants A. King and G. M. Bligh, of the royal navy, habited as those in the other barges. Eight row-boats of the Harbour Marine.

Corps flanking the state barges.

5. His majesty's barge.

6. Barge with the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral.

7. Barge of the right hon. the lord mayor; who, in the arrangement of the procession by water, in his character of conservator of the Thames, highly distinguished himself by his judicious and unremitting attention; (as did likewise Matthew Lucas, esq. commandant of the River Fencibles.)

8. Barge with the committee especially appointed by the corpora-

tion of London. The only ornaments of this barge were the actual colours of the *Victory*, borne by seven select seamen of that interesting ship, by the express permission of their captain, and with the sanction of the Admiralty. These flags and their brave supporters formed a truly interesting part of the procession.

9. Barge with the committee of the corporation for improving the navigation of the river Thames.

Eighteen row-boats of River Fencibles, flanking the procession.

10—Seventeen barges of the companies of Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant Taylors, Ironmongers, Stationers, and Apothecaries.

Eight row-boats with harbour marines, flanking the companies' barges.

Capt. Wake	}	{	Capt. Mabb,
harbour master.	{	{	harbour master.

The Funeral Barge was rowed by 16 seamen belonging to the *Victory*; the other barges by picked men from the Greenwich pensioners. They had all their flags hoisted half-staff high; and as the procession passed the Tower, minute-guns were there fired. Not a vessel was suffered to disturb the procession. The decks, yards, rigging, and masts of the numerous ships on the river, were all crowded with spectators; and the number of ladies was immense.

The beautiful and singularly constructed navigation barge, the *Crosby*, which is usually stationed at Kew for excursions up the river, and which, though as long as a 74 gun ship, draws but two feet of water,

was on this occasion, for the first time, brought through Westminster-bridge, and moored opposite the Temple, for the accommodation of such members of the corporation (in deep mourning, and violet gowns) as were not actually engaged in the procession.

At a quarter before three, the procession approached Whitehall-stairs; the King's, Admiralty, lord mayor's and city barges, immediately drew up in two lines, through which the barge with the body passed. All the oars were

advanced, and the trumpets, and other bands, played the Dead March in Saul, with other dirgeful strains, with the most impressive effect, the gun-boats firing minute guns all the time. Exactly at three, the funeral barge began to disembark its charge. At this moment the sunshine disappeared; dark and heavy clouds came on; and instantly succeeded a tremendous hail-storm, which fell till the body was landed, when the hemisphere again cleared.

A procession then commenced from Whitehall-stairs to the Admiralty, on foot.

1. Drums and trumpets.
2. Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms.
3. The standard.
4. Trumpet.
5. Blue Mantle pursuivant of arms.
6. The gordon.
7. Two trumpets.
8. Rouge Dragon pursuivant of arms.
9. Banner of the deceased as a knight of the bath.
10. Two trumpets.
11. Richmond herald.
12. The great banner.
13. Gauntlet and spurs, borne by York herald.
14. Helm and crest, borne by Somerset herald.
15. Sword and target, borne by Lancaster herald.
16. Surcoat, borne by Chester herald.
17. Six trumpets.
18. Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), bearing the coronet on a black velvet cushion.
19. THE BODY, covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with escutcheons, under a canopy supported by six admirals.
20. Garter principal king of arms (absent by indisposition.)
21. The Chief Mourner, sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the fleet.
22. Train bearer, captain the hon. Henry Blackwood.
23. The six admirals before-mentioned.
24. Windsor herald, acting for Norroy king of arms.
25. The banner of emblems, borne and supported as in the barge.

Every necessary preparation had been made at the Admiralty for receiving the body. The captain's room, in which it was placed, was hung with superfine black cloth for

this solemn occasion. The room was lighted with wax tapers, placed in sconces on the sides.

The body remained in the room, guarded by the officers of the house and

and the undertakers, till the ceremony of its removal to St. Paul's commenced.

On Thursday the 9th, an hour before day-light, the drums of the different volunteer corps in every part of the metropolis beat to arms. The summons was quickly obeyed; and, soon after, these troops lined the streets, in two ranks, from St. Paul's Church-yard to the admiralty. The Life Guards too were mounted at their post in Hyde Park by day-break, where the carriages of the nobility, &c. with the mourning coaches appointed to form part of the procession, began to be assembled at eight o'clock, in a line from Hyde Park-corner to Cumberland-gate. By ten, about 106 carriages were assembled, of which number near 60 were mourning coaches, principally filled with naval officers; all of which, under the direction of the proper officers, were marshalled in their due order of precedence, and drove into St. James's Park, to be in readiness to fall into the procession on the proper signal. In St. James's Park were drawn up all the regiments of cavalry and infantry quartered within 100 miles of London, who had served in the glorious campaigns in Egypt, after the ever-memorable victory at the Nile; and a detachment of flying artillery, with 12 field pieces, and their ammunition tumbrils. At half past ten, the procession commenced from the Admiralty, with the march of the several regiments, led by his royal highness the duke of York, attended by his aids-de-camp and staff, in the following order:

A detachment of the 10th Light Dragoons.

Four companies of light infantry. The band of the Old Buffs, playing Rule Britannia, drums muffled.

The 92d and 79th regiments, in sections, commanded by the hon. major-gen. Charles Hope; their colours honourably shattered in the campaign of Egypt, which word was inscribed upon them, borne in the centre, and hung with crape.

The remaining companies of the 92d, preceded by their national pipes, playing the Dead March in Saul.

The 31st and 21st regiments, commanded by the hon. brigadier-general Robert Meade, with their bands playing as before.

The 14th, the 10th, and the 2d, two squadrons of each, commanded by major-general William St. Leger. The trumpets at intervals sounded a solemn dirge, and performed the Dead March.

The Royal Artillery, with 11 field-pieces.

Four companies of grenadiers.

The whole of the military were under the command of general Sir David Dundas, K. B. and lieutenant-gen. Henry Burrard.

The procession thus moved:

Six marshalsmen, on foot, to clear the way.

Messenger of the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak, with a badge of the College on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsnet.

Six conductors in mourning cloaks, with black staves headed with viscounts coronets.

Forty-eight pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, two and two, in mourning cloaks, with badges of the crests of the deceased on the

the shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

Forty-eight seamen and marines of his majesty's ship the Victory, two and two, in their ordinary dress, with black neck handkerchiefs and stockings, and crape in their hats.

Watermen of the deceased, in black coats, with their badges.

Drums and fifes. Drum-major.

Trumpets. Serjeant-trumpeter.

Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach), in close mourning, with his tabard over his cloak, black silk scarf, hatband, and gloves.

The Standard, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were captain sir F. Laforey, bart. and his two supporters, lieutenants W. C. Barker and G. Antram, of the royal navy, in their full uniform coats, with black cloth waistcoats, breeches, and black stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.

Trumpets.

Blue Mantle pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach), habited as Rouge Croix.

The Guidon, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were captain E. Rotheram, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by lieutenants J. Bradshaw and T. Errington, of the royal navy, dressed as those who bore and supported the standard.

Servants of the deceased, in mourning, in a mourning coach.

Officers of his majesty's wardrobe, in mourning coaches.

Gentlemen. Esquires.

Deputations from the great commercial companies of London.

Physicians of the deceased, in a mourning coach.

Divines, in clerical habits.

Chaplains of the deceased, in clerical habits, and secretary of the deceased, in a mourning coach.

Trumpets.

Rouge Dragon and Portcullis pursuivants of arms (in a mourning coach), habited as before.

The Banner of the deceased as knight of the bath, borne in front of a mourning-coach, in which were capt. P. C. Durham, of the Defiance, supported by lieutenants J. U. Purches and J. Poate, of the royal navy, dressed as those who bore and supported the guidon.

Attendants on the body while it lay in state at Greenwich; viz. rev. A. J. Scott (chaplain to his royal highness the prince of Wales), Joseph Whidbey and John Tyson, esqrs. in a mourning coach.

Knights bachelors.

Serjeants at law.

Deputy to the knight marshal, on horseback.

Knights of the bath: viz.

Sir Samuel Hood and Sir Thomas Trigge, baronets.

A Gentleman Usher (in a mourning coach, carrying a carpet and black velvet cushion, whereon the trophies were to be deposited in the church.

William Haslewood, Alexander Davison, and William Marsh, esquires, as comptroller, treasurer, and steward of the household of the deceased (in a mourning coach), in mourning cloaks; bearing white staves.

Next followed the carriages of the different degrees of nobility and great law officers, who attended to shew their respect to the memory

memory of the deceased, beginning with the younger sons of barons, and ending with the following distinguished personages :

Earls of Clancarty, Fife, Darnley, Leicester, Portsmouth, Bristol, Winchelsea, K. G. Moira, Besborough, Westmeath, Buckinghamshire, earl Cowper, earls of Scarborough and Suffolk ; earl of Dartmouth, K. G. lord chamberlain of his majesty's household.

Eldest sons of dukes.

Marquisses of Douglas, Blandford, and Hartington.

Duke of Montrose, K. T.

Duke of Devonshire, K. G.

Duke of St. Alban's.

Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal.

Earl Camden, K. G. lord president of the council.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

His royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

His R. H. the duke of Suffex.

His R. H. the duke of Cumberland.

His R. H. the duke of Kent.

His R. H. the duke of Clarence.

His royal highness the duke of York, commander in chief.

His royal highness the prince of Wales.

The prince of Wales, and dukes of Clarence, Cambridge, and Suffex, were in coaches and six.

The duke of York and his staff, with the dukes of Kent and Cambridge, and the colonels of volunteers, followed the funeral car on horseback.

Richmond herald (alone in a mourning coach), habited as the other officers of arms.

The Great Banner, borne in front of a mourning-coach, in which were captain R. Moorson, and his supporters, lieutenants D. Keys and N. Tucker.

Gauntlet and	} In front of four mourning coaches, in which were York, Somersct, Lancaster, and Chester heralds, habited as before.
Spurs.	
Helm and	
Crest.	
Target and	
Sword.	
Surcoat.	

A mourning-coach, in which the Coronet of the deceased, on a black velvet cushion, was borne by Norroy king of arms, (in the absence of Clarenceux), habited as before, and attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The six lieutenants of the Victory, habited as before, who were to bear the bannerols, in two mourning coaches.

The six admirals, in like habits, who were to bear the canopy, in two mourning coaches.

The four admirals, in like habits, to support the pall, in a mourning-coach.

#### THE BODY.

Placed on a funeral car, or open hearse, decorated with a carved imitation of the head and stern of his majesty's ship the Victory, surrounded with escutcheons of the arms of the deceased, and adorned with appropriate mottos and emblematical devices ; under an elevated canopy in the form of the upper part of an antient sarcophagus, with six fable plumes, and the coronet of a viscount in the centre, supported by four columns, representing palm-trees, with wreaths of natural laurel and cypress entwining the shafts ; the whole upon a four-wheeled carriage, drawn by six led horses, the caparisons adorned with armorial escutcheons.

The head of the car towards the horses, was ornamented with a figure of Fame. The stern carved and painted

painted in the naval style, with the word "Victory," in yellow raised letters on the lanthorn over the poop. Between the escutcheons were inscribed the words "Trinidad" and "Bucentaur." The coffin, placed on the quarter-deck, with its head towards the stern, with an English jack pendant over the poop, and lowered half staff. The corners and sides of the canopy were decorated with black ostrich feathers, and festooned with black velvet, richly fringed, immediately above which, in the front, was inscribed in gold, the word "Nile," at one end. On one side the following motto—"Hoste devicto, requievit;" behind, the word "Trafalgar;" and on the other side the motto—"Palman qui meruit ferat."

[N. B. The black velvet pall, adorned with six escutcheons of the arms of the deceased, and the six bannerolls of the family lineage, were removed from the hearse, in order to afford an unobstructed view of the coffin containing the remains of the gallant admiral.]

Quarter principal king of arms, in his official habit, with his sceptre, (in his carriage, his servants being in full mourning), attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The Chief Mourner, in a mourning coach, with his two supporters, and his train-bearer; all in mourning cloaks.

Six Assistant-mourners (in two mourning coaches), in mourning cloaks as before.

Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy king of arms (in a mourning coach), habited as the other officers of arms, and attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The Banner of Emblems, in front of a mourning coach, in which were captains T. M. Hardy and H. W. Bayntun, supported by lieutenants A. King and G. M. Bligh, of the royal navy.

Relations of the deceased, in mourning coaches.

Officers of the navy and army, according to their respective ranks; the seniors nearest the body:

The whole in 50 mourning coaches. The private chariot of the deceased Lord, empty—the blinds drawn up—the coachman and footmen in deep mourning, with bouquets of cypress.

The whole moved on in solemn pace, through the Strand to Temple Bar-gate, where the lord mayor of London waited to receive the procession, accompanied by the aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, and the following gentlemen, selected from the committee appointed by the corporation for arranging their attendance at the funeral: Samuel Birch, esq. chairman; Daniel Pindar, esq. father of the corporation; Sir William Rawlins, knight; Solomon Wadd, John Nichols, Samuel Goodbehere, Jacob Boak, James Dixon, James Taddy, John Ord, Thomas Marriott, and Edward Colbatch, esquires.

On the arrival of the military preceding the whole, the lord mayor had a short conversation with his royal highness the duke of York.

As the procession advanced, the deputation of the common council, in six elegant chariots, and in their violet gowns, fell in, as had been previously adjusted, before the physicians of the deceased; and were preceded by the seven select

sailors



failors from the *Victory* who had accompanied the committee in their barge, bearing the union, jack, and pendant of that ship; whose honourable tatters attracted universal attention.

When the duke of Clarence ascended the steps of St. Paul's, he suddenly stopped, and took hold of the colours that were borne by the *Victory's* men, and after conversing with one of the gallant tars, he burst into tears. — On the entrance of the tattered flags within the communion rails, the prince of Wales, after conversing with the duke of Clarence, sent and requested they might be brought as near the grave as possible, and on observing them, although at some distance, the tears fell from his royal highness.

The aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, fell in before the masters in chancery; and (by an especial sign manual) the lord mayor on horseback, bearing the city sword, attended by the sheriffs, rode between his royal highness the prince of Wales and the heralds at arms.

On the arrival of the procession at St. Paul's (which was filled at an early hour by all those who could obtain places), the cavalry marched off to their barracks; the Scotch regiments drew up in the area fronting the church, and marched in at the western gate.

The 48 Greenwich pensioners, with the 48 seamen and marines from the *Victory*, entered the western gate, ascended the steps, and divided in a line on each side under the great western portico.

On the arrival of the body and the funeral car at the great entrance, it was drawn up without the western gate. The body was taken

from the car, covered with the pall, and borne by 12 men; and was received within the gate by the supporters and pall-bearers, who had previously alighted for its reception.

The remainder of the procession entered the church, and divided on either side according to their ranks; those who had proceeded first remaining nearest the door.

Immediately after the great banner, near the entrance of the church, the dean and chapter fell into the procession, attended by the minor canons and vicars choral, &c. of St. Paul's Cathedral, assisted by the priests and gentlemen of his majesty's chapels royal, and the minor canons and vicars choral of the collegiate church of St. Peter Westminster, and others, who sang the first part of the burial service, set to music by Dr. Croft:

“ I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.—I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin, worms destroy this body; yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.—We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.”

The body was borne into the church and choir, preceded by Richmond herald; the great banner borne by captain Moorson; and the gauntlet and spurs, helm

and

and crest, target and sword, and furcoat, by four heralds as before. The coronet by Norroy king of arms.

The BODY.

With the supporters of the pall and canopy.

Garter king of arms.

Chief mourner and assistant mourners.

Windfor herald.

The banner of emblems.

Relations of the deceased; viz.

Horatio Nelson, esq. commonly called viscount Merton, nephew; G. Matcham, esq. nephew; G. Matcham, esq. brother-in-law; William Earl Nelson, sole brother and heir; T. Bolton, esq. nephew; T. Bolton, esq. brother-in-law.

Rev. R. Rolfe, T. T. Berney, esq. hon. H. Walpole, hon. G. Walpole, cousins.

The remainder of the procession followed in the order as before marshalled.

The officers of arms, and the bearers of the banners, with their supporters, entered the choir, and stood within, near the door; and all above and including the rank of knights bachelor, as well as the staff officers, and the naval officers who attended the procession, had seats assigned to them in the choir.

The chief mourner, his two supporters, and train-bearer, were seated on chairs near the body, on the side next the altar; and the six assistant mourners, four supporters of the pall, and six supporters of the canopy, on stools on each side.

The relations also near them in the choir; and Garter was seated near the chief mourner.

The prince of Wales, and his

six royal brothers, were at the east end of the prebendal stalls, on the fourth side of the choir.

The duchess of York was also seated in the choir; her royal highness was conducted by the bishop of Lincoln to her seat.

The officers of the navy, and the staff officers commanding the troops, were seated near the altar.

The lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, and sheriffs, were in their accustomed seats (the prebendal stalls), at the east end of the north side the choir; their ladies in the closets over them; and the deputation of the common council in the seats immediately under the aldermen.

The body, when placed in the choir, was not covered with the pall, nor the canopy borne over it; the rule in that respect being dispensed with, for the reason before mentioned. The bannerolls were borne on each side the body.

The carpet and cushion (on which the trophies were afterwards to be deposited) were laid, by the gentleman usher who carried them, on a table placed near the grave, which was under the centre of the dome, and behind the place which was to be there occupied by chief mourner.

The coronet and cushion, borne by Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), was laid on the body.

The gentlemen of the three choirs ascended into a gallery on the east side of the organ, from which the evening service was performed, Psalms xxxix. and xc. The first lesson, Job. xiv. to the end of the 15th verse, read by the bishop of Chester. *Magnificat* (set to music by Mr. Atwood).

Second

Second lesson, 1 Cor. xv. 20, read by the rev. Dr. Moss. *Nunc dimittis*; and in the proper place, &c. the following anthem, Psalm xxxix. (set to music by Dr. Greene):

Chorus.—“ Lord, let me know my end, and the number of my days; that I may be certified how long I have to live: Thou hast made my days as it were a span long; and mine age is nothing in respect of Thee, and verily every man living is altogether vanity.”

Duett, Trebles.—“ For man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them.”

Chorus.—“ And now, Lord, what is my hope: truly my hope is even in Thee.—Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ear consider my calling; hold not thy peace at my tears.—O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength; before I go hence, and be no more seen.”

At the conclusion of the service in the choir, a procession was made thence to the grave, with the banners and bannerolls as before; during which was performed on the organ a grand solemn dirge, composed and played by Mr. Attwood; the officers of arms preceding with the trophies; the gentlemen of the choir of St. Paul's accompanying the body; the gentlemen of the Chapels Royal and Westminster stationing themselves in a gallery on the west side of the organ; the body borne and attended as before.

The chief mourner, with his supporters, and near them Garter, had seats at the east end of the

grave; the train bearer stood behind the chief mourner, and near him the relations of the deceased. At the opposite end sat the right reverend the lord bishop of Lincoln, dean of the cathedral, attended by the three canons residentiaries. A supporter of the pall stood at each angle; the assistant mourners, supporters of the canopy, and bearers of the bannerolls, on either side. On the right of the dean were the chaplains; on the left the officers of the household of the deceased. The great banner was borne on the north, the banner of the deceased, as a knight of the bath, on the south of the grave; the standard and guidon behind the dean; the banner of emblems behind the chief mourner; the trophies in the angles.

The royal dukes, foreign ambassadors, and naval officers, had seats reserved for them in front of the south side of the dome.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and the whole of the common council, with their ladies, were seated in the front of the north side of the dome.

At the grave was sung:

“ Man that is born of a woman,” &c.

The remainder of the burial service was then read by the dean; and after the first collect an anthem was sung, selected from Handel's Grand Funeral Anthem:

Verse.—“ His body is buried in peace.”

Chorus.—“ But his name liveth evermore.”

There was an excellent contrivance for letting down the body into the grave. A bier was raised from the oblong aperture under the

dome, for supporting the coffin, by invisible machinery; the apparatus being totally concealed below the pavement. This contrivance prevented all those disagreeable circumstances which too often occur at the funerals of the great.

Upon a signal given from St. Paul's that the body was deposited, the troops being drawn up in Moorfields, the artillery fired their guns, and the infantry gave volleys, by corps, three times repeated.

The service of the interment being over, Garter proclaimed the style; and the comptroller, treasurer, and steward of the deceased, breaking their staves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave.

The interment thus ended, the standard, banners, bannerrolls, and trophies, were deposited on the table behind the chief mourner; and the procession, arranged by the officers of arms, returned.

The vast space under the dome of St. Paul's cathedral was illuminated by a temporary lanthorn, the contrivance of Mr. Wyatt, consisting of an octagonal framing of wood, painted black, and finished at top by eight angles, and at bottom by a smaller octagon. On it were disposed about 200 patent lamps; and it was suspended by a rope from the centre of the lanthorn; which, when drawn up, most distinctly illuminated the whole church; and had a most impressive and grand effect, contributing greatly to the magnificence of the spectacle.

During the whole of this solemn ceremony, the greatest order prevailed throughout the metropolis; and, as the remains of the much-

lamented hero proceeded along, every possible testimony of sorrow and of respect was manifested by an immense concourse of spectators of all ranks. From the Admiralty to the Cathedral, the streets were lined with the several volunteer corps of London and Westminster, the militia, and many other military bodies, both cavalry and infantry.

The lord mayor and corporation of London are entitled to the grateful acknowledgments of the publick (who profited by their attention throughout every department), not only for the exemplary manner in which they provided for the peace of the city, but for the comfortable access afforded, under their direction, to all who entered it.

Upon this celebration it seems hardly necessary to offer a word more, when we consider the general feeling of the nation on the subject. The funeral of a hero, who has achieved, in the service of his country, the greatest naval exploits that were ever performed by any conqueror that has yet existed, was attended by the sons of his sovereign, by the chief nobility, gentry, and merchants of the empire, and by many thousands of subjects of all classes, with an universal, an unmixed, and a heartfelt sense of grief for his loss; but, at the same time, with a glorious exultation in the deeds by which his life has been adorned, and his death consecrated to immortal honours. We trust that this great defender of Britain, this "Dear son of Memory, and great heir of Fame," has lived for posterity; and that, while the name of Nelson is remembered, we shall never lack

lack men who, animated by his zeal, will be ardently desirous of imitating his brilliant example.

As it is a tribute justly due to the members of the cathedral to state that on this memorable occasion there was not a single absentee, we shall record their names :

The Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean.

The three Residentiaries; Dr. Moss, the Bishop of Chester, and Dr. Weston.

The twelve Minor Canons; the Rev. Weldon Champneys, sub-dean; Rev. William Clarke, A.M. senior cardinal; Rev. John Moore, LL.B. warden; Rev. John Pridden, M.A.F.R.S.; Rev. Henry Fly, D.D.F.R.S. junior cardinal; Rev. Thomas Bennett, D.D.; Rev. James Salt, A.M.; Rev. William Clarke, A.M.; Rev. William Holmes, A.M. sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapels Royal; Rev. Edward James Beckwith, A.M.; Rev. Richard Webb, A.M.; and Rev. William Hayes, A.M.

The six vicars Choral; Robert Hudson, mus. bac.; Edward Ayrton, mus. doc.; Israel Gore; John Sale, almoner and master of the boys; Thomas Attwood, organist; and John Page.

And the following young Choristers; Masters Cutler, Rogers, Michelmores, Hart, Chip, Blackburne, Sale, and Holmyard.

And here it would be injustice not to notice more particularly the active exertions of the Rev. John Pridden, one of the minor canons;

on whom the very arduous task devolved of conducting the whole of the ceremony within the cathedral. The number of persons present cannot be estimated at fewer than 10,000; the business was of a nature novel, various, and in itself intricate: at once, to direct the military and the choristers, and to prepare for the reception of the noble and illustrious mourners, with their numerous attendants and supporters, required, it may be supposed, no small degree of vigilance, attention, and presence of mind; and when we add, that, with one trivial exception\*, not an error was manifest from the beginning to the end of the solemnity, this public testimony will be acknowledged to have been justly merited by the rev. gentleman alluded to.—Mr. Page, one of the vicars choral (who was joined with Mr. Pridden in the management for the day), had taken great pains to form a suitable selection of music from Green, Croft, Handel, Purcell, &c. for the solemn occasion. His adaptation of "His body is buried in peace; but his name liveth evermore," in particular, was greatly and justly admired.—On Mr. Attwood's skilful management of this fine organ (perhaps the best instrument of the kind in Europe) it is unnecessary to dilate: his talents are well known, and were never more strenuously or successfully exerted.

\* One of Mr. Pridden's signals to the attendant on the organist (who was himself out of sight of the ceremony) was the holding up a book: at one time, however, another gentleman near Mr. P. passing his hand with such a book in it over his face, it was mistaken for the signal, and the organ struck up about three minutes too soon. It had not, however, played above two or three bars before the mistake was corrected.

The following are the inscriptions on the several coffins in which the body was inclosed.

The inner coffin (lined with lead) was made in the gallant admiral's life-time from the mast of the *L'Orient*; and the following attestation is engraved on a large brass plate, screwed on the lid:

“ *Swiftsure*, May 23, 1790.

“ I do certify that every part of this coffin is made of the wood and iron of *L'Orient's* mast, which was picked up by his majesty's ship under my command in the *Bay of Aboukir*.

BENJ. HOLLOWELL.”

On the outer coffin, on an elegant brass plate, gilt, are the following crests and inscription:

[The Cheilac, out of a Na- val Coronet.	Viscount's Coronet.	The crest of the stern of the <i>San Josef</i> .]
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“ *Depositum*.

The most noble lord Horatio Nelson, viscount and baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe in the county of Norfolk; baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough in the said county; Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath: Vice Admiral of the White Squadron of the Fleet, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean: Also Duke of Bronte in Sicily; Knight Grand Cross of the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit; Member of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent; and Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St. Joachim: Born 29th September, 1758. After a series of transcen-

dant and heroic services, this gallant Admiral fell, gloriously, in the moment of brilliant and decisive Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st October, 1805.”

A silver coffin-plate, weighing above four pounds, with the same inscription as on the outside brass plate, but no crests or coronet, was soldered on the lead coffin.

Within the memory of any man now living, there has not been any thing of the kind so transcendantly beautiful and splendid as the outer coffin. Besides the arms, crests, coronets, &c. it gives most complete historic and classic representations of the various glorious situations, in which the extraordinary character of the brave and active spirit of the deceased was most eminently evinced. It is constructed of mahogany, 6 feet 8 long, and 2 and a half wide at the shoulders. It is covered with the richest black Genoa velvet, and ornamented with 10,000 double-gilt nails.—There are eight handles affixed to it, three on each side, and one at each end; they are highly gilt, and they, as well as the corner plates, are engraved, either with crests or some of the orders with which his lordship was invested. Excellently executed devices are in relief, on richly-gilt plates, with a black ground.

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TRIAL OF GOVERNOR PICTON.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,

Monday, Feb. 24.

A few minutes after nine o'clock  
this

this morning, Mr. Harrison opened the pleadings in this case, by stating that it was a criminal prosecution against the defendant, charging him with having, in the month of December 1801, inflicted the torture upon Louisa Calderon, one of his majesty's subjects, in the island of Trinidad.

Mr. Garrow rose to address the jury, and said, that the duty had devolved to him, by the removal of a learned person from this court to an exalted station, which deprived them of the advantage of his greater abilities, to lay before them a statement of the singular and horrid transaction which was the subject of this prosecution; and, although he should acquit himself zealously of the obligation imposed upon him, to bring to light and condign punishment an offence so flagrant as that charged upon the defendant, yet much more happy would he be, to find that there was no ground upon which the charge could be supported, and that the British character was not stained by the adoption of so cruel a measure as that which was alleged in the prosecution. The defendant was the representative of our sovereign, and the governor of Trinidad, one of the Spanish dependencies which had surrendered to the British arms under the brave sir Ralph Abercrombie. The benignant code of laws which had prevailed in the island, were, unhappily, cruelly innovated under his administration. However strange to Englishmen it might appear, in some of the West India colonies young women frequently became mothers at the age of twelve years; and Louisa Calderon, of whom mention had been made,

was living with a person of the name of Pedro Ruiz, as his mistress, in the year 1801, being at that time only ten or eleven years of age, when, in the casual absence of this person, another man, named Carlos Gonfales, with whom she intrigued, robbed the house of Ruiz of a quantity of dollars. For this offence both he and she were apprehended, and underwent examination before the officers to whom the dispensation of justice in the island was confided. Not being able to procure from the girl evidence of the delinquency of Gonfales, application was made to governor Picton on the subject, and an order was written and signed by him, to "inflict the torture upon Louisa Calderon." Pursuant to this dreadful decree, the unfortunate object against whom it was levelled was turned over to a gaoler, and fixed upon an instrument, which was prepared for the purpose, suspended by the left wrist, from the ceiling of a room, and resting with her right foot upon a sharp wooden stake. In this position, suffering the most excruciating pain, she was continued fifty-three or fifty-four minutes, as calculated by the watch of a magistrate of the island, who attended the dreadful punishment, to see that it was not continued more than an hour, foolishly alleging, that the English law did not permit a subject to be longer tortured. This punishment not having proved sufficient to extort from the sufferer the confession which was desired, twenty-four hours afterwards it was renewed for a space of twenty-two minutes, twice during which time the poor girl fainted; and having at last confessed

that she knew Gonfales had committed the robbery, she was taken from the torture, immediately put into irons, and confined in a gaol, where she could not stand upright, for eight months, until a short time before the arrival of col. Fullarton in the island, by whom she was afterwards brought to England. This shocking abuse of his station was the charge which was brought against general Picton.

Mr. Garrow said, that he understood the justification which was to be alleged was, that the infliction of the torture was consistent with the laws of Spain, which had long been observed there. He should call witnesses to prove that no such cruelty had ever been before practised in the colony. But would it have amounted to a justification, had that ever been the case? No. At the moment that any island was taken under the protection of the British government, it had long been determined that torture ceased, as being incompatible with British jurisprudence. It had been determined, ever since the reign of Henry VI., when the duke of Exeter, one of the ministers of that reign, prepared an instrument for the purpose of torturing to confession the assassin of a distinguished nobleman, but which the judges of that day, to their immortal honour, declared nothing could justify the application of; and the instrument was to this day preserved in the Tower, under the appellation of "the duke of Exeter's daughter." So far, however, from such a practice having been warranted by any precedent, evidence would be adduced to the jury, that governor Picton was the first man who ever cursed the island of Trinidad by

ordering the erection of an engine for torture. One had been formed, by his direction, some time before the unfortunate person, whose sufferings had occasioned this prosecution, was subjected to its horrid operation, and had been used upon two or three negroes of the island, upon a charge of forcery and witchcraft. In consequence of the mandamus issued by this court, much evidence had been brought from Trinidad, which had been thought necessary to the defence of the governor. It now became necessary for him (Mr. Garrow) to call witnesses to prove the case he had stated; and, amongst others, he would call Louisa Calderon herself, who would shew to the jury some of the marks of the torture she had undergone.

Witnesses for the prosecution.

Louisa Calderon, attended by a Spanish interpreter, was then sworn, and examined by Mr. Adam,

Q. Were you at Trinidad in 1798?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you acquainted with Pedro Ruiz?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you live in his house?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you there when the defendant was governor of the island?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember a robbery committed in the house of Pedro Ruiz?—A. I do.

Q. Were you suspected of committing that robbery?—A. I was; and also Carlos, (Gonfales.)

Q. Do you remember his being apprehended?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you and your mother also taken up?—A. Yes, the same night.

Q. Before whom were you carried?—A. Before governor Picton,

Q. Did



Q. Did he order you to be committed to prison?—A. Yes.

Q. Under what guard were you conveyed thither?—A. By three soldiers.

Q. To what apartment of the prison were you consigned?—A. To the women's side.

Q. Before you were sent there, what did the defendant tell you?—A. That if I did not confess, the hangman was to put his hand upon me.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Beggerrat?—A. Yes.

Q. Is he an alcaide (magistrate)?—A. Yes; he came to me in prison, and examined me frequently as to the robbery.

Q. Was there an escribano (notary), of the name of Francisco de Castro, who also attended?—A. Yes.

Q. After some examinations, were you carried to a room where there was a picket erected in the gaol?—A. Yes.

[The witness was here desired to give a description of this instrument of torture, and of the manner in which it was applied to her person, which she did nearly in the way in which it was explained in the opening of the learned counsel. When the drawing before-mentioned was handed to her, representing in a striking manner her situation surrounded by her judges and executioners, she gave a shudder, expressive of horror; on which Mr. Garrow expressed his concern, that his lordship was not in a position to witness this accidental, but conclusive evidence of the fact.]

Lord Ellenborough objected to the exhibition of this drawing to

the jury, until Mr. Dallas, on the part of his client, permitted it to be shown to them. The examination then proceeded.

Q. How long did you remain tied up in this situation?—A. Three quarters of an hour.

Q. Were you upon the spike all that time?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you at any time drawn up by the rope connected with the pulley?—A. Yes.

Q. Had you seen any persons in the same unhappy condition before?—A. Yes, two others.

Q. What was the effect of this torture?—A. I was in great agony, and after it, my wrist and foot were very much swelled.

Q. Were you asked to make confession of the robbery before you were tied up?—A. Yes; Beggerrat inquired if I would declare who took the money.

Q. Were you sworn before the torture was applied?—A. No; but the holy cross was held up before me.

Q. Did you confess?—A. Yes; after I was suspended, I said Carlos took the money.

[Several questions were then proposed as to the time the punishment was inflicted, which appeared to be about Christmas; and by subsequent interrogatories, it appeared she was taken into the gaoler's room, where she saw Carlos, to learn if she had herself taken the money.]

Q. Where did you go after you left the gaoler's room?—A. To the same apartment where I had been suspended. I was kept there all night.

Q. Were you put in irons?—A. Yes, in grillos (fettters on the legs).

Q. Describe what these grillos are?—A. They are formed of an iron bar fastened to the ground, to which are attached two rings to receive the legs.

[A drawing of this instrument was then produced, which the witness said was an exact representation of the grillos.]

Q. Were you put on the picket next day?—A. Yes, upon the same instrument, and in the same manner; it was in the morning.

Q. How long were you kept upon it?—A. Twenty-two minutes. There was a watch to show the time; Alvarez Beggerrat, Francisco de Castro, and Rafael, an alguazil (constable) were present.

Q. With which arm were you tied up by the second day?—A. With each, one after the other; and I was so suspended, that I could just touch the spike by extending my toe.—(My feet were without shoes or stockings, she said, in reply to a question by lord Ellenborough.)—She then described that she was seized with a fainting fit, and that she knew nothing of the time or circumstances of her recovery.

Q. Were you again put in irons?—A. Yes, in the grillos, the same evening.

Q. How long were you in this state?—A. All the time I was in prison, during eight months.

Q. Are there any marks of the injury you received, now apparent on your person?—A. On my wrists there are, but none on my feet.

[The witness now exposed the seam or callus, formed on her wrists in consequence of the torture.]

To some questions, on the cross-examination by Mr. Dallas, she said that she did not know how long she had been released before she was brought over; that she came with colonel Fullarton, and that she had been maintained by Mr. White, of the Treasury.

Don Rafael Shando, also assisted by the interpreter, said, that he was an Alguazil, in the island of Trinidad, in the year 1801; that he returned from the interior of the country on the 22d of December, and saw Louisa Calderon in gaol; that they were then giving her a glass of water, after bringing her down from the torture. She was supporting herself on a table; it was about seven o'clock in the evening. Beggerrat desired witness to bring Carlos up, and told her, that she must repeat to Carlos what she had said to him. After this interview, at which nothing transpired, she was instantly put in the grillos, and in the same room in which she had suffered the torture. The apartment was like a garret, with sloping sides, and the grillos were so placed, that, by the lowness of the room, she could by no means raise herself up during the eight months of her confinement. On the 23d of December she was again put to the torture, between eleven and twelve in the morning, and she remained in this situation 22 minutes by the watch.

[The witness here examined the drawing, and described the position much in the way it had been before represented, and then added:]

She fainted twice in his arms. Beggerrat sent vinegar to the executioner to administer to her in

this

this situation. There was no advocate appointed to attend on her behalf, and no surgeon to assist her. No one but a negro belonging to Bullo the gaoler, to pull the rope. As soon as she was taken down, she was put into the grillos. The witness had seen her sister bring her victuals, but never noticed the admission of her sister or her friend into the gaol. The witness had been four or five years in the post of alguazil. He never knew the torture inflicted in the island until the arrival of the defendant. There had been before no instrument for the purpose. The first he saw was in the barracks among the soldiers. Before Louisa Calderon, the instrument had been introduced into the gaol about six months. The first person he saw tortured in Trinidad was by direction of the defendant, who said to the gaoler—"Go and fetch the black man of the piquet-guard, and put him to the torture." After the eight months' confinement, both Carlos and Louisa were discharged.

Don Juan Montes said, he was acquainted with the hand-writing of the defendant, and proved the document containing the order for the torture expressed in these terms,

"Applícase la question a Louisa Calderon."

(Signed) THOMAS PICTON.

[After some observations from Mr. Dallas, which were answered by Mr. Garrow, the lord chief justice ruled, that the application of the alcaide Beggerrat, which led to the issue of this order, should be read.]

Mr. Lowten then read the representation of this officer, advising

that slight torture should be applied, stating that his own authority was incompetent to do it without the order of the governor, and giving the result of the proceedings in the course of the examinations Louisa Calderon had undergone. The instrument was countersigned by Francisco de Castro.

Mr. Garrow—"Then follow, my lord, the service of the order, and the acts of torment."

Lord Ellenborough—"Does it appear, that the defendant was acquainted with the subsequent proceeding?"

Mr. Garrow—"I do not want it."

Mr. Harrison now proceeded with the testimony of Don Juan Montes, who said, he had known the island of Trinidad since 1793. That the torture was never introduced until after the conquest of the island, and was then practised by order of the defendant. It was first used with the military in 1799, and 2 years afterwards in the gaol.

Mr. Garrow said, that he had more witnesses to produce, if necessary, of the first respectability; but, from regard to the time of the Court, he should here close the case on the part of the crown, unless it should be required by the counsel for the defendant, that it should be proved, that general PICTON was governor of the island.

Mr. Dallas addressed the jury at great length on the part of the defendant. He recapitulated the circumstances of the case, and requested of the jury to view it in its true colours. The punishment here complained of was one sanctioned and acknowledged even by  
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the mild laws of this country, against those brave men who risked their lives, who often spilt the best blood in their bodies for our defence. The crime, too, of which Gonfales was guilty, and to which there was little or no doubt that Louisa Calderon was an accomplice, was one of a capital nature by the law of this country. It was a robbery committed in the dwelling-house, and that, too, by, or through the connivance of, a domestic; a case which judges in this country always felt most peculiarly distressing to encounter, as they could not recommend it as one attended with alleviating circumstances, but which was almost uniformly expiated by an ignominious death. The case was not one in which colonel Picton had improperly or maliciously interfered. It was a complaint made to him at the government-house, which he sent to be considered by the judge, or alcaide, before whom he allows the law to take its course. This it was particularly necessary to attend to, when it was considered that the defendant was charged with maliciously oppressing Louisa Calderon. He never took a step in it till it came before him on the suggestion of the judge; and whether he erred or not in entering into that suggestion, it could never be alleged that he did so maliciously and with a view to oppress. If he was misguided as to the law of Spain, according to which this island was to be governed, still that could only be an error in judgment on his part, but from which malice could not be implied. He should be able, however, to show that torture was authorised by the law of Spain, ac-

ording to which colonel Picton had sworn to govern the island of Trinidad; if so, the jury would be bound to acquit him of every part of the charge. In viewing these points, the first thing to be considered was the place, which was Trinidad. Where an offence was charged to be committed in this country, it was sufficient to state the case and prove the fact, by which the judge would be at once enabled to say, whether it was a crime against the law of the land. But if an offence was committed in another country, with the law of which his lordship was unacquainted, that made a material difference. In every case where an offence was committed in a foreign country, the law of that country, by which the offence was constituted, must be proved. No two systems of jurisprudence could be more materially different than those of this country and of our colonies. He should only adduce one instance of it. Suppose a person with his nose slit, his arm cut off, and otherwise disfigured, were to apply to this country for redress against the governor, or other person, who, in the island of St. Vincents, for example, had ordered him to be disfigured in this manner, simply for resisting a constable in inflicting some punishment on a negro? Nay, that it had been proved that by order of such governor, magistrate, or justice of the peace, the person resisting had been put to death—Who but would say, “The man who has done this shall surely die?” But when we learn that it is the law of these islands, that a black person resisting a constable is liable to have his nose slit, his arm cut off, and,

if

if he has materially injured the white man, even to suffer death, we are forced to change our opinion, and to confess that the person by whom such sentence, however harsh it may seem, has been inflicted, has not acted illegally, far less that he has acted with a malicious motive, or with a wish to oppress. And would any man pretend to say, that in point of enormity, or of the feelings of natural justice, there was any comparison between the case here represented, and that which now offered itself, arising out of the laws of Spain? The situation in which the defendant was placed, was the next circumstance which naturally required to be noticed. Trinidad was a colony which for many years had been subject to Spain; though, pursuing different systems of policy, she at one time had ordered it to be cultivated, at another the cultivation to be suspended. Within the last few years of her possessing it, she had departed from that policy which had almost throughout marked her conduct—namely, exclusion of strangers. And from not being at a greater distance from the Spanish main, Trinidad had become the receptacle for every disaffected runaway, and for every convict or vagabond who could contrive to escape from the other islands.—From these circumstances it was in a most extraordinary state at the time it was captured by the late gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie, and when the defendant, as the person in whom he had most confidence, was appointed by him to the government of it. The defendant was no civilian. He had been educated in a camp, and if, trusting to the alcaide, or judges of the

country, he had on their suggestion, done what he might not of himself have been inclined to do, it was simply an error in judgment, and could not be assigned to malice. The instructions he had from sir Ralph Abercrombie were to govern according to the existing laws. Previous to that time an appeal lay from the alcaide to the royal audience of Carraccas, and from that to Madrid; but this being done away when the island came into our hands, nothing remained for him but to follow what was pointed out to him as the law of Spain, by which the island had hitherto been governed. The learned counsel was then proceeding to draw a distinction between express and implied malice, when he was interrupted by

Lord Ellenborough, who said it was impossible to go into that sort of argument. It might in that way be contended that a man might murder by mistake. Such could not go to an acquittal, though it might to mitigation. The question really was—Was the punishment unlawful; in which case the law inferred malice; or was it one authorised by the law of Spain? It would be very fit, if the authorities from the Spanish law warranted it, that the case should be turned into a special verdict.

Mr. Dallas then put in the instructions from sir R. Abercrombie to the defendant, and instructions to him from his majesty; both of them specifying the existing law of the island, as being that by which he was to regulate his conduct.

The learned counsel also produced several Spanish law books, and commentaries on the laws of Spain, in which the doctrine of torture as congenial

congenial to the spirit of the law of that country, was recognised.

Those books, particularly Bobadilla and Curia Phillippica, were declared by Mr. Gloster, the attorney-general of Trinidad, to be founded on as standard authorities to the law of Spain, and to have been sustained as such before the council at Trinidad, though he professed that he did not know much either of the law or language of Spain.

Michael Gournille, who had been in the island since the year 1774; and Emanuel Falgays, who one year acted as the alcaide, corroborated the statement of the defendant's counsel, as to the nature of the appeal from the judges of the island to the Caraccas. Both, however, agreed in stating, that they had never heard of an instance of torture similar to the one in question, till it was introduced by governor Picton.

Mr. John Nugent, who had been a settler in the island from the year 1786, swore to the same effect.

Mr. Garrow, for the prosecution, adduced a witness to prove that there was a peculiar code of laws, principally of the laws of the Indies, appropriated for the government of the Spanish Islands.

This witness was Don Pedro de Vargas, who stated, that he was bred to the law of Spain, which he had studied for many years, and had practised for two years in the capital of New Grenada; that he had known the Spanish West Indies from his infancy, and had been in the Caraccas, Porto Rico, Cuba, Havanna, and Trinidad, and in all his practice he never knew nor heard that torture formed any part of the

law of the Spanish West India Islands, which were regulated not by the laws of Old Spain entirely, but by a code peculiar to themselves and the Indies, called *Reco-pilacion*. He never saw an instrument of torture in any of the islands, and did not believe it possible that either the practice of torture could exist, or the instrument be at all general, without his having heard of their existence.

Lord Ellenborough remarked, that there being here conflicting evidence, the case must be left to the jury to say where it preponderated. In speaking of a special verdict, he understood that the defendant would clearly make out that Trinidad was governed by the law of Spain at the time of the capture, and that that law authorised the infliction of torture.

Mr. Dallas then adduced additional evidence taken under a mandamus at Trinidad; but the witnesses all acknowledged their ignorance of the Spanish law, and at the same time admitted the practice in Trinidad to have been against the use of torture.

Mr. Dallas then addressed the jury on the point of fact, arguing that there was sufficient evidence that the law of Spain was that which existed in Trinidad at the time of the capture, and that the want of practice could not, of itself, rescind the law in question.

Mr. Garrow, in a very energetic speech, addressed the jury for the prosecution.

Lord Ellenborough—"The single question for your consideration is, Whether, by the Spanish laws observed in Trinidad, the defendant was justified in inflicting torture upon the prosecutrix? I would advise

advise you, by all means, to divest yourselves of every thing which may inflame your minds, so that you may give impartial attention to the present case. The inquiry for you to make is, what was the subsisting law by which Trinidad, at the time it was taken by sir Ralph Abercrombie, was governed? The various authorities upon the subject of the distribution of justice in Spanish courts, do not mention the infliction of torture, and therefore the right of applying it, if it can be applied at all, must depend upon authorities before us, or upon the jurisdiction of the judge. We are not made acquainted at what time Trinidad was annexed to the Spanish colonial possessions, or what code of laws was then instituted. Depositions of witnesses have been read who have known the island for 32 years, and one of them was born there, and swears torture was never administered. Mr. Nugent also says, he knew Trinidad for 20 years, and never saw the torture inflicted, or had even seen the instruments, and therefore it is absolutely without any proof to support it. Mr. Gloster speaks to books of authority, which he stated to be in use when he was in the island; but the existence and reference to them can certainly not extend beyond the period when he himself was acquainted with them." His lordship having made some further observations respecting the different authorities produced, concluded as follows:—"The question then resolves itself to this, viz. Whether in the absence of usage for 32 years, you will infer that the law of Old Spain so necessarily involved that of Trinidad, as to induce you to be-

lieve, that as the practice of torture is allowed by the one, it is also by the other. If you are of opinion that it does, you will be so good as to say so, that it may be inserted in the special verdict; if not you will find the defendant generally guilty."

The jury immediately returned, that they were of opinion, that no such law did exist which would authorise the defendant in inflicting the torture: in consequence of which general Picton was found—Guilty.

Lord Ellenborough—"Mr. Dallas, you will have the advantage of all objections on a motion for a new trial."

Mr. Dallas—"Yes, my lord, there are many points in the evidence of which I may avail myself."

April 26. *Court of King's Bench.*—The King *versus* governor Picton.—Last term the defendant was found guilty of torturing Louisa Calderon, one of his majesty's subjects in the island of Trinidad.

Mr. Dallas moved yesterday morning for a new trial. He stated that the defendant was a person of respectability and character in his majesty's service, as governor of the island of Trinidad. He solicited for a new trial upon the following grounds:

1. The infamous character of the girl, who lived in open prostitution with Pedro Ruiz, and who had been privy to a robbery committed upon her paramour, by Carlos Gonzales; and when a complaint found against her had been brought before a magistrate, she, refusing to confess, had been ordered to be tortured.

2. That governor Picton, who con-

condemned her to this torture, did not proceed from any motive of malice, but from a conviction, that the right of torture was sanctioned by the laws of Trinidad; and that he was rooted in this opinion by a reference to the legal written authorities in that island.

3. That whatever his conduct might be, it was certainly neither personal malice, nor disposition to tyranny, but resulted, if it should prove to be wrong, from a misapprehension of the laws of Trinidad.

4. That one of the principal witnesses in this trial, M. Vargas, had brought forward a book, entitled "*Recopilacion des Leyes de los Indes,*" expressly compiled for the Spanish colonies, which did not authorise torture. The defendant had no opportunity of ever seeing that book, but it had been purchased by the British institution, at the sale of the marquis of Lansdowne's library, subsequent to his trial; and having consulted it, it appeared that where that code was silent upon some criminal cases, recourse was always to be had to the laws of Old Spain, and these laws, of course, sanctioned the infliction of torture.

The court, after some consideration, granted the rule to shew cause for a new trial.

*Court of King's Bench, Monday, Nov. 24.*—The King *v.* General Thomas Picton. The question, whether the new trial should be granted, came on this day to be argued.

Before the discussion commenced, and after the minutes of the trial had been read by lord Ellenborough,

Mr. Garrow said, that although

he wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not oppose any indulgence the court might think fit to grant the defendant, yet he felt it his duty, as counsel for the prosecution, to apprize their lordships of one circumstance. To support the motion for a new trial general Picton had thought fit to file affidavits, made under the direction of the deputy governor of the island of Trinidad, without any authority from the court, and not under the mandamus formerly issued for the purpose of taking depositions. He therefore hoped, that at least, if the court did not entirely reject that testimony, it would allow the prosecutors time to answer it.

Mr. Dallas wished to owe nothing to the lenity of the counsel for the crown, though, if necessary, he might claim something from the indulgence of the court. The affidavits to which his learned friend had objected, were made under the following circumstances, and their lordships would judge if they were not sufficiently authenticated to be received as evidence. It would be in the recollection of those present at the trial, that a book had been produced, styled in the Spanish language, *Recopilacion des Leyes*, or a collection of the laws for the government of the Spanish West Indies, with respect to which Mr. Peter Vargas had sworn, that it contained nothing authorizing the infliction of torture! This testimony was literally true, but substantially false; for although the book certainly contained nothing to warrant the infliction of torture in itself, yet in it was a passage, directing, that where that book should be silent, resort should be had to the laws of Old Spain.

When,



When, therefore, it was heard in Trinidad, that general Picton had been found guilty on the ground of torture not being authorized, the deputy governor for his own vindication, having made use of it, as well as for the justification of the defendant, immediately employed himself with several alcaides to make affidavits, formed upon research, containing an explication of the laws which regulated the island. These were transmitted, as official documents, to the secretary of state; and the court would decide if these affidavits, viewed in that light, were not to be read as an exposition of the law, upon which the defendant must be supposed to have acted.

Lord Ellenborough, and the other judges, were decidedly of opinion, that testimony brought forward in this form was totally inadmissible. The deputy governor had undertaken to produce them, without any authority from the court, merely for the purpose of justifying his own acts. But supposing that they could be read, it would be absolutely necessary that the other side should have an opportunity of answering them.

Mr. Dallas observed, that among those documents, was the testimony of a person who swore to the application of torture a few years before the surrender to general Abercrombie, viz. in 1792.

The affidavit of Mr. Richard Walter Forbes, attorney for the defendant, was then read. It stated, that after diligent search in the various public libraries, it was not until a late period that any copy of the *Recopilacion des Leyes* could be procured; but that it had

lately been discovered in the library of the London Institution.

Lord Ellenborough recommended, as the documents from Trinidad, of which the court could take no cognizance, might be of importance to the defence of general Picton, that a commission for taking depositions should be agreed to by the counsel for the prosecution.

To this suggestion Mr. Garrow readily consented.

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*Account of the Trial of Richard Patch, for the Murder of Mr. Isaac Blight.*

This trial, which excited an unusual degree of interest in the public mind, took place on Saturday the 5th of April, at the courthouse, in Horse-monger-lane, in the Borough, and the prisoner having been conducted into court soon after nine o'clock, took his station at the bar, attended by two or three friends. He was genteelly dressed in black; and perfect composure marked his countenance and manner.

Precisely at ten, the Lord Chief Baron Macdonald took his seat on the bench, and the business of the commission was opened by arraigning the prisoner in the usual form. To the indictment he pleaded, in an audible voice, "Not Guilty," and put himself on his trial.

The prisoner peremptorily challenged three jurors, viz. James Brown, of Battersea; John Tanner, of Grove-lane, and James Kite, of Putney.

The following jurors were then sworn:

Charles

Charles Smith, of Merton.  
 Thomas Daly, of Barnes.  
 John Leighton, of Putney.  
 John Cape, of Putney.  
 Isaac Illier, of Mudd.  
 Henry Wood, of Putney.  
 John Wedge, of Wandsworth.  
 Thomas Bartlett, of Merton.  
 George Moore, of Putney.  
 George Smith, of Putney.  
 Daniel Langton, of Wandsworth.

Thomas Chapman, of Putney.

Besides the above, seven other jurors were called, and ordered to remain in the court during the trial; two of them were objected to by the prisoner, and consequently dismissed.

Mr. Knapp, the clerk of the arraigns, then stated to the jury, the nature of the indictment, which charged the prisoner with having, on the 23d of September last, in the parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, made an assault on Isaac Blight, with a pistol and leaden bullet, and inflicted a mortal wound therewith, on his right side, of which he lingered until the 24th, and then died.

Mr. Pooley briefly opened the case on the part of the prosecution, and afterwards, Mr. Garrow rose, and stated the case on behalf of the crown, against the prisoner, as follows:

“Gentlemen of the jury—I have the honour of attending here, to discharge the duty which belongs to me as a counsel of the crown. We are engaged in an awful and most important inquiry, which will demand your best and undivided attention. In appealing to you in this case, I shall have occasion to use no elaborate argument or sub-

tlety of reasoning; the justice of it will require you to pronounce the prisoner guilty. The evidence, which will be afforded you in the progress of these proceedings, is of a nature to require no colouring on my part; and the observations that I shall have to make to you, will be merely as an index to it.

The prisoner would have been tried at the assizes held at Kingston, but the judge thought it fit to adjourn the Kingston jury, and to cause new summonses to be directed to you, in order to ensure a fair and satisfactory deliverance. Upon your justice, confident dependence, I am sure, may be placed; but if any one of you have had the misfortune to have received any impression upon the subject which you are now called upon to try, for God's sake, dismiss it; have impartial justice only in view; recollect the oath you have taken; and thus shall both the prosecutor and the prisoner be satisfied. I shall state to you the relative situation of the unfortunate person deceased, and the person who now stands before you at the bar: I shall state also the nature of the premises to you; but should there be any thing in my statement, or in the evidence, which is not fully and satisfactorily confirmed to your judgment, I entreat you to dismiss it from your minds altogether. It is not my intention to influence or mislead you: my duty is one that I would fain have retired from, if I could have done it with propriety. Looking to the situation of the defendant, regarding him as what he was formerly, and then looking to the amelioration of his condition, through the beneficence of

of the deceased; if he be indeed, guilty, he is one of the worst men that the history of mankind presents; for we find him deliberately placing his benefactor and friend in a situation where he could secretly murder him. The crime with which he is charged is the highest in the catalogue of guilt, and if he shall appear to you innocent, I must be ready to confess him one of the most injured and suffering men in the world. But should he prove to you guilty of this charge, and guilty I must think him, beyond the possibility of doubt, his crime must be considered to extend to a degree beyond murder, and looked upon as petty treason, if, indeed, it be not really in law, petty treason. The various concurrent circumstances which will be proved before you, are so remarkable in their nature, and in the manner in which they have come to light, that, without being superstitious, I cannot but think I trace in them the directing hand of Providence. The deceased, Mr. Blight, lived in the neighbourhood of Greenland Dock, and followed the business of a ship-breaker. In the spring of 1803, he had in his house a menial servant, who was the sister of the prisoner. The latter went one day to visit this sister, and she obtained permission for him, at night, to sleep in the house. From this circumstance originated his subsequent connection with Mr. Blight. He represented himself to be in very embarrassed circumstances, and that he had left the West of England in consequence of some dispute about tythes. His situation he said, was so distressed, that he would gladly accept the most menial employment, and he actually

engaged in the service of Mr. Blight, for mere victuals and drink. He continued some time in this capacity, and on these terms, until finding him a useful servant, Mr. Blight allowed him 30*l.* a year, as a salary. Chusing, however, after a farther lapse of time, to board himself, the prisoner procured his salary to be raised, under that consideration, and the increasing value of his services, to 100*l.* a year. Thus, from leaving his home, and wandering as an outcast, in 1803, through the generosity of the man whom, there is too much reason to believe, he afterwards foully murdered, we find him earning 100*l.* a year. At the close of the year, Mr. Blight found himself in uneasy pecuniary circumstances; and his creditors becoming urgent, a deed was executed, by which his property was to be equally divided amongst them. In this transaction, the prisoner took an important part. The deed stipulated an equal distribution of all the assets of the deceased amongst all his creditors. One of the creditors, however, did not consent; and, in an evil hour, it occurred to Mr. Blight, that, to protect himself against his creditors, he should transfer his property, and that transfer was actually made by him to the prisoner, for a nominal consideration of 2000*l.* The premises at Deptford were held under lease from the city of London; and, as it was about to be renewed, in pursuance of this juggle, a letter was addressed to Mr. Patch, stating, that a lease would be obtained for him, of the city, although it would be in Mr. Blight's name. Thus, matters went on, until July, 1805, when

Mr. Blight's family went into the country; upon which occasion, a new agreement was entered into with the prisoner (or, in plain English, a new evasion practised upon the creditors,) by which Mr. Blight was, nominally, to retire from the business; but he was to preserve, virtually, an interest in the concern, amounting to two-thirds of it; and, for the one-third, relinquished to Mr. Patch, he (the prisoner) was to pay a premium of 1250*l.* You will readily conceive, gentlemen, recollecting the late distressed state of the prisoner, that it was a difficult thing with his means to advance this sum as a consideration. He did not pay it; but he did pay 250*l.* as part of it, leaving 1000*l.* due. For this sum, security was to be given; and a draft for the amount was drawn upon one Goom, a glue-maker, which was to become due on the 10th of September. To account for the drawing of this draft, the prisoner represented, that he had sold an estate in the West, and lent the money to his friend, Mr. Goom. When the 16th of September arrived, the prisoner told the banker, in whose hands the note was lodged, that Goom was not prepared to answer it immediately, and requested, that it might remain until the 20th. On Thursday, the 19th, Mr. Blight was to visit his wife, at Margate. The important concern of paying the draft, he expected to be accomplished in his absence. The prisoner accompanied his friend as far as Deptford, and on his return, went again to the bankers; told them, that Goom, though a substantial man, was still unprepared, and could not face his

draft, and desired them, therefore, not to present it. With this order the bankers complied. The prisoner was now left in Mr. Blight's house, with only a female servant. The family usually passed their evenings in a room fronting the Thames. At eight o'clock in the evening of the 19th, he desired the servant to fetch sixpenny-worth of oysters. On her return, she learned, that during her absence, a ball from a pistol, or gun, was fired through the window into the room in which Mr. Patch was sitting. He went to the outer gate of the premises to look, as he said, for the person who had done it; and there he found a man and his wife, whom I shall call to you as witnesses, and who will swear that no person passed them after the report of the pistol. Gentlemen, I charge that that shot was not the shot of an enemy, but was fired by the prisoner himself, for the purpose of aiding to the accommodation of that catastrophe which he immediately set about. I will prove to demonstration, that it was impossible any person but the prisoner could have discharged the pistol. There is a considerable depth of wharf before the house, and, from the direction of the shot, it is certain that it could have proceeded only from a person on the wharf. Thence the gate that I have spoken of, was the only channel of egress; and at that spot it was that the persons I shall call to you were, at the time of the discharge. No person escaped through the gate, and Mr. Patch was the first person who came to it. You will, perhaps, say, why might not the shot have been fired from the water? The answer is, that it was low

water

water at the time, and any person attempting it, must have been suffocated in the mud, or a large crane, and other obstructions, would have interposed in the direction of the shot. Besides, the elevation of the house, makes it impossible but that a ball, fired from the water, must have passed in an ascending obliquity, that would have occasioned it to strike the higher parts of the house: and the manner in which it fractured the window-shutter and blind, shews, that it could only have been fired close to the shutter. But, let us see how Mr. Patch conducted himself on this occasion, after the alarm had been given. To God alone are the springs of conduct known; but, certainly, the conduct of the prisoner, if it can be supposed he stood in the situation of a man just escaped from the shot of an assassin, and who had yet to apprehend danger from the unappeased malice of an enemy, was most extraordinary and irreconcilable to reason. The first person who joined Patch, and the two passengers, whose attention and progress had been arrested by the discharge, was a publican of the name of Frost. He and some other neighbours, who afterwards came up, wished to stay with the prisoner and protect him. Frost offered to remain with him all night. Mark the words of the refusal! "No, no," said Patch, "*they won't come again to night.*" "Well," rejoined Frost, "but have you any means of defence, if they should?" "I've pistols," was the reply, "but no ammunition." "I'll furnish you with some." "No, no, I'll go home to bed." This was on the 19th of September. Next day he writes

to Margate; expresses a hope, in his letter, that the affair was accidental; and says he knows not, if it were otherwise, whether the shot was intended for him or Mr. Blight. The letter concludes remarkably, and shews deliberate, cool-blooded, and deep-plotted murder, to have been in the contemplation of the writer. "I shall be glad to have a line from you, *but much better pleased to see you*, as you are the only friend I have to counsel." Would it not have occurred to a pure mind, that an application to the police, in such a case, was adviseable? This even was pressed upon him by the neighbours; and, to avoid their importunities, the prisoner said he would apply at a public office. But, mark, gentlemen, no such step did he ever take. To revert to the letter, it was far from being a short one; and yet, upon the important subject of the 1000*l.* draft having been dishonoured, it was absolutely silent. On Monday, the 23d, Mr. Blight arrived from Margate. The first object that engaged his attention was certainly the firing of a shot into his parlour, on the previous Thursday. The next was the payment of this draft, about which he had become uneasy. To all his inquiries on that head, the prisoner never communicated that he had been to the bankers, and told them that he had a substitution to satisfy them, instead of it; but he not only replied to Mr. Blight, that the money was forthcoming, but even went to London, with an inhibition from him not to return until he had got it. Patch returned in the evening; and whether he satisfied Mr. Blight with some excuse, or some fabrication, is not clear.

clear. They took tea together, and afterwards drank some grog. The family, as I have before had occasion to observe, spent their evenings always in the front parlour; but this night, *for the first time*, the prisoner and Mr. Blight sat in the back room, in which the latter was shot. And here let me ask you, gentlemen, if any person had meant to repeat, on this night, the attack of Thursday, where would he think to have found the family, but in the room in which they always sat? But you find that, at eight o'clock, the prisoner left his friend, drowsy from fatigue, and drinking grog, and went to the kitchen, where, complaining of a pain in his bowels, he asks for a candle and the key of the counting-house. He then passes the door of the room in which Mr. Blight sat (and which he had left open,) goes out of the street-door, and passing through some warehouses, shuts the privy-door with a loud noise, and instantly, according to the account of the servant, Hester Kitchener, a flash was observed, and, before she could quit the kitchen, her master came in, and said he was wounded. The maid rushed past her master, in the alarm, and finds the street-door open, which she had scarcely shut, when the prisoner knocked at it loudly for admittance. The only difficulty that at all occurs to make the conclusion certain, that the man who is now before you at the bar, is the person who discharged the fatal shot, consists in this difference as to time. It would, of course, be impossible that any one could, at the very same instant, be in the act of shutting a door in one place, and firing

a pistol in another, which was at some distance: but, gentlemen, is there any thing that you measure so ill as time, particularly upon any occurrence that agitates you. Even in ordinary cases, you know how difficult it is to be accurate in this respect. If the deposition of this woman is to be taken as strictly true, it is almost impossible the prisoner can be guilty: and I, for the prosecution admit it. But I charge him with going to the privy, returning to shoot Mr. Blight, and then flying back, so as to be able to knock at the street-door, on its being closed. In the front of the house there is a considerable quantity of dirt, that is scraped from the timber of ships: this circumstance will be necessary to bear in mind." Mr. Garrow here entered into a detail as to the impossibility of any body's escape who perpetrated the deed. He then described the house, and produced a correct model, in wood, of the premises. "My position," he continued, "is, that this murder could have been perpetrated by none but the prisoner; and to confirm this, gentlemen, I submit this model to you, by which you will see the impossibility of any person escaping. It was high water at the Thames, which fronts the house, so that no one could escape by the water; the gate-door was nailed up; the palisadoes being slight, if leaped upon, must have broken down; and at every avenue, at which any assassin could have escaped, were persons (all of whom will be called to you) who must have seen any one who attempted egress from the house." Mr. Garrow then proceeded to detail the pecuniary transactions which existed between

the prisoner and Mr. Blight, for the purpose of shewing the motive which might induce the prisoner to take the life of the deceased. He next urged the instructions which the prisoner had given to several of the witnesses, as evidence of an anxiety not likely to be felt by an innocent man. "Hester Kitchen-er," said the learned counsel, "was an important witness, into whose ear he thought it necessary to pour these cautions: 'Hester, you will be asked a great many questions; there are a great many whispers about; there is suspicion of me; take care what you say. You know, you heard me go into the counting-house, and slam the door of the privy at the instant you saw the flash.' This anxiety evinces something. Why mark to her these circumstances? Why meddle with the testimony of the witness of the crown? But, not contented with this, even to his own sister he whispered, 'Sarah, there are strange suspicions about me; you will be asked a great many questions; take care what you say.' At another time, at a public-house at which they were, he directed that wine should be given to Hester Kitchen-er, and told her to 'take care to stick to one story;' and himself, upon his return from one of his examinations, exclaimed, 'I have been as near hanging myself as ever man was; and if I had, I should be as happy as I am now.'" Having dwelt with great force upon these circumstances, the finding of the ramrod in the privy, into which it appeared to have been recently thrown, and the absence of any vestige in the privy of any person having been recently there, in the state in which the prisoner stated

himself to the maid, Mr. Garrow thus concluded—"Upon its being communicated to the prisoner how the ramrod was found, he exclaimed, 'I have nothing to do with that; I didn't place it there.' Who had told him he was suspected of it? Gentlemen, it had not been hinted to him that the uncharitable world even had charged the person, raised from indigence to easy circumstances, by the munificence of the deceased, with being his murderer; but there is a monitor within, who whispers to the heart the damning proof of the pollution which inhabits it, and conscience will disgorge its guilty surcharge. I have omitted several things, gentlemen, in the statement, which, under the correction of the learned judge, I have made to you; but I shall content myself with the observations I have engaged your attention with so long, praying that the searcher of all hearts, "to whom all desires are known, and from whom no secrets are hid," will assist us in the awful and important inquiry we have now to make."

#### THE EVIDENCE.

Richard Frost, of the Dog and Duck public-house, about sixty yards from Mr. Blight's premises, deposed, that on the 23d of September, at night, he received the alarm from the servant woman, and instantly went to the house; he climbed over the great gate, which was fast, and having proceeded to the house, he found Mr. Blight sitting in an armed chair, in the back parlour, supported by the prisoner. In the afternoon of the next day he died.

Mr. Cooper, a surgeon of eminence, stated, that, on being sent for to the house of the deceased, to attend in his professional capacity, he found him lying on a bed, on the parlour floor. He ordered him up stairs, and sent every one out of the room, except the two surgeons and Mr. Patch. He examined and dressed his wounds, and remained with him all night. In the morning, witness asked the deceased, whether he suspected any person to be guilty of so horrid a crime? The answer was, "No! God knows, I never did any man an injury, to induce him to take my life." Deceased observed to witness, that Mr. Patch had mentioned to him the name of Webster. Witness turned to Patch, and said, "Who is this Webster?" The prisoner answered, "he is a man suspected of having robbed Mr. Blight, and whose son is run away, in consequence of a warrant being out to search his father's premises." Witness suggested that the Bow-street officers should be applied to, and that his house should be searched. Prisoner replied, he did not know; nothing might be found; and if nothing were found, he certainly would be shot; or words to that effect. On the morning of the day on which Mr. Blight died, witness went to his bedside, and put some question to him about his affairs. Deceased said, he had the draught of a will, but it was not signed. Deceased wished to have the names of the prisoner and a Mr. Richard Ferguson added, as executors, which the witness accordingly introduced, and the deceased signed the will, and it was witnessed. Mr. Cooper then stated,

that he opened the body, and was certain that the deceased died in consequence of a ball entering his side. He then described the direction the ball took.

Ann Louisa Davies stated, that on the 19th of September she was coming from Deptford, and on her way had to pass close to the deceased's gate; she had passed the gate but a few yards, when she saw the flash of a pistol or gun, and heard the report; where she stood she could see the whole of that end of the premises; she stopped about two minutes, and was sure no person or persons made their escape that way; she heard no person come out of the deceased's house, nor did she hear any noise on the wharf.

Martha Davies, sister to the preceding witness, was with her sister, and corroborated every thing she said; but did not see the flash of the pistol or gun.

Michael Wright said, he lived at Rotherhithe, and was coming from Deptford on the 19th of September last; that he passed along the narrow passage, behind the house of the deceased; that about 60 or 70 yards before he came to the gate, he heard the report of a gun or pistol. He was not sure whether he was quite in sight of the gate or not, but believes he could have seen it, had it been daylight. When he got up to the gate, the prisoner was coming out of it. Prisoner asked, did he meet any body? He answered "No." Prisoner told witness he had been shot at, and asked him to go into the house; which he did; and they searched and found the ball: it had passed through the window shutter. Witness told him, hat  
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it would be advisable to have hand-bills printed. The prisoner said he would, and that he would offer 50l. reward. Witness asked him whether he had any fire-arms in the house? Prisoner said he had a pair of pistols, but had no ammunition.

Mr. Kinnaird, jun. was called. He took the dimensions of the house, and made the model. He explained to the jury the different purposes the model was intended to effect.

Hester Kitchener said, she had resided in the house of the late Mr. Blight, about two months prior to his death. The family consisted of her master and mistress, Mr. Patch, a child, and herself. She remembered her mistress and master setting off to Margate. He returned home on the 19th of September, and left town again the same day. Mr. Patch accompanied him, but returned again in the course of the morning. On her first coming to live with Mr. Blight, the family used generally to sit in the back parlour; but for the last seven weeks, in the front parlour. Mr. Patch sat in the front room, on the evening of the 19th of September. About eight o'clock, he sent her out for six pennyworth of oysters. She was away about nine minutes; and, on her return, found Mr. Patch in conversation with a man and woman, whom she afterwards understood to be Mr. and Mrs. Wright. Mr. Patch said, "Hester, is that you? I have been shot at." She replied, "Lord have mercy upon us, whereabouts?" Mr. Patch said, through the window shutters. The window shutters were all made fast at dusk, prior to her going out, which

was sooner than usual. The reason was, Mr. Patch said he was poorly, and wished to sup and go to bed soon. Mr. Wright sent for Mr. Frost, when they all went into the front parlour, to look for the shot that had been fired. She found it near the window. Mr. Patch expressed much surprised at what had happened, as he said neither Mr. Blight or himself had any enemy in the world that he knew of. She knew nothing about fire arms; she went into the kitchen, and thence to Mr. Frost's, to borrow some candles; they all left the house together, without any body in it; no search was made in the house that evening for the person who it was supposed had fired the shot; she heard nothing about ammunition. Mr. Patch slept that evening in Mr. Blight's bed, in order to be near her, for her protection, as she had expressed great apprehension. Mr. Blight came from Margate on the Monday following. Her master rode out the same day; and, on his return, Mr. Patch had his horse, and went out on horseback. Mr. Patch wore boots on that occasion, and usually wore boots. She was certain he wore boots on the day prior to Mr. Blight being shot at. Mr. Patch and Mr. Blight sat together in the evening in the back parlour, which had not been used as a sitting room for some weeks before. Patch, she believed, had worn thin shoes and white stockings; did not know whether ribbed or not. On the same evening, the gates were all fastened as usual; she was positive Mr. Patch had on shoes and stockings previous to her master being shot. Mr. Patch and Mr. Blight had tea together in the evening.

evening, and afterwards some grog; she was placed in such a situation in the kitchen as not to be able to see the back parlour door, although the door of the kitchen was nearly opposite to that of the parlour door in question. It was several minutes, perhaps half an hour, after she had taken in the water to make the grog, before Patch came into the kitchen and asked for a candle—his exact words were, “Hester, give me a candle—I have got a violent pain in my bowels, and must go to the privy.” He had a candle, and took the key of the counting-house from off the dresser. He went out of the front door; she heard him open the counting-house door; heard him slam the door after him, and walk across the counting-house in his way to the privy. The counting-house door sometimes sticks, if pulled hard—she heard him step into the privy, and also slam that after him—she did not know if the door keeps open when not slammed so violently. The instant she heard the privy door slam she heard the report of a pistol. Her master shortly after came into the kitchen, and said, “Hester,” (laying his hand upon his heart), “I am a dead man.” —“Lord have mercy upon us, I hope not,” then screamed, and ran immediately to shut the front door—she found the door wide open—got about half way back along the passage, when she heard a violent knocking at the door; on opening it (which she did not before she went to the relief of her master), she found Mr. Patch, anxious to be admitted; his small clothes were unbuttoned, and he appeared to be holding them up with one hand; they were, she remembers well, of

a light colour. He went immediately into the kitchen to her master, and said, “Lord have mercy upon us, what is the matter?” Witness said, “Master’s shot! master’s shot!” He assisted master into the parlour; does not recollect whether there were one or two candles upon the table. It was customary to have two. Mr. Patch wished her to go for some assistance, but she was afraid, and refused to go. He then desired her to take her master by the hand, and support him, and he would go himself for surgical assistance. This she also refused, being equally fearful to be left in the house with her wounded master; he again pressed her, and she said, “I am afraid to let you go; if I do go, I will jump out of the kitchen window.” She did pass out that way, and brought with her Mr. Frost, who lived hard by, at the Dog and Duck. Mr. Frost, in his way to the house, did not wait for the gate to be opened, but jumped over it; she saw nobody in her way; her master died the next day—she does not recollect any particular conversation she had with Mr. Patch, except that he told her there were strange ideas abroad, and she was to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth. This conversation took place before the coroner’s inquest had been held upon the body of her master. Nobody was in custody on suspicion of the murder at the time; had no further conversation with Patch, then, nor afterwards, that she recollects; she did not recollect any thing was said when Charles and her mother were present.

Christopher Morgan said, he was passing the yard between eight  
and

and nine o'clock in the evening, when he was informed that Mr. Blight had been shot. He immediately went to the house door, and demanded if he could be of any assistance. Mr. Patch came out of the room; and the witnesses asked whether they should search the premises, in order to discover the murderer? Mr. Patch replied, that he would be extremely obliged to them, and pointing to the hulk of the Carnatic East Indiaman, told them first to examine that, as at the time the former pistol was discharged, a rumbling noise had been heard in it. They immediately proceeded to the edge of the wharf, in order to search the vessel, but found it impracticable to get into it, on account of its distance from the shore. The space between the land and the Carnatic, was about sixteen feet; and it being at that time low water, if a person had endeavoured to escape that way, he would have sunk up to his middle in it. After looking attentively through the premises, they could discover nobody, nor trace of any person having entered. He then entered the house, and came to the room where Mr. Blight was laid. After some conversation on the suspicion which Mr. Blight could attach upon any person, the witness begged of Mr. Patch to commission him to go to Bow-street to procure officers. To this the prisoner replied, he did not see the necessity of the measure; upon which Mr. Morgan remonstrated, and told him that an early inquiry would be of the utmost consequence. Patch then repeated, three or four times, that he saw no necessity for it, and stated, that he was in as much danger as Mr. Blight, as he

had been shot at on the Thursday preceding. The prisoner then conducted the witnesses into the front parlour, and explained to him the situation in which he was on the day when the ball had penetrated the window shutter, and had driven a piece of the Venetian blind against his head. Upon their returning into the parlour, where Mr. Blight lay, the witness remonstrated upon the carelessness of the prisoner in leaving the door open, when he had stated himself to have been on the alert all the evening. The witness repeatedly asked Patch for a commission to go to the police-office, in order to procure proper officers, at the same time adding, there must be some cause for the commission of the horrid act, as human nature was not so depraved, as to shoot a fellow-creature without some inducement.—The prisoner then turned round to the witness, and told him, that he had as much reason to suspect him as any man. Finding that his services were not acceptable, he went away.

James Berry deposed, that, at the time of the search, and subsequent proceedings of the last witness, he was in his company, and assisted. As soon as the prisoner had directed the witness and his friend to search the *Carnatic*, Mr. Patch retired to a distant part of the yard, without making any observation, with a lanthorn, and, in a few minutes, returned to the house. The witness thought his conduct rather strange, and therefore paid more particular attention.

Charles Stonard produced the shutter and sash through which the former shot had been fired. He was a labourer, and left work at

six o'clock, when the gates were fastened by Patch. He heard nothing of the murder of Mr. Blight until the next morning, when he came to work. On the Thursday night subsequent to the murder, the witness slept with Patch; he had no clothes with him but what he put on again in the morning, and carried away with him. He had no white stockings with him, or even in his possession. If the person were to stand below the wharf, it would be impossible for him to fire at the window of the room in which Mr. Blight was seated at the time of the murder. The witness remembers the prisoner telling Hester Kitchener on the Tuesday, the day before the coroner's jury sat upon the body, to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth. He added, that they would cross-question her, and ask her a great many things, but if she began with one story, she was to continue it, or she would get him into prison. After the jury had sat upon the body, the prisoner came home, and said, "I was as near being hanged as ever any thing was in this world, and if I had I should have been as happy as I am now—people seem to think, that it was I who shot Mr. Blight." The prisoner then talked about some pistols, which he had, and said, that they were short pistols, with which he could not take an aim, and would give any man leave to take one, and he the other, and his adversary should have the first fire.

Mrs. Sarah Blight, the widow of the deceased, was examined. This lady was little above the middle age, of a very genteel appearance, and gave her evidence

with great perspicuity and decorum. She said she was the widow of the gentleman whose murder was now under consideration. Her husband became acquainted with the prisoner about three years and a half ago. His sister lived in her family as a servant. The first acquaintance with Patch was from his coming to visit his sister. At the time he entered her husband's service, he represented himself to have come out of Devonshire, on account of some difference respecting tithes. He said he came from Ellesmere. For the first few months, he worked for Blight without receiving any salary, but merely for his board. After that it was agreed, that the prisoner should receive a salary of 30*l.* a year. He acted as a foreman of the yard. At a time subsequent, his salary was raised to 100*l.* per annum, Patch agreeing to board himself. This took place about a year after he had been hired by the husband of the witness. Mrs. Blight was unacquainted with the pecuniary circumstances, of her husband in 1803. The deceased delivered to the witness certain papers, that she was to give to Patch at a particular time; but the prisoner was not then present. The documents were delivered to the witness six months before the death of Mr. Blight. At the different conversations between Patch and the deceased, it was agreed that the witness should deliver them to the prisoner in case any questions should be asked respecting the property. The witness never parted with these papers, until after the death of her husband. Mrs. Blight had gone out of town, to Margate, when she received the melancholy intelligence of the murder.

murder. — “ On my return to town I found the papers where they had been always kept, in a tin box, in my husband’s dressing-room. They were in the same state, and addressed to Mrs. Blight. I delivered them to a lady to give Patch, which was done in my presence. This was after he had been examined on the coroner’s inquest. He induced me to give them to him, by telling me, that, before the jury, he had been interrogated regarding the property, and had not the papers in his possession to produce. He had not the papers in his possession on the 15th July; but, on the contrary, only received them on the 27th of September following. Mr. Blight was induced to come to town, from the letter which was sent by Patch to Margate, and which arrived on the 19th of September. Mr. Patch was to purchase one-third of Mr. Blight’s business, for the sum of 1250l.; 250l. of which being paid, a balance of 1000l. remained due. For this, a draft had been given, upon a person of the name of Goom, which had not been paid, and which, upon inquiry after the murder, the prisoner declared had been settled by Goom, whom he had invited to breakfast for that purpose, and he (Goom) was punctual to his appointment.

Stephen Goom, examined by the common serjeant, stated, that he was a glue-boiler, in Bermondsey; that he knew the prisoner’s brother about ten years ago, and only knew the prisoner by having seen him twice or thrice. He had never known, nor had any connexion with him since, nor had ever seen him until his examination at Bow-

street. He never had with him any pecuniary connection; never received any money from him; never gave him any authority to draw upon him for any sum whatever. He never received any money for any other person’s account from him; never knew of the prisoner’s having drawn upon him, till he saw him in custody. The prisoner never asked his permission, nor proposed to draw upon him; he never gave him any note of hand for money; never made any appointment with the prisoner to breakfast at Mr. Blight’s, nor ever went there for such a purpose, nor did he know the prisoner lived there. He never called at Willis and Percival’s, nor at any other bankers, to pay any money on account of the prisoner, or take up any bill.

Mr. Garrow then called Thomas Webster, and his son, William Webster, with William’s wife, to prove that the suspicions suggested by the prisoner against them were completely unfounded, by substantiating a clear and positive *alibi* on the night of the murder; and a similar proof was substantiated for Clarke, who was also charged with suspicion on the case.

Mr. Jones, surgeon, who first attended Mr. Blight, laid, that on the evening of the catastrophe, he had conversed with Mr. Blight upon his wharf, from half-past five to near six o’clock; that he saw, in that time, the prisoner Patch ride in at the gate, booted; but that after the misfortune had happened, on being sent for, he saw Mr. Patch again, on the bed of Mr. Blight, endeavouring to assist him, with shoes and white stockings on, but he did not observe  
this,

this, till after ten o'clock; he could not be certain that he saw it sooner.

Mary Salter, laundress, underwent a long interrogation by Mr. Garrow respecting a pair of white ribbed stockings, produced to her, which were found in a closet in the prisoner's apartment, marked with a thread of coloured worsted, which she admitted to be her usual mark; but would not swear positively, nor to any belief, that the mark was actually her's.

Mr. Stafford, principal clerk at Bow-street, proved that he found those stockings in the closet of the apartment which the prisoner acknowledged to be his, in Mr. Blight's house; he found them folded up in the usual manner of clean stockings; but, from feeling them, observed something hard in the centre, which induced him to open them, when he found the legs tolerably clean, and not at all marked, as if they had been worn with boots; but the soles of the feet were covered with mud, as if the wearer had walked without shoes in the dirt. This was the 30th of September. The stockings were handed over for the inspection of the jury.

Richard Merch, a nightman, who had been employed to examine the privy at Mr. Blight's house, in search of a pistol, proved that he had examined the leaden trunk which led to the sewer below, and found in the soil the ramrod of a pistol of a considerable size. It was found sticking about two inches, by the worm end, in the soil below, with some oakum wadding sticking in the worm, which was the only part of the ramrod which was soiled; the rest

was perfectly clean and dry; and that part of the privy obviously shewed that no person could have resorted there, for several days, afflicted with such a complaint as Mr. Patch pretended.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, addressed the court in a firm tone of voice—

“I beg, my lord, that this paper (producing a paper of several folios) may be read by one of the officers of the court.”

Mr. Knapp then read as follows:—

“My Lord—Permit me to return you my sincere thanks, for the great indulgence your lordship has granted to a distressed man, by procuring him the means of a fair and impartial trial, in bringing them to this place; and accept my gratitude for your attention to the peculiar prejudices which have prevailed; and, therefore, provided that my case should be submitted to twelve gentlemen, removed from the bustle of a public assize.

“*Gentlemen of the Jury*—I could not proceed in my defence, without first returning his lordship thanks for summoning you here, as I should not have liked to be tried by the jurymen at Kingston; not that I mean to arraign their conduct, but, from the various accounts of this case, given in the public papers, they could not be supposed to go into the jury-box wholly unprejudiced. The only thing, gentlemen, which I have to regret, is calling you from your several homes; but let me entreat your serious attention to the facts, uninfluenced by any thing you have heard out of court. I implore your forgiveness for this insinuation; but a man who has been pointed

pointed out to the fury of the public, as an object of general detestation; assailed on every side, by secret and open hostility; expects that every man will take part against him; and we know, from experience, that it is with the greatest difficulty the human mind can raise itself above error and misrepresentation. I come before you accused of a felonious crime, and the laws of felony are such (no doubt, for wise purposes) as allow the prosecutor all the benefits of long deliberation, ample statement, and learned comment; while the prisoner labours under the disadvantages arising from a denial of all these. I am a plain, unlettered man, unaccustomed to speak in public, and unacquainted with the forms of law; thus only am I able to come before you. In this unfortunate predicament, I was unable to prepare my defence with any direct application to the evidence now before you. It was impossible for me to know what particular evidence would be adduced against me, and, therefore, there are some facts which I cannot explain. What, therefore is deficient, I intreat your good sense may supply; and, although I am far from condemning the law, which does not allow the prisoner's counsel the opportunity of entering into his defence—convinced that mode which it has pointed out is founded on the same humane principles that have always distinguished the administration of British jurisprudence—yet I cannot but lament it on the present occasion. The case made out against me is merely circumstantial, and supported by no direct evidence, nor is it pretended that any direct or con-

clusive fact could be proved; it depends upon a chain of incidents, none of which, taken separately, could be satisfactory; and it is for you to determine, considering the whole collectively, whether it be sufficient to establish my guilt? The nature of this evidence is of a sort which should, at all times, be received with great caution. The man who was shot, was the only person who saw the perpetrator of the act, and he has fully acquitted me; there are no circumstances whatever, to shew that mine was the hand that fired the pistol. In some cases depending upon circumstances, juries have convicted the prisoner, and it has happened, that, after he had paid the forfeit of his life, an accusing conscience burst from the breast of the real murderer. It is, then, with the greatest caution you should take away a man's life; and the reluctance to receive such testimony, is justified by the difficulty of establishing any truth by such means. In a concatenation of facts, if any link of the chain be defective, the whole must be destroyed. What is the extent of the chain, which is now to be perfect in all its parts? and what is to act upon rational minds, to induce conviction? Near forty witnesses have been examined, and you are to judge, not only if they were consistent with each other, but consistent with themselves, and with reason; and, when a man's guilt is at all doubtful, you are to satisfy your minds, that whatever may be the fidelity, and the credibility of a witness, you are not to forget how much depends on the correctness of his memory; so that not only a malignant motive, but an incor-

rectness

rectness of memory, will be sufficient to destroy the chain of inference necessary to establish the guilt of a party; and, allowing every circumstance to be true, still the argument stands good. The charge before you rests upon these three propositions, on which also I rest my defence: 1st, The motive which urged the committal of the crime; 2dly, The opportunity of committing it; and lastly, The impossibility of its commission by any other person but me. First, with respect to the motive, Can it be supposed that I would raise my hand against the man with whom I so long lived in terms of great intimacy and friendship? No; I never could entertain a thought injurious to him, and I must shrink back with horror at such a deed. So far from an attempt upon his, my own life should be a thousand times a willing sacrifice for its preservation. Not only the feelings of affection would have operated, but the sentiment of pure self-interest would have influenced me to protect him. His life was absolutely necessary to my welfare. My success depended upon his existence. I was just admitted to a share in his business. A stranger in this part of the country, I knew not how to obtain credit without his assistance. His life and friendship secured to me all these advantages, and enabled me to carry on the business. How was it possible to conduct the concern without his countenance? Could ships be purchased, could materials be found, could any regular connection be maintained without his support? My trade could not be enlarged by his death. The family's share would take off two-thirds, and the

profits must be lessened by the want of his assistance. So far, therefore, from any advantages, I should by such an event be deprived of all my prospects of success. It has been said, that I was driven from my home in a state of distress and poverty; it is true that I was pressed by a claim for tithes; but it is not correct to say, that by this I was reduced to a state of beggary. I had an estate and a farm well stocked in the county of Devon, and being informed of the advantages to be derived from the business of ship-breaking, I was determined to gain a knowledge of that trade, and therefore sold my estate, and connected myself with Mr. Blight. The produce of that sale was remitted to me, but I did not mean to continue with him, as has been represented, in the character of a menial servant. I had more than 1300l.; and 1250l. of this sum I appropriated in execution of the agreement, in order to share one-third of the business. I have suffered much from a long confinement; and have a wife and four children, I have been driven to so great distress, that I could not bring them up from Devonshire; I have several witnesses to prove these facts; and the death of an only brother has deprived me of positive evidence of my having been possessed of that property. The account of Mrs. Blight, in respect to these affairs, therefore, is not implicitly to be relied on. Mr. Blight was a man of irregular habits; he had many private expences unknown to Mrs. Blight; he had many natural children, and was much given to expend considerable sums on loose and abandoned women. Besides all this, his mercantile



the affairs were embarrassed, and ended in his failure. Many of his transactions were fictitious, and the cheque for 1000l. was of that nature, and only made use of to keep up appearances at his banker's. From the papers of such a man, no satisfactory evidence could be collected; many of his most solemn instruments were fictitious, and such were acknowledged to be the papers of the 15th of July, so improperly introduced into this transaction."

The prisoner then went into a particular statement of accounts between him and the deceased, to show that he had given *bona fide* consideration for his share in the business, and the 1000l. in which Mr. Goom was mentioned, made no part of that transaction. He continued—"A merchant, surrounded by his clerks, can give a full account of his concerns, on competent evidence; but I have none of these assistants; and, deprived of the testimony of my deceased brother, and the distance of my connections, I must rely with confidence upon the candour of a British jury. Placed as I am, I cannot call my friend from the grave, to supply the conclusive proof of my innocence. The nature of my defence, therefore, only admits of strong probability, and I trust will entitle me to an acquittal at your hands. With respect to the next proposition, upon the opportunity I had of committing the crime—it is true, the opportunities I had were frequent and abundant. If I had chosen to have done this, I might have done it when nobody was present; any time, or almost all times, furnished me with such opportunity. If I had in-

tended to murder him, I should have perpetrated the deed when there was no witness at hand to proclaim my guilt: I might have availed myself of the silent hour of midnight, and have chosen a weapon less apt to make an instantaneous alarm. One circumstance, beyond all doubt, removes the great weight of the charge; the door of the privy, and the report of the pistol, were heard at the same instant, by the witness on whom the whole of the case rests. The man who killed Mr. Blight was led by the light; and my unfortunately leaving the hall-door open, gave him the opportunity of directing the fatal blow. It was impossible I could be at the privy, and in the house, discharging this weapon of destruction, at the same time. Much stress has been laid upon my conduct and language, after the dreadful catastrophe. But what did I do immediately after that event? Did I not send into the neighbourhood to obtain assistance? Did I not attend to explain the facts to the friends of the deceased, and before the magistrates? Did I fly from my home and my country to seek protection from the avenging hand of justice? No! As to the third proposition, that no person but myself could have done it—There was full opportunity for any one, first to conceal himself, and afterwards make his escape." After some other observations upon this point, he expressed a hope that he had fully satisfied the jury on the great leading features of the case. He concluded—"Gentlemen, my fate is in your hands; you are to decide whether I am to live or die. I care not for myself; my  
life

life is of little consequence ; but I have four children, whose support entirely depends upon me ; if I fall, they are left in a state of absolute penury and want. I am confident you will not be the less inclined to a candid and humane consideration of my case. If you, then, have any doubt of my criminality, let them have the advantage of that doubt, by giving them back their father and protector."

The Lord Chief Baron having summoned up the evidence, the jury retired, and, in about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of—*Guilty*.

The clerk of the arraigns then having slowly and solemnly recapitulated his crime, and the verdict of the jury, asked the prisoner what he had to say, why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against him?

The prisoner bowed in silence.

The learned Judge having put on his cap, as usual, briefly addressed him nearly as follows—

"*Richard Patch* — You have been tried by a most humane, upright, and considerate jury, who have pronounced you *Guilty* of the most atrocious crime known in the laws of this or any other country. It commenced in ingratitude, continued in fraud, and terminated in the foul assassination of your friend and benefactor. From what has already passed upon this subject, little remains for me to do, but to pronounce the awful sentence of the law. You are to be taken back from whence you came, and thence to the place of execution, there to hang by the neck, until dead, and then to be delivered to the surgeons to be dissected and anatomized ; and may the Lord have mercy on your soul !

On Tuesday morning the 8th of April, Richard Patch, having been conducted by the proper officers to the place of execution in front of the goal in Horse-monger-lane, with two other persons convicted of coining, suffered the awful sentence of the law. He received the sacrament from the hands of the Rev. Mr. Mann, in the morning. He was dressed in mourning, and his complexion bore the same florid appearance which it always did ; and he ascended the stairs to the platform with great intrepidity. On the executioner placing the rope round his neck, the Rev. Mr. Mann, for the last time, attempted to draw from him a confession, but not with better success than the several other attempts by other persons. The only answer that could be drawn from him to any entreaties of this sort was, " I have acknowledged my sins before God, and I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of my soul, but as to the crime with which I am charged, I do not feel any inclination to gratify the curiosity of men."

The publicity of the proceedings attending the trial of this apparently hardened sinner, may, and it is earnestly hoped will, produce in every person this feeling, that however *secretly* they may fancy to themselves they can commit the horrid crime of murder, yet there may be such concurring circumstances attending it, every one of which may form the connecting link to such a chain of evidence, as must, at once, strike the most impenitent, that the eye of God is over all his creatures, and that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without his knowledge.

*Trial of Henry lord viscount Melville, before the high court of parliament.*

On Tuesday, the 29th of April, the trial commenced, when ten charges were exhibited against Henry lord viscount Melville, by the commons of England, viz.

FIRST.—That Henry lord viscount Melville, whilst he enjoyed the office of treasurer of the navy, and previous to the 10th of January, 1786, did fraudulently and illegally convert to his own use, 10,000*l.* of the public money; and did continue such fraudulent and illegal conversion after the passing of an act for the better regulating the office of treasurer; which sum of 10,000*l.* lord Melville did declare in the house of commons, on the 11th of June, 1805, that he would not reveal the application of, as he felt himself bound by motives of public duty and private honour to conceal the same; all which was contrary to the duties of his high office, a breach of the high trust reposed in him, and a violation of the law.

SECONDLY.—That the said Henry lord viscount Melville did connive at and permit Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, to draw divers sums of money from the bank for other purposes than for naval services; and did connive at and suffer him, the said Alexander, to place such sums in his own name, at a private banker's, Messrs. Coutts and Co. subject to his sole controul and disposition, against the statute, &c.

THIRDLY.—That the said Henry did fraudulently and illegally permit the said Alexander, after placing such sums of money at his

private banker's, to apply such sums for purposes of private advantage, profit, and emolument; by which the public money was exposed to great risk and loss, against the statute, &c.

FOURTHLY.—That the said Henry did connive at the said Alexander's placing in the hands of Mark Sprott, and others, divers sums of public money, for purposes other than for naval purposes, and for the purpose of private emolument and advantage, against the statute, &c.

FIFTHLY.—That the said Henry did take from the public money a sum of 10,000*l.* and did fraudulently, corruptly, and illegally, apply the same to his own use, &c. against the statute, &c.

SIXTHLY.—That the said Henry did, for the purpose of private emolument, receive divers large sums of the public money from the said Alexander, fraudulently concealing the illegal use and application of the same; such sums being mixed and undistinguished from the proper monies of the said Alexander; that the sums so advanced were entered in a book by the said Alexander, entitled, "Lord Melville's Account Current;" which book, by agreement, dated the 18th and 23d of February, 1805, together with all vouchers, memorandums, and writings, were cancelled, burnt, and destroyed, with a view to conceal and prevent the discovery of such advances of money by the said Alexander to the said Henry, against the statute, &c.

SEVENTHLY.—That amongst other advances so made, was one of 22,000*l.* without interest, part advanced from the public money so

illegally drawn from the bank, and part advanced from the mixed fund at Coutts's, composed as well of the public monies as the proper monies of the said Alexander, wholly mixed and undistinguished.

EIGHTHLY. — That amongst other advances, was another sum of 22,000*l.* for which the said Henry agreed to pay interest.

NINTHLY.—That during the greater part of the time the said Alexander filled the office of paymaster, he did gratuitously transact the private business of the said Henry, as his agent, and was from time to time in advance to the said Henry from 10 to 20,000*l.* all which advances were taken from the mixed fund at Coutts's; whereby the said Henry derived an illegal benefit from the public money; and further, that such advances were made in consideration of the said Henry's conniving, permitting, and suffering the said Alexander to use, appropriate, and apply the public money to his own interest, profit, and emolument. All which proceedings of the said Henry were contrary to the duties of his office, and in gross violation of the law; and by all and every such acts done and committed, the said Henry was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours.

To the above nine charges his lordship pleaded generally "*Not Guilty,*" matters of error and want of form excepted, and relied upon the goodness of his cause, and their lordships' justice, for an acquittal.

The TENTH, in other words the additional article of charge, was to the following effect:—"That between the 1st of January, 1784, and the 5th of January, 1786, the said Henry viscount Melville did ille-

gally apply a sum of 20,000*l.* for purposes other than naval, with a view to promote his own private emolument and advantage, and did continue such illegal application of the public money, after the passing an act for the better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy."

To this his lordship pleaded, that he was no ways bound to answer, either by the law of the land or by the constitution; nevertheless he would plead *Not Guilty*, relying upon the goodness of his cause, and the justice of their lordships, for an acquittal.

After the charges were read, Mr. Whitbread rose, and addressed the court for three hours and forty minutes.

Mr. Whitbread said it was his intention, as it was the wish of the managers of the impeachment, on the part of the house of commons, to open all the charges at once. This course of proceeding had been adopted, because it would have been extremely difficult to separate, in detail, the matters contained in the different charges, intimately connected and interwoven as they were; and also because the managers were extremely anxious to avoid every proceeding that might tend to create unnecessary delay. It would probably be necessary for him, in performing the task he had undertaken, to enter into a long detail of dry facts, many of which had already become matter of public notoriety. He should not, however, offend their lordships, by asking for their patience, since their lordships were fully aware that patience was indispensably necessary to the due administration of justice. It should be his endeavour to make  
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the detail he had to submit as perspicuous as the powers of his mind would enable him, with, at the same time, as much conciseness as the nature of the subject would admit. He was well aware that the task he had undertaken was one of the greatest magnitude and importance; he was well aware that the post he now occupied had formerly been filled by persons possessed of the most splendid talents. He knew the strength against which the managers of the impeachment had to contend; he knew the ability of the learned counsel for the defendant; he knew that to that ability they added all the experience which could be acquired in this mode of trial, they having been, on a former occasion, one for, and one against, a prosecution of this nature. Far, however, from being appalled, if there was any energy in his mind, these circumstances quickened it, and called for all its exertions. When he looked back to the memorable day when the seeds of this trial were sown, and reviewed the proceedings until the charges were brought to issue, he felt a satisfaction that this mode of trial had been adopted, since it was that which had been chosen by the dearest friends and connections of the defendant. He felt also a satisfaction at the means employed for the defence, inasmuch as every mistake made in propounding or supporting the charges, would be immediately rectified by the learning and experience of the learned counsel for the defendant. [A short pause ensued, for which Mr. Whitbread apologized and proceeded.] I trust that whatever exertions I may make, I shall not be betrayed into intemperate expressions

—truth delights in the language of temperance. Whilst, however, I endeavour to avoid the language of intemperance, I will speak for justice; if the party accused be guilty, the fault is double, because he came into office on the pretext of reforming the abuses of others. Errors may creep into the best regulated offices, in spite of every care and attention; but, if abuses are wilful, spare them not. The preamble to the articles of impeachment stated, he said, a self-evident proposition, that the office of the treasurer of the navy was one of great trust and importance. He need not dwell upon another proposition, that all great officers ought to act with honour and integrity. If these qualifications were required more in one office than in others, it was in that of the treasurer of the navy. As to the origin, or constitution of the office of treasurer of the navy, it was not necessary to say much. Large sums of money necessarily passed through the hands of the treasurers of the navy, who had been accustomed to make use of the public money, whilst remaining in their hands, for the purpose of private emolument. This practice, though not legally recognised, was allowed. At the close, however, of the American war, when the situation of the country loudly demanded inquiry, commissioners were appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the past expenditure of public money, and also as to what enactments might be necessary for the future. These commissioners, in the execution of the trust reposed in them, made a special report respecting the office of treasurer of the navy, in which they

advised measures to be taken for the purpose of preventing accumulations of public money in the hands of the treasurer of the navy: and that future treasurers should be precluded from making use of the public money for the purposes of private emolument, as had been done by former treasurers. In consequence of this report, several resolutions were passed by the house of commons, on the 19th of June, 1782, [Mr. Whitbread read the resolutions,] stating the expediency of granting to the treasurer of the navy a fixed salary, in lieu of all fees and perquisites. From that moment a new æra commenced in the office of treasurer of the navy; from that moment it became illegal to make use of the public money for the purposes of private emolument, and the person doing so was, he contended, guilty of an impeachable offence. Mr. Barré, at the time the resolution passed, held the situation of treasurer of the navy; but, after that period, never made use of the public money in the manner before stated. The salary was then increased to 4000*l.* a-year, in lieu of all fees and perquisites. It was worthy of observation, however, that, during the treasurership of Mr. Barré, the public money was invariably deposited in the Bank of England; for although it was the custom of the office for the treasurers to make use of the public money as before stated, still the usual place of deposit was the Bank of England. None of them had lent any sums to private individuals, except the noble defendant. Mr. Barré soon afterwards quitted the office, and was succeeded by the noble defendant, who had some years before began

his political career, having first been attached to lord Guildford, and who subsequently connected himself with that prodigy of talent, whose sun had prematurely set, but who carried with him the regret of all men who admired or esteemed personal political purity. The defendant, on coming into office, appointed Mr. Douglas his paymaster, who had held that situation, under several paymasters, for 18 years, and who was recommended to the defendant by Mr. Barré. He charged the noble defendant with, at the time Mr. Douglas was paymaster, and previous to the act of parliament, a breach of his duty, in possessing himself of certain sums of the public money. With respect to the circumstances of that period, he begged their lordships to consider in what situation the commons stood. At the time the first articles were framed, they were not in possession of the greater part of the evidence relating to this charge. In the lapse of 24 years, many of the persons who could have given evidence were dead—many of the documents had been destroyed, and many had been accidentally lost. By means, however, of the evidence which the managers had been able to resort to, he trusted their difficulties had been surmounted, and that they should be able to lead their lordships, first by circuitous paths, and small steps, and afterwards by a plain and open road, until they reached an eminence from whence they might survey, with a clear and comprehensive view, all the transactions of the defendant. The exertions of the managers had been unremitting; but, though they had been able to conquer all the difficulties which

stood

stood in the way of their procuring evidence, they had not been able to conquer their feelings. Their lordships might know, the managers did know, that, in the course of last spring, the defendant wrote a letter to the commissioners of naval inquiry, denying that he had derived any interest or advantage from the use of the public money in his hands, during the paymastership of Mr. Douglas. The noble lord had been elevated by his majesty's favour, on account of his services, to a rank in which he was only bound to answer upon his honour.—“The noble lord said he never did that which we undertake to prove that he did. The noble lord said he was ready to verify his statement upon oath. Under such circumstances, it is a painful duty for us to proceed; but I charge the noble lord not only with having taken this money, but with having made use of it for his own advantage and emolument.” He would now advert to the first charge, stating that the noble defendant had possessed himself of a certain sum of 10,000*l.* of the public money. This was connected with the tenth article, by a reference to which it would appear that this sum was increased to 27,000*l.* How were the commons prepared to prove this? By the confession of the defendant himself. The defendant had avowed that he had taken 10,000*l.* of the public money, and he told the house of commons this remarkable fact—“That he never would reveal in what manner that sum had been applied.” That expression the defendant used in the face of the house of commons; and that, I say, is an impeachable offence. Neither the

defendant, nor any man breathing, has a right to set himself above the law, to say that he has taken 10,000*l.* of the public money, and refuse to tell to whom it was paid, and for what purpose. I was apprehensive that it would be, and it may be still necessary to go into an elaborate and detailed proof, with respect to this 10,000*l.* of which the defendant possessed himself. I hope, however, that our labours in this respect are cut short. Whilst the managers were employed in the exercise of their duty, and within a few hours of our appearance here, I have learnt that the counsel have got a short cut to the secret of the employment of this 10,000*l.* and I propose to carry your lordships along with them. We may now be enabled to settle the point at once, as I know that the receipt of the person to whom this 10,000*l.* was paid, was, within these few days, in possession of the defendant's counsel. I shall call, therefore, for this receipt; and I hope that neither private honour, nor personal convenience, will interfere to prevent its production. As to the concealment of the application of this 10,000*l.*, could private honour, could public duty, be pleaded as the motive? The public themselves asked for the information. He strongly suspected that the person to whom the money was paid, was one who was long known as being engaged in mercantile transactions, and who, from a subsequent failure in his concerns, was subjected to a commission of bankruptcy, in consequence of which the whole transactions of the house were exposed to investigation. Private honour, therefore, must, in the case, cease

to be a motive for concealment. As to personal convenience, it was most convenient that the defendant's counsel should produce the paper to which he had alluded: not only this, but justice required its production. He not only charged the defendant with possessing himself of this 10,000*l.* of the public money after the new æra had taken place in the navy pay-office, but he knew that the defendant had not only confessed to the house of commons, but also to Mr. Trotter, in 1786, that he had possessed himself of other sums of public money to the amount of 10,000*l.*; and though it might be true that the defendant did not possess himself of that sum at once, and as a whole, yet he did possess himself of that sum, made up of fractional parts, not one atom of which was applied to the public service, but which was applied to the purposes of his own interest and advantage. On the 19th of August, 1782, lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was appointed treasurer of the navy. On the 20th of the same month, Mr. Douglas paid into a banking-house, at which the noble defendant then and still kept an account, 1000*l.* on account of lord Melville. Who was Mr. Douglas? He was appointed to his situation by Mr. Dundas; every act he did was with the sanction of the defendant, who was legally responsible for such acts, and who at the same time placed the greatest confidence in Mr. Douglas. It would be shown that this 1000*l.* was part of the public money. Early in November a payment of a different description was made into the banking-house on behalf of the defendant. The then mode of managing the business of

the office of treasurer of the navy was, for the paymaster, after a warrant had been received, to go to the exchequer with a bank clerk to have the greater part of the sum written into the bank book, whilst the rest was delivered to him in any way he chose. On the 6th of November, 1782, Mr. Douglas went to the exchequer to receive 45,000*l.* he chose to write into the bank book 40,000*l.* and to take the remaining 5000*l.* with him, in five bank notes of 1000*l.* each. A similar transaction had frequently taken place before; but as far as could be traced, the sum so received in cash and notes, had uniformly been set apart to pay exchequer fees. This 5000*l.* was never carried to the public account. It had been the custom to deposit sums of money in the iron chest in the navy pay office, as a place of safe custody. Cash was thus frequently deposited there previous to being sent to the out ports. In process of time, however, when payments of cash were much narrowed, the iron chest became the place of deposit for the papers, books, and floating securities of the office. The iron chest was, however, at the time of which he was speaking, the regular place of deposit; but this 5000*l.* never was deposited there. One of the bank notes for 1000*l.* which had been traced, was paid out of the hands of the treasurer of the navy to his private account at Messrs. Drummonds. Of the remaining 4000*l.* the defendant also possessed himself. In December, 1782, another sum was subtracted from the public money; one of the bank notes forming a part of which, had been traced, and it was applied to liquidate a private debt of the defendant,



defendant, and was paid into the hands of Messrs. Moffatt. If he could show this, it would be as clear as that the sun shone that the defendant made use of this money for his own private advantage. Unquestionably he did. Between the 20th of August, 1782, and the 10th of April, 1783, subtractions were made by Mr. Douglas, on receiving money at the exchequer, to the amount of 16,000l.—only 3000l. of which was paid on official account. Including the two bank notes of 1000l. each, which he had mentioned, (he would not trouble their lordships with the different items) 13,000l. was paid to the noble lord. The managers had been fortunate in making this discovery, and he trusted that all the papers respecting the paymaster-ship of Mr. Douglas, which must be in possession of the defendant, would be produced. When the defendant went out of office on the 10th of April, 1783, there was a debt due from him of 13,000l. On that day lord Bayning succeeded to the office of treasurer of the navy. Notwithstanding this, however, on the 14th of April, Mr. Douglas drew an order upon Mr. Jellicoe for 10,000l. of which the defendant possessed himself. He had heard the defendant tell the house of commons, that at the time he was treasurer of the navy he held various confidential situations, with respect to which great caution and circumspection were necessary; and it appeared that the defendant would not even communicate to his colleagues the circumstances respecting this sum of money, although he himself, at that time, formed no part of the ministry; but he takes 10,000l. and then says that it was

for the service of the public, but will not tell to whom it was paid, or for what specific service. The managers had, however, obtained sufficient information as to the real application of this money. There existed at the time of which he was speaking, a house well known in the commercial world, the house of Muir and Atkinson, who were at one period largely concerned in government contracts. Long, however, before the payment to them of this 10,000l. with which they were accommodated, they had ceased to have any concern in government contracts. Was this a fit place to deposit the public money? Were the circumstances of these individuals such at that time as to render a loan to that amount highly desirable?—He could show that the circumstances of the house were such, that the loan of 10,000l. was to them of essential importance. If that was proved, would the defendant say that he received no advantage from advancing this loan? Could it be said that there any consideration of safety operated, when the defendant must have known the situation of their affairs? The managers had the account of Mr. Atkinson, in which the 10,000l. formed only one item, and the entry was signed Henry Dundas, in the hand-writing of the defendant. He had already stated that the defendant's counsel were in possession of the receipt given for this 10,000l. During the time the defendant was out of office, there was a sum received by a person of the name of Gray, now dead, which was applied to the payment of the defendant's private debts. Having touched on this, he could not help observing, that nothing had been

so painful to the managers as the knowledge they were obliged to obtain of the private affairs of the defendant; it was still more painful to be compelled to state them to the public. Gray was the private agent, at that time, of the defendant, and the managers were in possession of a letter written by the defendant to Mr. Douglas, (Gray was a clerk in the navy pay office, and not a public accountant,) in which the defendant stated, that if Mr. Douglas wanted any money in a particular way; (in what way was not stated in the letter,) upon application to Gray, the latter would supply him with 4 or 5000*l.* In June, 1783, Gray paid into the bank on account of the ex-treasurership 1000*l.* This could not come from any public source. The debt due from the defendant to the public was thus reduced to 22,000*l.* In July, 1783, the navy pay office was in a situation of great difficulty, having to pay a demand of 10,000*l.* and there being only 3000*l.* in the office to discharge it. Under these circumstances the defendant was applied to, and recourse was had to Mr. Atkinson, who finding that there was 4000*l.* in the office, advanced 6000*l.* to make up the sum wanted. Sundry payments besides these, with the enumeration of which he would not trouble their lordships, were made by the defendant, by which the debt was reduced to 7600*l.* At this sum it stood, when another memorable revolution took place in the political affairs of this country, and the defendant, on the change of ministry, became again treasurer of the navy in January, 1784. In this situation, the old

Henry Dundas to accommodate in any way that he wished, with respect to the debt due from him to the public. This accommodation was given; an unauthorized transfer of 2000*l.* was made from the account of the second treasurership to the first; and afterwards other transfers, equally unauthorized, to the amount of 4000*l.* leaving only 1600*l.* due on the account of the first treasurership, and creating a fresh debt of 6000*l.* to the account of the second. Besides this, there were two drafts of the defendant for 2000*l.* each, which were sent by the defendant to the bank, (and for which he received the money,) one of them on the 25th of May, 1785, a day most memorable, as it was on that very day that the defendant carried a bill to the house of lords for the better regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy. That very day the defendant took 2000*l.* of the public money, and paid it to his account at Messrs. Drummond's, which had been overdrawn. These sums increased the debt to 11,600*l.* A payment of 1000*l.* was subsequently made out of the defendant's own salary, which reduced that sum to 10,600*l.* In this situation the account stood up to the death of Mr. Douglas—the public account at the bank being deficient at that time in the sum of 10,600*l.* This statement was confirmed by all the public accounts, which gave the same result. All of them proved invariably that this was the deficiency. He thought, however, it would be discovered that this was not any specific sum, but was composed of different fractional parts, which had been appropriated by the defendant for his

his own private purposes. Did the defendant call upon the executors of Mr. Douglas to make good any deficiency? On the contrary, the only balance which the defendant thought of calling for from the estate of Mr. Douglas, was a trifling sum on account of exchequer fees, on the payment of which he gave Mr. Douglas's son and executor a receipt in full. Was this out of tenderness to the memory of Mr. Douglas? No. The character of Mr. Douglas was unimpeached; and he could call many most respectable persons, some even amongst their lordships, to speak to the high character of Mr. Douglas. This circumstance, therefore, proved that the defendant was conscious the deficiency rested with himself, and resulted from his own acts. He had thus gone through the detail of the statements relative to the 1st and 10th articles, and which, he had no doubt, would be completely proved. He had brought down the transactions of the defendant to January, 1786, and he believed it would be found, with reference to those transactions, that the defendant had forged a chain for himself, with a shackle at the end of it, from which he would not easily free himself. He now proceeded to the second grand division of the charges.

The honourable gentleman professed his readiness to do complete justice to the meritorious conduct of lord Melville in the navy pay office, particularly with regard to the arrangement upon the subject of payments to seamen, their families, and their heirs.—In those arrangements it appeared the noble lord was assisted by Trotter. In-

deed the noble lord himself acknowledged this assistance, and very manfully bore testimony to the character of Trotter. To the testimony of that character then he (Mr. W.) called upon their lordships to give ample credit, and it would go to the conviction of the defendant. Upon that testimony alone, however, he would not desire their lordships to rely, for he had ample corroboration for every part of it. After the evidence he had to adduce should be heard, he was at a loss to imagine what ground of defence could be taken by the counsel for the defendant. He had heard it rumoured that they meant to contend that the act of 1785 had not been violated. But if the terms of that act were not plain and unambiguous, he knew no act in the statute book which could not be explained away: nay, the meaning of that precept in the decalogue, "Thou shalt not steal," might be questioned. But unfortunately for the purpose of the learned counsel, parliament had put its own interpretation on this statute by the act of indemnity to Mr. Pitt for the loan to Boyd. By this act the violation of the statute of 1785, by conduct exactly similar to that in this instance charged upon the noble defendant, was expressly recognised. But it would be an insult to the understanding to suppose, that any doubts could exist upon the meaning of a law prepared and carried through by the defendant himself, in the character of a reformer, and avowedly for the purpose of guarding against such abuses as he himself now stood charged with committing. The distinction which he understood was meant to be taken

taken between assigned and unassigned balances in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, he ridiculed as absurd. Both these balances were equally in the contemplation of the statute, which was palpably violated by drawing either from the bank of England for any other purpose than immediate naval services. The assigned balances were estimated to amount, on an average, to 140,000*l.* a year, and surely it could not be seriously argued that the paymaster of the navy should have such sums placed at his disposal. But, in point of fact, Trotter was not confined to those sums, for his power to draw on the bank was unlimited, and he had made ample use of it; inasmuch, indeed, that although it was pretended the first cause of removing the public money from the bank to Coutts's, was to give facility to the smaller payments at the navy pay-office, by a nearer connection between that office and the place of lodging the public money; it now turned out that the money was seldom at Coutts's, and no small payments whatever were made by the paymaster of the navy. According to a comparison of the accounts at Coutts's and the bank of England, it appeared that at the time there was a balance of no less than 490,000*l.* at the bank, there was not a shilling at Coutts's; but on the contrary that Trotter was actually overdrawn. Persons would be disposed to ask what was become of this immense balance? Why, it was employed in various speculations by Trotter. Thus, the sum of nearly half a million of the public money was placed beyond the controul of lord Melville, in conse-

quence of his own connivance; it was put to risk by Trotter, and liable to be lost: but not only that, a considerable loss must have actually accrued in consequence of a fall in the price of navy bills, which Trotter had purchased, had not the wealth acquired from other speculations, and the accommodation of Mark Sprott, enabled Trotter to meet the loss. In order to show that no small payments, such as a single shilling, and even pence, which were mentioned, had ever taken place by the paymaster, the honourable gentleman mentioned, that out of 332 drafts drawn by Trotter on Coutts, only three were under 1000*l.*; and to prove that no inconvenience could arise from suffering the money to remain in the bank, until actually wanted for naval service, he referred to the practice which prevailed under the treasurerships of Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Tierney, and particularly the change which took place under the latter, in consequence of the recommendation of Trotter himself. The result of this investigation would be such, the honourable gentleman trusted, as to deter any public officers from ever presuming to meddle with the public money but the fair objects prescribed by the law; and that as a child was cautioned to dread the fire, every public accountant should approach the public money with awe—that recollecting the fate of Trotter, and reflecting on the situation to which lord Melville was reduced by such misconduct, every agent of the public should feel it necessary to beware how he acted.

It must have been obvious to any man at all acquainted with the world,

world, much less to a man possessing the acumen of lord Melville, that Trotter's advances without interest, could not have proceeded from his own money honestly obtained, for he had no ostensible means of obtaining any such sums, no honest way of qualifying himself to afford such accommodation. Indeed, no pretence for ignorance on this subject could now be alleged; for, spite of the studied confusion of accounts, spite of all the artifices that were used to perplex the understanding of those disposed to inquire, the clue was found out, the labyrinth was unravelled. Although the noble defendant kept accounts with several bankers, besides two or three private merchants, and although Trotter kept an uncommon variety of accounts at one banker's, still the complication was not deemed sufficient for concealment; for as soon as it was understood that the business was to be inquired into, all vouchers and documents that could lead to discovery were destroyed, and that in consequence of a release signed by the defendant and Trotter. In this release a clause was introduced referring to the mutual destruction of vouchers, which he was prepared to prove was entirely without example. Now there were some terms generally used in legal instruments, which were mere formalities and of no avail, such, for instance, as "by force of arms," and so forth. But the clause he alluded to was not only unusual, but the object was evident. In order that their lordships should be able to judge fairly of this release, he requested them to consider the circumstances under which it was executed, and particularly the time,

which was a most critical juncture indeed. A commission had been appointed to investigate the affairs of the navy, a precept had been served on the navy office by the said commissioners, for the return of certain accounts, and at such a moment did Trotter send his celebrated release down to Scotland to be signed by lord Melville, who was then about to come to town, and did actually arrive very soon afterwards. For what purpose, he would ask any man of common sense and candour, could such an instrument have been executed under such circumstances, but for some purpose of concealment? In this release Trotter, it appeared, acknowledged himself in debt to the noble defendant in the sum of 1480*l.* but for this there was no voucher, or account, remaining in the hands of Lord Melville. He seemed to have altogether taken the word of Trotter upon the subject, upon whose honour he had so much reliance, that he thought it quite unnecessary to preserve any evidence by which to ascertain whether Trotter's acknowledgment formed the whole of the sum which he could justly claim. Upon the face of the transaction there did not appear to have been any thing like an investigation of accounts between two fair men bringing their honest dealings to a conclusion; nor did there appear to be any just object for the destruction of the accounts.

Here the honourable manager took a view of the several advances made by Trotter to the defendant, which were of three descriptions: First, money lent for which no interest was paid; secondly, by loans upon which interest

terest was charged; and thirdly, those upon which no interest was charged. Of those classes he took the second first; and called the attention of their lordships to the sum alluded to in the 8th article of the impeachment. This sum consisted of twenty-two thousand pounds advanced to the defendant, and for which it was alleged by the said defendant that he was to pay interest. It was stated by Trotter in evidence, that he had occasionally, "not frequently," made advances to the defendant, which were not applied to naval purposes. To enable their lordships to judge of the nature of these advances, and of their application, the managers had collected a vast deal of evidence; and, as an apology for the trouble to which their lordships would be subject, in consequence of the examination of so much evidence, he had to assure them, that no one would be called forth whose testimony did not appear to the commons to form some link in the chain of circumstances by which they proposed to establish the charges they had felt it their duty to bring forward against the noble defendant. He had little doubts that, scattered as the evidence was, small as the links were, in some instances, that the whole were so connected and arranged, as fully to make out the accusations preferred by the commons.

It would be shown, that, in one of the interviews which Trotter had with the defendant, in the year 1789, a conversation took place about India stock. Lord Melville, who was then one of the highest officers in the state, mentioned to Trotter that he thought the value of India stock was very

likely to rise, and that he would, therefore, be extremely happy to possess himself of some. "Why, my lord, (said Trotter,) should you not do so? the money can be immediately had; there is a large balance of the public money alway lying quite usefess, which may as well be employed by your lordship." But this proposition, which marked so much familiarity and friendship, was, according to the deposition of Trotter, indignantly rejected by the defendant; who desired to hear no more of any such thing as the application of the public money to his private purposes. The suggestion, however, (said Mr. Whitbread,) although it palpably betrayed the disposition of Trotter, did not alarm, in any degree, the solicitude which the defendant ought to have felt for the safety of the public money. He made no inquiry whatever; and Trotter, whose gratitude for the indulgence and liberality of his patron was very natural, could not endure the idea that his eager wish for the purchase of India stock should be disappointed. Accordingly, Trotter took occasion to mention to the defendant, (not, to be sure, until his indignation had subsided, although in the same conversation,) that he had a relative, from whom he knew he could borrow the sum his lordship required. "Then (said his lordship, without any further observation) let it be done." That the money was obtained, and laid out in the purchase of 13,500l. India stock, we have ample evidence to present to your lordships, in the person of Mr. Antrobus, by whom the stock was purchased, and in whose name it stood for some time;

time; and also in Mr. F. Linde, in whose name it also stood for some time. But as to the manner in which the money was procured; Trotter applied to Mr. Montague Linde to lend such a sum to lord Melville; Linde, however, replied, that he could not—having no money. But Trotter, it seems, told him, that his lordship must be accommodated; and what did he do? why, he gave Linde so much as was required of the public money, to be lent to the defendant. The loan was made without the defendant having given any bill, bond, or security whatever, excepting the mortgage of the stock, as Trotter pretended, to the lender. The dividends upon this stock, which were received by Trotter, Linde, and Coutts, were carried to the credit of the defendant, in a private account which Trotter had with him. Some time after the purchase, India stock rose 10 per cent.; and when the stock alluded to was finally sold, the produce of the sale far exceeded the amount of the purchase money. Indeed, upon the whole transaction, the noble defendant profited very considerably. The original purchase-money was 23,000*l.* upon which interest was charged; but this sum was soon reduced to 20,000*l.* in consequence of a payment of 3000*l.* made by lord Melville to Trotter. Now, this payment being made to Trotter, who credited the noble lord for it in his private account, leaves no room to doubt, combined with other circumstances, that the defendant knew Trotter was the real lender of this money; and also, that it must have been advanced from the public money, Trotter having no

other means of procuring it. Here I shall leave this subject of India stock, to return to it again at the conclusion of Lord Melville's account with the public, when the noble lord's knowledge of the source from which the purchase-money came, is rendered still more glaring.

I now proceed to the consideration of about 20,000*l.* and other sums of the public money, of which the defendant had the use, without any interest whatever. Trotter states the advance of 20,000*l.* to Tweedy and others; and we find that lord Melville himself acknowledged to Trotter, on his first introduction to office, a debt of 10,000*l.* This debt formed the first item in the chest account, which was an account raised by Trotter, between lord Melville and the public. There was a still further sum of 10,600*l.* which was not paid off by the defendant so late as May, 1800. With regard to the 10,000*l.* the application of which lord Melville refused to reveal, we have found out the secret. Notwithstanding the destruction of the vouchers, we have unravelled the mystery. This sum was, it appears, applied in a way somewhat similar to the 40,000*l.* lent to Boyd, and I have got a complete receipt for the money. It was not lent for any public purpose. Such an assertion cannot now be hazarded. So much for the "public duty," as well as "private honour and personal convenience" of lord Melville, who would not only have violated his duty, by appropriating the money voted for naval services to any other public purpose whatever, but who now appears, from incontes-

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table evidence, to have applied that money to his own private use, or to the accommodation of personal or political friends, and, therefore, to have lost the excuse which his first letter to the naval commissioners intimated, and which his friends have been, heretofore, so forward to press.

There is a sum which will be fully explained to you in evidence, and to which I beg your lordship's particular attention, because it serves, even taken alone, completely to establish the main charge which the commons have preferred against the noble defendant. Your lordships will immediately perceive it would be preposterous to pretend that lord Melville did not know this sum to have been public money. Indeed, from the nature of the case, it would be quite impossible that he should not know it. The case is this: in 1797, when what was called the loyalty loan was collecting, it was deemed right that men holding high offices in the state should subscribe to it, and the defendant signed for 10,000*l.* which was paid out of the public money; for Trotter was the guarantee to Coutts, by whom the instalments on this loan were advanced. Trotter debited lord Melville for the whole amount, in his private account current. But, after some time, a circumstance took place, which renders, as clear as the noon day, lord Melville's knowledge of the nature of this money. Trotter being unwilling to continue his responsibility for the 10,000*l.* thought proper to transfer it from his account current to the chest account, thus at once making lord Melville debtor to the public for that sum.

Of this transfer lord Melville was apprised in the account presented by Trotter, and he showed no sign of disapprobation whatever. Surely, then, from that moment at least, no man can venture to maintain that the noble defendant did not make use of the public money for his own private purpose; that he did not derive profit from it; in a word, that he did not appropriate it in a manner decidedly contrary to the act of parliament. This loyalty loan continued in lord Melville's possession for some years, and, when the stock was sold, the proceeds were applied to his benefit.

When your lordships take these several advances into your consideration, you cannot, I am persuaded, fail to be of opinion, that the noble defendant was well aware of the source whence the sums were derived with which he was "occasionally" accommodated by Trotter. But no doubt can exist upon the subject, when the circumstances in which Trotter was placed are taken into view. When Trotter was first in the navy pay office, his salary was but 50*l.* a year; upon that salary he remained in the office for some time, and left it to become a navy agent. This speculation, however, not succeeding, he returned to the navy pay office, upon a salary of somewhat less than 100*l.* a year, and that was the amount of his property, excepting a legacy of from 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* when lord Melville appointed him his paymaster, in 1806. Yet soon after this appointment, not more than four months, the noble defendant borrowed from this man no less a sum than 4000*l.* upon his bond, which was not to bear any interest. Now I would ask, whether any  
man



man can be so ignorant of the common affairs of life, as to suppose that lord Melville did not know whence this money came? What, that an agent having only 50l. a year, and but four months in office, could have been competent to lend his principal 4000l. without interest? Trotter would no doubt have done any thing in his power for lord Melville. He professed to feel for his patron all the gratitude which was due to the noble lord. He would, no doubt, have returned favour for favour, and still more, as he was most probably influenced by expectation as well as gratitude; but, at the time I am speaking of, it was not in the power of Trotter to furnish the sum alluded to from any other than the public funds, and the noble defendant must have been well satisfied of that. Indeed it appears pretty evident in most cases, that there was a very clear understanding between the noble lord and his agent; they seemed to co-operate very well. In 1792, it appeared, that at a time when Trotter had not much above 200l. at his bankers, 8000l. India stock was purchased for the joint benefit of lord Melville and his agent—one half for each. Now, what does this imply? Is it necessary for me to comment upon it? Is it possible that the noble lord could have been unaware of the situation and proceedings of Trotter? We have not seen the bond of 1786. It has been cancelled; whether in consequence of a *bona fide* payment we cannot say. The destruction of the books and vouchers has wrapped up these things in the veil of darkness. But the veil has been a little removed by the evidence of Trotter, who

admits that no interest was paid for the bond; and when asked the reason, his answer was, that he thought it a proper compliment to the treasurer of the navy. Can any man mistake the motive of such a compliment; or can any man believe that lord Melville could suppose, in the circumstances of Trotter, he was capable of paying it, unless he were practising fraud somewhere? If any agent were to come to any of your lordships, and tender you the use of 4000l. for instance, which was the first sum lent by Trotter to the noble defendant, and that you knew from that agent's salary he was not likely to obtain such a sum by honest means, or that he had not any ostensible way of getting possession of it—you would naturally make some inquiries of him, particularly when he offered the money without interest. As to the latter condition, indeed, I rather think your sense of honour would reject it, whatever Trotter's circumstances might be. But certainly that man could not be alive to a just solicitude for character, who would in such a case accept the loan of money without any inquiry. But what are we to think of the man who accepted, in a similar way, the loan of 10,000l. 20,000l. 23,000l. &c. and what further sums we cannot ascertain, for the records are destroyed? With respect to what we have been told of "large sums" paid by the noble defendant to Trotter from private funds, and independently of his salary, as treasurer of the navy, upon searching, we do not find whence those large sums could have come. Lord Melville was at the same time treasurer of the navy, president of the board

board of controul, secretary of state, keeper of the signet, and keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, But Trotter was his agent only in the naval department. The noble defendant had other agents: he had a Mr. Le Blanc, a Mr. Wardner, and a Robert Dundas, who was his receiver in Scotland for the keepership of the signet, and also for his private property. We do not find that Trotter received large sums from any of these sources. But great light is thrown upon the conduct of the noble defendant by the transactions which took place at the close of his connection with the naval department. In consequence of some political arrangements in 1800, the noble lord gave up the navy office, and lord Harrowby was appointed in his room. It became a matter of moment, however, that Trotter should retain his situation, for at that time there was a considerable deficiency to be made up, which it was not convenient at once to provide, and therefore to manage and conceal were both material. The deficiency was not less than about 220,000*l.* and how it arose may be easily conceived, when we reflect upon the speculation of Trotter, upon the sums transmitted to the Scotch bankers, Messrs. Forbes and Co. Messrs. Mansfield and Co. and the other more considerable advances, for the use of lord Melville. It has been stated, that the public accounts were regularly kept, and the balances tolerably even, notwithstanding the proceedings of which the commons now complain to your lordships; but those who are inclined to think so, I would only refer to the comparisons between

the bank books and those of the navy pay office. They will therefore see that a considerable difference always existed between the bank and the official balances. The deficiency at the time of lord Melville's retirement from the navy office I have stated to be 220,000*l.* and of this the noble defendant was indebted in the sum of 71,000*l.* the remainder being the debt of Trotter. How the noble defendant made up his part will be shown to your lordships. It will be seen, that the principal means arose from the different descriptions of stock which were before purchased with the public money, and all of which were sold, with the exception of his favourite India stock, which was only pledged. Now, the manner in which the India stock was disposed of upon this occasion, clearly manifests that lord Melville must have known the money was lent originally by Trotter, and no other person; for, if this India stock had been mortgaged to the friend originally held forth as the lender, how could it have been again mortgaged to the person who accommodated the noble defendant in the instance of which I am now speaking? However, with the aid of this mortgage of the loyalty loan, of 7000*l.* 3 per cent. stock, and other securities, seconded by a collateral security from one whom it is impossible to mention but with respect, and of whom it is equally impossible to think without a lively feeling for the situation in which he is at present placed—I mean Mr. R. S. Dundas: through these combined securities, the wary Mark Sprott was induced to advance 51,000*l.* for the use of the noble defendant. But this supply was insufficient,

insufficient, and therefore another loan was obtained from Coutt's and Co. upon the credit of lord Melville, and was set down to his private account. Here then let me observe, that if lord Melville were not a debtor to the public in consequence of the use which he made of the public money, how came he to make up a deficiency from his private funds? But, after all the supplies I have described, still something remained to be done to enable the noble defendant to liquidate the claim upon him, and the balance of the 71,000l. was got at by an expedient that will rather surprize your lordships. The noble lord having exhausted all other resources, resorted for the loan of between 5 and 6000l. to a good-natured friend of his, who was treasurer of the navy in 1783, and from him borrowed the sum; that is, he added to the balance of his first treasurership to make up the deficiency upon his second. Can it be necessary for me to animadvert upon such conduct? Can such a farce and mockery be reconciled to any notion existing, of equity or law? It is in the very teeth of both. How contrary is it to the course prescribed by common sense, enforced by public caution, and sanctioned by the example of the great Chatham?—that no public officer should take balances due to the public from the bank of England, and apply them to his own private purpose. No man, disposed to act fairly and justly towards the country, would do otherwise.

I now come to that point where I feel myself justified in stating, that if the facts I have recited be made out in the evidence I have to

adduce, there cannot be a shadow of doubt of the guilt of the noble defendant: That treasurer must be criminal, who permitted his agent to apply the public money for any other purpose than that to which it was assigned by parliament; and that the noble defendant knew of such application, is proved by the loans which he himself had from Trotter; for surely any man must be infatuated, who could suppose that Trotter could make these loans from any other source—unless he were to be a conjurer, or that he had found the philosopher's stone. Where else than in the public treasury could Trotter be conceived by lord Melville to have made out the 4500l. but a few months after he became paymaster, and also the advance made for the purchase of India stock? But lord Melville did well know these things, and the transactions of Trotter were also known to Coutts, and to Wilson, and to many others; but no one of these could well venture to stand forward as an accuser. Indeed it would have been hazardous in any private individual or individuals to have incurred the ire of persons so powerful as the noble defendant, or any one under his patronage, then was. But, strange to tell, that notwithstanding the notoriety of these criminal proceedings, and the ample evidence that has already appeared to prove them, the endeavour of the commons to obtain justice for the public is charged with cruelty. Compassion or some much less laudable motive, interesting itself in favour of the noble defendant, is forward to set down the pursuit of this business to the score of persecution. But I would ask, how

can such a charge apply? What is persecution? An odious compound of malevolence and power. Now, as to the first ingredient of this compound, I feel confident that I can acquit my colleagues of any motive so foul—as to myself, I spurn the base imputation; and as to power, can it be pretended that we have attacked the weak and powerless? Was there any thing in the situation of the defendant, that could have enabled us to practise cruelty towards him, or that could have encouraged the hope of success in persecution, were we even so disposed? No; on the contrary, at a time when the sense of public duty, not any feeling of private pique—when an aversion to guilt, not any undue prejudice against the guilty, prompted us to commence our proceedings against the defendant, he was surrounded by power; he held one of the highest offices in the state; he was, without meaning any imputation upon the dead, supported warmly by the minister of the day. He had a friend in one of the ablest men this country has ever seen—in the most powerful minister we have had since the revolution. He had friends in every department of the state; and against such a man it would be preposterous to suppose that the machinations of prejudice or party could prevail. No; it was the cause of justice, seconded by the voice of the country, that succeeded against him. What, indeed, less than that, could bear down the man who had such domineering influence? who had the disposal of almost every office of power and trust in the state vessel, from the deck to the top-gallant-mast head; without whose appro-

bation not an exciseman or a vice-roy was appointed? Against such a man, what had the spirit of inquiry and public justice to encounter, and what a degree of courage and perseverance was requisite in the man who should commence the arduous struggle. Happily for the country, that man was found—the patron of Nelson, he who is now conducting our fleets in triumph, undertook the salutary work—Lord St. Vincent, as soon as he was appointed to a high office, determined to become a reformer in power, and he presented the singular instance of a man in office carrying into effect those plans of retrenchment and reform, the necessity for which he saw in other circumstances. That noble lord scorned the spurious addition which power might derive from influence obtained by means of abuse and corruption, and to his immortal honour he suggested the project for cutting off such excrescences. With that noble lord, then, rests the merit of the investigation, which has produced such important discoveries. We have only followed the course into which he led us.

We have been asked, whether the noble defendant had applied the public money to his own use, and derived profits from it, how comes it that he is not rich? But let it be remembered, that the acquisition of money does not always lead to riches; men desire money from various motives, and perhaps, but comparatively few, to keep it. The love of money, for the sake of money, is by no means the least excusable species of avarice. If a man desire money for the purpose of doing good, his desire is laudable;

laudable; if it be looked after for the purpose of being disposed of in the festive board, one would not be so forward to condemn him; but if it be sought for merely with a view to employ it as an instrument of power, as the means of advancing that power by corruption—for the purpose, as it has been suggested, of extending political influence in Scotland, and overwhelming the independent part of that country, then is the avarice of the party actuated by such views, not only highly criminal, but infinitely more mischievous to society, than if he had the miser's fordid feeling, or the spendthrift's prodigal practice.

There are many things, my lords, of which some people can scarcely be persuaded to suppose a man of high rank, and generally distinguished qualities, guilty, even though the evidence of his guilt were to stare them in the face. I know there are persons who, notwithstanding the force of the evidence which has been heretofore adduced upon this subject, are still disposed to think, that a man like lord Melville could not have been capable of such offences as are charged against him in the articles which we have submitted to your lordships. But let such persons look at history, and there they will find, that men equally distinguished for social qualities, and still more distinguished for public talents, have been convicted of similar offences. Let them examine your lordship's journals, and there it will be seen, that a man who was eminent among men, was not only charged, but confessed himself at this bar, that he was guilty of peculation. The great lord Ba-

con, who, in point of ability, was an honour to this country and to human nature—he whose powers of mind were of so high an order as to be acknowledged almost supernatural, was yet stained with this odious vice. Why then should it be deemed so improbable that lord Melville is guilty of such offences? That he is guilty, we on the part of the commons allege, and are ready to prove.

#### SECOND DAY—APRIL 30.

Mr. Giles proposed the reading, as evidence, the 20th of his present majesty, appointing commissioners to examine the public accounts, and also the third and eighth reports of the said commissioners, which had been presented to the house of commons, together with resolutions of the house thereupon. Here some discussion arose. The counsel for the defendant objected to the reading of the printed journals of the house of commons, as but secondary evidence; and contended that the original journals ought to be produced. The managers argued, that the printed journals of parliament had been received as competent evidence in the case of lord George Gordon, and that this was the first time an objection of this nature had ever been taken in any court. After some remarks by lords Ellenborough and Eldon, the lord chancellor directed that the journals should be entered as read, and that persons should be afterwards examined as to their comparison with the original journals.

Mr. Whitham, clerk of the house of commons, was examined, as to the original reports of the commissioners

commissioners for examining the public accounts; which reports he produced.

The entering of the warrant, granting an additional salary of 2150*l.* to Mr. Barré, as treasurer of the navy, was proved by Mr. Mitford, a clerk belonging to the treasury. A great deal of discussion arose upon this subject, in consequence of the original warrant being lost. This warrant the managers deemed it material to have entered in evidence, because it contained the conditions upon which the increase of salary was granted, namely, "in lieu of all fees and profits whatsoever, derived by former treasurers of the navy;" which condition was entered into previous to lord Melville's act. The counsel for lord Melville argued, that no condition entered into with Mr. Barré could possibly affect lord Melville; still they opposed the admission of the warrant in evidence. However, upon Mr. Standart, chief clerk in the office of the comptroller of the navy, proving the entry of the warrant, and his attesting the comparison of the copy with the original, the copy was entered as read.

The warrants of lord Melville's first and second appointments to the treasurership of the navy, and also lord Bayning's, were proved.

### THIRD DAY—MAY 1.

Mr. Dyson, solicitor of the admiralty in 1782, swore to his attestation of the power of attorney, by which Mr. Douglas was appointed paymaster; and evidence was given of certain acts done by Mr. Douglas, as paymaster.

Mr. G. Fennel and Mr. Standert were examined as to the nature and business of the navy pay office, in which they stated that no small payments were made by the paymaster, nor any other payments, excepting those which he made to the several sub-accountants. A book, containing some certificates upon this subject, signed by A. Douglas, as paymaster, was tendered as evidence, but objected to by the defendant's counsel. The objection, however, was overruled, and the certificates entered as read.

The bank book of Mr. Douglas, which was found among his papers, was produced, and Mr. Gimingham, one of the clerks appointed to attend the exchequer, on account of the bank of England, proved several entries. He proved the payment, to Mr. Douglas, of a note of 1000*l.* No. 12, dated the 24th of October, on the 6th of November, 1782; and also of a note of 1000*l.* No. 212, dated the 7th of November, on the 22d of the same month; the former note being part of 5000*l.* and the latter of 3000*l.* advanced for navy services. These two notes were produced, and identified by the witness, who stated, also, that the two notices referring to them in the bank book were in his own hand-writing. He was cross-examined as to one of the entries being in the name of Mr. Dundas, although witness stated, that Mr. Dundas never came to the exchequer. But witness added, that whenever the advance at the exchequer was not set down to the credit of the treasurer, Mr. Dundas's name was entered; but when payment was made in bank notes, the

the name of the person receiving such notes was entered; it was, however, sometimes in one way, and sometimes in the other.

Mr. Heald, a clerk from the bank of Messrs. Drummond, deposed, that on the 29th of November, 1782, he received, for the private credit of Mr. Dundas, the note No. 212, dated November 7. The entry of this note, which was shown to witnesses, appeared in the bank waste book, and in his own hand-writing. From this entry it appeared, but he could not swear positively, that he received the note from Mr. Dundas himself. This belief he was induced to form, because, when he received a note from one person to set down to the credit of another, his custom was to mark the entry with the letter "P," which letter did not appear to this entry.

From a comparison of the book at the navy office, produced by Mr. Fennel, with the treasurer's account at the bank, it appeared that the 5000l. above alluded to was part of 45,000l. and the 3000l. part of 50,000l. advanced at the exchequer, by Mr. Gimmingham to Mr. Douglas, for naval services.

Mr. Buckley, from Drummond's bank, deposed to the entry of this note in the ledger, and it appeared in their book as if paid to Mr. D. himself.

Mr. Rippen, one of the cashiers from the bank of England, deposed, that it never happened that more than one note, bearing this same letter, date, and number, was issued the same day.

## FOURTH DAY—MAY 2.

Mr. Oliver (from Drummond's) was examined, and from his evidence it appeared, that lord Melville, as well as the other customers of that house, kept a banking-book, a transcript of which was inserted in the ledger of 1782. In this transcript, the receipt of the note of 1000l. &c. on the 29th November, was entered. Several other entries are also mentioned, namely the receipt of A. Douglas for 1000l. August 10, 1782; of 1000l. December 19; and 1000l. March 21, 1783, &c. for account of Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Whitbread proved the declaration made by the defendant in the house of commons, respecting the 10,000l. of the public money, which he alleged to have applied to public purposes, but which purposes he refused to reveal.

Mr. Serjeant Praed, one of the commissioners of naval inquiry, produced the depositions of the defendant before that commission. They were signed by the defendant. Upon cross-examination, the witness stated, that the noble defendant answered instantly any questions proposed to him. He had, however, sometimes altered the shape of expression, but nothing, in the opinion of the witness, material. After the first day, no wish for alteration was expressed. The questions put to lord Melville were previously framed and prepared by the commissioners—not every one, however. Lord Melville required no time to consider about the questions put to him. If

he had, it would have been granted. A similar indulgence had been allowed to Mr. Antrobus and Mr. Trotter. There was an interval of three or four days between the first and second attendance of the defendant, and during that interval he had made no application to see his first depositions. If the noble lord had, he had no doubt that the commissioners would have complied with his request. From the commissioners the noble lord had not, before examination, any intimation either of the specific questions to be put, or the general scope and purpose of the examination.

The depositions of lord Melville were read, including his letters to the commissioners, dated in June, 1804, and March, 1805.

Mr. Callander, formerly clerk to Mure and Atkinson, and Mr. Edgar, from the house of Smith, Payne and Smith, were adduced to prove the payment of several drafts drawn by Mure and Atkinson, or their duly authorized Clerk, Mr. Dixon, on the house of Smith and Co. in favour of the defendant. These drafts were dated on the 24th of June, 1783, the 2d, 11th; and 31st of July following; and sums of equal amount were proved to have been paid into the bank of England on the same days to the account of the treasurer of the navy. From the books in which these several sums were entered, in the official book at the navy pay office, it was shown by the evidence of G. Fennel, that the money could not have come from a public source.

These clerks were severally asked by the defendant's counsel, whe-

ther they had any other recollection of the transactions to which their evidence applied than that which they derived from the books before them?—To which, in general, they answered in the negative.

#### FIFTH DAY—MAY 3.

The examination upon the subject of the defendant's dealings with Mure and Atkinson, was renewed this morning, and Mr. Edgar underwent a long examination.

Mr. Fennel's production of the certificate books of the navy office, was opposed by counsel, as they stated, against the wish of lord Melville, they conceiving such evidence legally inadmissible, as the hand-writing was not proved.

Mr. serjeant Best, Mr. Giles, and the solicitor general, contended, on the contrary, that the book was similarly situated to the books of account in a merchant's counting-house, which, though the hand-writing was not proved, might be, notwithstanding, good evidence. The nature of the book was then explained by the witness as being that from which the paymaster stated the balances officially. Mr. Plumer declined to support his objection, and the witness proceeded to read several entries of balances during lord Melville's first treasurership. In this book, from the month of July, 1783, there were two entries of 10,000l. each, "to carry on payments and recalls."

Mr. G. Swafield, who had been sixty years in the navy pay office, never met any inconvenience in his



his business, or committed any mistake in his accounts, until the public money was removed to Coutt's bank, where he was, at the request of Trotter, urged to keep his balances.

Mr. Oliver, from Drummond's bank, deposed, that on the 25th of May, 1805, two notes for 1000l. each were paid into that bank by Mr. Douglas, for account of Mr. Dundas.

Mr. J. Davies, who was assistant to the cashier of the navy in 1785, deposed, that in the month of October, in that year, he made a draft for 1000l. payable to the defendant, which draft was for his salary as treasurer of the navy, for the preceding quarter; this draft was given to Mr. Douglas.

Mr. A. Douglas deposed to his father's death, in December 1785.

Mr. Standart was again examined, and proved the transfer of several sums in 1784 and 1785, from the new to the old treasurership of the defendant. Of any transfers irregularly made, witness knew nothing. To a question, "Whether he was understood to be speaking of transfers of the bank account of the treasurer at the bank to the bank account of the ex-treasurer; or the total account of one treasurer to the total account of the other?"—his answer was, that he knew of no transaction at the bank.

#### SIXTH DAY—MAY 5.

Mr. G. Fennel underwent another examination, as to official balances.

Mr. Oliver proved the receipt of several sums at Drummond's bank, on account of lord Melville, in the years 1803, 1804,

and 1805. Those sums were principally received from Douglas, Newbigging, and Davidson.

Mr. A. Douglas proved the payment of 4475l. 4s. 9d. to lord Melville, being the balance of exchequer fees due by his deceased father.

Mr. Whitbread again gave evidence as to the speech of lord Melville.

The letters of attorney from the defendant appointing Alexander Trotter his paymaster, and authorizing him to draw on the bank, &c. were read in evidence. These letters were dated in June and July, 1784. The release signed by the defendant and Trotter in Feb. 1803, was also put in as evidence.

The counsel for the defendant, upon the application of the managers, admitted the serving the notice upon the defendant for the production of all papers relative to his connection with Trotter, either as private agent or public officer.

Alexander Trotter was then called and sworn.

Witness began by deposing to his first introduction to the Navy Pay Office in 1774, upon a salary of 50l. a year, and he stated these particulars, alluded to by Mr. Whitbread in his opening, as to the advance of his, (witness's) salary, (he did not think it was doubled,) and appointment to the office of paymaster. He was absent from the Navy Pay Office about a twelvemonth, and on his return to it was appointed paymaster under the defendant, upon the recommendation, as he believed, of Mr. Coutts, who had applied to Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Pitt, he believed, had made interest with lord Melville. His first salary, as pay-

master, was 500l. a year, with some deductions of taxes. Upon his introduction to office, the bank book was delivered to him, and he was told, that the public balance was in the bank, excepting the sums that were in the hands of the sub-accountants, and a sum which the defendant mentioned to him. That sum witness mentioned on a former occasion to be, according to his recollection, 10,000l.; but he was induced, from many things he had since seen, to believe it was 10,600l.; 1,600l. a balance due from the defendant's first treasurer-ship, and 9,000l. a balance due upon the second treasurer-ship. The defendant told witness, that he would account for this sum of 10,600l., but did not tell him in whose hands it was. Exchequer fees are entirely at the disposition of the paymaster, having the sole management of this business. He applies to the treasury for 3000l. at a time, as he finds his funds are nearly exhausted, or reduced, under the sum of 3000l. Did not recollect any instance of the treasurer having drawn a draft during the time that he acted as paymaster. When he entered into office, the balance of exchequer fees was in the hands of the executor of Mr. Douglas; and the public balance, exclusive of the 10,600l., and the money in the hands of the sub-accountants, were at the bank. From thence he soon obtained liberty from the defendant "to draw part of those public balances, and to place them in the hands of Coutts and Co., for official convenience." Whether he meant to pay the public money to the sub-accountants or not, he always drew on the bank, according to the terms of the Act:

He had the public money in other hands besides those of Coutts, viz. Mr. Sprott, Mr. Jellicoe, Mr. Montague Lind, and some bankers at Edinburgh. To Mr. Lind "he did not recollect having lent any money, but he used him in negotiating business." Witness was in the habit of laying out the public money in purchasing government securities, such as navy, victualing, transport, and exchequer bills. He also applied it to discount the bills of private individuals, not by himself, but through "Mr. Lind and others whom he had employed." When absent from the Navy Pay Office, he confided the management of the business to Mr. T. Wilson. "As he did not wish to propose to lord Melville to authorize any other person than himself to draw from the bank, he found it necessary, in case of illness or occasional absence from the office, when sudden demands were made upon the accountants for payment of money, to leave in Mr. Wilson's hands drafts, signed by himself." These drafts were blanks with regard to the sum. They were only on the bank. But Wilson had also authority, "unlimited," to draw on Coutts, and had "verbal instructions" to employ the public money, during such occasional absence, for his (witness's) advantage. To a question, "Whether witness actually made profit of the public money, &c?" the answer was, "I did. I never meant to conceal it." He was introduced, for the first time, to lord Melville in 1782. After he became paymaster, he received lord Melville's salary as treasurer of the navy; but did not receive any other regular salary of the noble lord,

lord, as president of the board of controul, as keeper of the privy seal, or keeper of the signet of Scotland: nor did he receive any income from his lordship's private estates in Scotland or in England. He received dividends from public stock belonging to lord Melville, and kept an account of debtor and creditor. This account he cannot now produce. He had no account in his possession which he can command, excepting one which was in the possession of the managers of the impeachment. A copy of the account between him and the defendant was frequently furnished to the defendant. There were duplicates made, which were signed by both. He carried all sums received on account of the defendant to the credit of this account; no interest was charged on either side of the said account. The advances he made to lord Melville were placed to the debit of this account.

Upon particular advances the following answers were given by Mr. Trotter:—

In 1786, or thereabouts, as nearly as I recollect, I did advance specific sums to lord Melville, and placed them to the debt of that account. His lordship granted me a bond and security for 4000l., which I advanced him in or about that year. I was enabled to advance that sum of money to his lordship from the fund which I have already explained, having had the controul of that which was put into my hands for the purpose of paying exchequer fees; and as I had money upon two different treasurerships, which would not probably be called for, but had always been allowed to remain in the paymaster's hands for the trouble of making up

the ex-treasurer's accounts, I knew that money would not be called for till I should leave the office, or the accounts should be audited; and from that account I advanced his lordship 4000l. I charged no interest to his lordship for that sum. The bond did not bear upon the face of it that no interest was to be paid, but no interest was expressed to be paid. Interest was not expressed to be paid on the face of the bond. I did not feel myself entitled to charge his lordship interest for money which had been put into my hands under the situation I have described. I did not describe to lord Melville the reason why I did not charge interest, nor did I press it upon his lordship's attention so much as to know whether he ever knew that it did bear interest or not. I believe this 4000l. to have been the first article in that account; but I can only speak from recollection; and it being at a very distant period, I beg to say, it is only from recollection that I do state it. To the best of my recollection and belief it was the first item in the account. It was entitled an account current. As I was in the habit of receiving all his dividends, and his salary as treasurer of the navy, of course I debited his lordship with payments that I made of those sums—I also credited lord Melville for all these dividends as received upon those sums.

Did you direct a purchase to be made on account of lord Melville of 2000l. India stock, in or about the year 1792?—My attention has been called to that circumstance from seeing the entry in the tenth report, and I have no reason to doubt that I did. I really have

have no doubt that I did give such directions, although I have no actual remembrance of it. I can venture to say, that I did give such directions. I have already said, that I had drawn money from the bank and put it into the hands of Coutts and Co.; these sums having created credit to me at Coutts's house, I then drew upon Coutts for money to pay for that stock. I believe that 2000*l.* stock was bought on the account of, and for the benefit of lord Melville. I have no doubt that the dividends of that stock were carried to the credit of his account current. I am obliged to speak under that reserve, from having no documents of my own to refer to; but, from looking at the account at Coutts's house, I am satisfied, that the dividends of that stock were carried to the credit of lord Melville's account. I did not direct to be purchased a certain quantity of stock, commonly called the loyalty loan, in or about the year 1797, to the best of my recollection. There was no such stock subscribed for by me, or purchased by me; I believe the payments were made by Mr. Coutts's house, as far as I can understand and recollect; and they were afterwards repaid by me to Coutts's house. It was repaid by me to Mr. Coutts for lord Melville. The dividends upon that loyalty loan were carried to the credit of lord Melville in the account current.

What was the quantity of that stock so purchased for lord Melville?—I understood that it was 10,000*l.*

Did you purchase or direct to be purchased, a certain sum of 7000*l.* three per cent, reduced annuities, for or on account of lord Melville?

—I directed stock to that amount to be purchased, I believe. The dividends of that stock were carried to the credit of lord Melville in the account current.

Did you direct payments to be made to private individuals on account of lord Melville?—I have frequently.

Did you direct a certain sum of money to be paid on account of lord Melville, to the account of sir William Forbes and Co., in Edinburgh?—I believe I did.

Have you any doubt of that fact?—I have none, but have no recollection of it.

To what amount?—2000*l.* That sum was carried to the debit of lord Melville's account with me. No interest was charged upon that 2000*l.*

Do you recollect, from having looked at that document in your own hand-writing, and made at the time, any advance directed by you to be made to the account of lord Melville to the house of Mansfield, Ramsay, and Co., in Edinburgh?—The same letter specifies the sum of 3374*l.* to have been paid by my direction to Messrs. Mansfield, Ramsay, and Co., on lord Melville's account.

Was any security given to you for either of these sums from lord Melville?—None that I recollect.

What was the amount of that sum so paid by you to Mansfield, Ramsay, and Co.?—3374*l.*

Was any interest charged upon that sum between lord Melville and you?—I believe none to have been charged. On the balance of the account current lord Melville was generally indebted to me.

When was the account current brought to a settlement?—I think

think upon the 31st of May, 1800.

Was a transcript of that account, or the account itself, presented to lord Melville at that time?—I made out a general statement of his lordship's business, as far as I was connected with him, and that account was particularly specified, as well as others.

At that time in whose favour was the balance?—The balance was in my favour.

Have you any recollection of the sum of 3000l. advanced about the 17th of the same month, to Mansfield, Ramsay, and Co., on account of lord Melville?—I have no recollection of that circumstance.

Then a paper was shown to the witness, and he was asked:

Is that your hand-writing at the bottom of that paper?—It is.

Read that, and see whether you refresh your memory by it; it is a memorandum dated the 5th of January, 1790, the transaction took place in 1789; can you now state whether you did advance, on account of lord Melville, to sir William Forbes and Co. 1000l. in the month of July, 1789?—I have no recollection of that particular transaction.

Whether there was any account besides the account current kept between you and lord Melville?—There was.

What was the title of that account?—It was entitled "chest account."

Do you recollect whether the sum of 10,600l., which it was stated by lord Melville that he would account for when you first became paymaster of the navy, was carried into that account?—

I do recollect that it was stated in that account.

Was the loyalty loan, to the amount of 10,000l., which you stated to be advanced to lord Melville for the purchase of that stock, and carried to the account current, ever transferred to this chest account?—It was. I considered lord Melville to be indebted to government for the sums I advanced upon the chest account.

What was your reason for transferring the loyalty loan money from the account current to the chest account?—It was from an anxiety, an attention to my own interest. Lord Melville was indebted to me as a private individual only upon the account current, and I considered him indebted, as I said before, to government, for the balance upon the chest account.

Did you charge any interest to lord Melville upon the chest account, when the balance appeared to be against lord Melville?—I did not.

On which side did the balance on the chest account usually stand?—Lord Melville generally stood debtor upon that account.

When did this chest account terminate?—At the general settlement which took place when his lordship left the office.

Did you present to lord Melville a general statement of this chest account, as well as the account current?—I did.

Did lord Melville sign that account, or acknowledge it?—I believe he did.

Did lord Melville at that time discharge these two accounts?—He did to the best of my recollection.

Do you recollect what the amount due

due to you upon those two accounts was?—I should think nearly about 50,000l.

Did you state, that, in consequence of lord Melville's intended quitting the navy pay office, there would be a necessity for his providing a sum of money?—I did.

For what purpose was it necessary to provide that sum of money?—To make a repayment of the money which his lordship had from the public balances.

Where did you pay those balances as soon as you received them?—They must have centred ultimately in the bank; because I had a larger sum at that time from the bank upon my own account.

Were your differences as paymaster at the bank made good in part by these payments so received of lord Melville?—As money cannot be identified, I cannot answer that literally; because it may first have gone into Coutts's house, and I may have drawn a larger sum from Coutts's house, which may have made up my balances.

Was your difference, your debt to the public, swelled by the debt owed to you on the account current of lord Melville?—If I understand the question, certainly not necessarily,

Was it, in fact, so increased on account of the debt lord Melville owed to you?—I do not know whether it was.

If you had not had any balance due to you from lord Melville on the account current, on the 31st May 1800, would you have had so great a difference at the bank as then existed?—I may have chosen to take the balance which lord Melville owed to me into another channel, in which case it would

have made no difference in the cash of the bank; and as the fact did not exist, I cannot say what I would have done in such cases.

If lord Melville had not paid to you the sum due upon the private account, to enable you to pay that sum into the bank, must you not have been under the necessity of providing that sum of money elsewhere?—Certainly.

Did lord Melville understand then, that the discharge of these two accounts was to enable you to make good your differences at the bank?—Certainly not; lord Melville understood that so much of it was due upon the chest account; I believe he understood that was to make good his lordship's difference at the bank, and the other was to be in repayment of a sum of money which he owed me upon my account current.

Whether you gave directions in or about the year 1789, or 1790, for the purchase of another sum of East India stock for the benefit of lord Melville?—I gave directions in the year 1789, to purchase a sum of East India stock for the benefit of lord Melville.

Are you enabled from your memory to state what passed between lord Melville and yourself upon that subject?—I will state the transaction as far as my memory will carry me; which was in consequence of a conversation I had with his lordship, in which he stated his opinion, of the value of East India stock, from the probable rise that would take place ultimately in that stock; and I observed to his lordship, that if he was impressed with so good an opinion of that stock, that I thought, in consideration of his  
own

own interest, he ought to invest a sum of money in that stock : his lordship's observation seemed to throw it aside, by saying that he had no money to invest in stock. I had mentioned to his lordship that there were considerable balances lying at all times in my hands that were not called for, and, in all probability, would not be called for, from circumstances that I need not perhaps relate at this time ; but it was money lying unclaimed in my hands, which it would not be necessary to advance to the public until they are claimed, and there was no prospect of that claim taking place soon ; and I advised his lordship to give me leave to lay out so much of that money as would buy about 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* East India stock, but which his lordship refused in the most pointed and decided manner, insomuch, that I was afraid I had incurred his lordship's displeasure by proposing it. But it occurred to me at the same moment that it would be possible to borrow a sum of money upon the security of that stock, and I proposed to his lordship that I should endeavour to do so, and that I should lay out that money in the purchase of East India stock ; to which his lordship readily assented. I mentioned, that I then lived with a relation of my own, who was a man of considerable importance in the city, and that he would be enabled to raise this sum of money for me.

In short, I made it an easy matter to his lordship. But when I applied to Mr. Lind, the gentleman to whom I alluded, I found that I was deceived, and that it was not an easy matter to raise

money upon that security ; but I was unwilling to disappoint his lordship in what I had so sanguinely told him I could effect, and I never acquainted his lordship with the difficulty that had arisen, but I assisted Mr. Lind by advancing money from the public money which I had the management of. I never had occasion afterwards to mention the circumstance to lord Melville until April in the last year, and he was perfectly unacquainted with my having made use of the public money in that transaction, and I charged his lordship a regular interest for the whole of the money which I advanced in that transaction, from the first day that it was advanced until the final settlement of our accounts.

Did lord Melville never inquire the name of the lender of that money ?—I do not recollect that his lordship ever did : I had stated in such positive terms that Mr. Lind could do it, that I never found it necessary to mention the circumstance again to lord Melville, but took it for granted that he had thought I had concluded the transaction in the manner that I supposed it could be effected.

Did you mention Mr. Lind's name to lord Melville at the time ?—I did.

Were the dividends upon that stock carried to the credit of lord Melville's account ?—They were.

What was the amount of the sum originally expended in the purchase of this stock ?—It was about 23,000*l.*

Did the debt for the purchase of that stock continue to that amount until the stock was replaced or repaid for ?—It did not. It was diminished,

diminished, by payments from his lordship to me, to the sum of 20,000l.; upon which his lordship continued to pay interest to me until the final settlement of our accounts.

In what manner was the 3000l. repaid to you?—I have no distinct recollection of it, but I believe I have been paid at two different times.

Was the 3000l. so paid, carried to the credit either of lord Melville's chest account, or his account current with you?—It was not.

To what credit was it carried?—It was carried to the credit of the debt which was upon the stock.

To whom was that 3000l. paid?—As I had advanced the money for the stock myself, of course it was repaid to myself.

Was that East India stock in possession, or was it still placed for the benefit of lord Melville in 1800, when he quitted the Navy Pay Office?—It was held in trust by the house of Messrs. Thomas Coutts and Co., and subject to my controul.

Were the dividends always carried to lord Melville's credit?—I believe they were.

At the time that you proposed to lord Melville to purchase East India stock for him out of the public balances lying in your hands unclaimed, did lord Melville ask you the amount of such balances?—I do not recollect that he did.

Were you ever restricted by lord Melville in any way, as to the quantity of money you were to keep out of the bank at the house of Messrs. Coutts?—Lord Melville left the management of the balances in the bank entirely to me.

Was there any restriction upon you as to the sums to be taken out of the bank for that purpose?—There were none.

Was the East India stock in May 1800, when lord Melville went out of office, either sold or pledged for the purpose of making up your deficiencies at the bank?—It was deposited at that time.

Was there any increase upon the value of that stock, from the time at which it was bought to the time at which it was either so sold or pledged?—The stock had risen.

To what account was the money obtained upon the stock either sold or pledged carried?—20,000l. to pay off the debt upon that stock, and 8000l. of it went to pay me in part liquidation of the balance upon my account current.

Had lord Melville in fact the benefit of the rise of that stock?—Certainly he had; and the loss would also have accrued to his lordship in case the stock had fallen.

Had he the benefit of the excess of dividends above the interest at 5 per cent. paid for the money, during the whole time there was such an excess?—I do not know that the dividend did exceed the interest which he paid upon it; especially at first, I believe it did not.

Was there at any time a rise upon that, between the time the stock was purchased and the time it was sold?—There was a rise upon the dividends on the stock, several after it was purchased upon his lordship's account.

Was any security, of any kind, given to Mr. Lind for this purchase of East India stock?—The stock was invested in his name some  
time



time after, not immediately, as I have understood from a document which has been lately put into my hands.

Did the accounts which you from time to time delivered to lord Melville, though not delivered at regular periods, include all the receipts and payments made and received by you on account of lord Melville?—They did, to the best of my recollection.

Did you, at the close of the year 1790, make up all the balances of the Navy Pay office at the bank of England?—The account at the bank of England appear by my books to be balanced at that time; but whether the balance was exactly paid in or not I cannot ascertain, because some of my drafts may not have been presented, in which case that would form part of the balance appearing so to be paid in.

Was the balance at the end of the year 1790 exactly struck, and did it appear that there was no deficiency at that time?—It appeared to be exactly struck: I could speak with more precision if the accounts were laid before me.

Did you make up the difference between the balance of the one account and the other, at the end of the year 1791?—I cannot speak from recollection: my documents are in the hands of the honourable managers, and I probably should be able to speak with more precision if they were laid before me.

If there was any difference between the office cash and the bank cash, in the end of the year 1791, of what money did that difference consist?—It would consist of drafts of mine which had been presented at the bank in part, and in part of

the sum of money which lord Melville was indebted to the chest account, and to me upon my account current.

Did that balance you are now speaking of, comprehend both the chest account and the account current?—It did, to the best of my recollection of the accounts.

Did the balances so outstanding, from 1791 to 1799, comprehend those balances so due from lord Melville?—They did; of the settled accounts always; but a small account may have existed upon the account current, not included in that.

Did the difference between the office and the bank balance, at the end of those years which you have specified, denote, with a trifling exception, the sum of money which was to be made good by payments from lord Melville to the public and to you?—It did, to the best of my recollection.

The witness further stated, that he was upwards of two years in the navy pay office, after the termination of the defendant's treasurership; and he described the new arrangements which were made under the treasurerships of Messrs. Bathurst, Tierney, and Canning. The balance on the chest account was always against lord Melville. No security of any sort was signed by himself or lord Melville on account of the 13,500*l.* India stock. Witness never made any cash payments as paymaster of the navy, except on account of exchequer fees. It had happened, as he was told, more than once; but he had no recollection of it, that notes were brought from the bank without passing through the hands of Courts. Upon a farther interrogation,

gation, he recollected a million of money having been drawn one day from the bank. The draft for this sum was given to the principal money conductor of the navy pay office, who brought the amount in a great number of small notes, which he put directly into the house of Coutts, as he (witness) understands. With respect to the destruction of the account books, &c., witness, after attesting the fact already before the public, identified an account book which was shown to him by Mr. Whitbread. This book witness said he had been robbed of at one time, and that it was returned to him by one of the magistrates belonging to the public office in Hatton Garden. It contained an account current between witness and defendant, and was signed by both parties; witness gave no directions for the purchase of the 10,000*l.* loyalty loan, to the best of his recollection; but did, as to the purchase of the 7000*l.* 3 per cents. to the house of Coutts and Co., for which he heard that Mr. Antrobus acted as broker

*Cross-examined.*—You speak of your being appointed paymaster in consequence of the recommendation you stated; had you an opportunity of being useful to lord Melville in some regulations respecting the office, previous to your being appointed by him to the office of paymaster?—I very early after lord Melville's first appointment as treasurer of the navy, presented his lordship with a plan for new regulating the business of the office, which, I have understood, was much approved of by his lordship.

The first circumstance you were interrogated to, after that of your

being appointed paymaster, was his lordship's acknowledgment of a balance in his hands of 10,000*l.*; at the time lord Melville said that this was in his hands, did he not at the same time say, it was not applied to any private use or emolument of his own, but to public purposes, from whence it was likely there would be a loss?—His lordship expressed to me, he was afraid there might be a loss.

Whether the sums for the purpose of paying the exchequer fees, which you have stated, had not for some time been a fund in the hands of the paymaster, which he used for his own emolument, when not wanted by the public?—I had understood that they had always been in the hands of my predecessors, the paymasters of the navy: and that the parts which were not immediately required for the payment of the public fees, were made use of.

Whether all the detail and management of the paymaster's office has always been left to the paymaster?—I believe it generally is; it certainly was altogether so in lord Melville's time; some subsequent treasurers have thought it necessary to attend to the business of the office more minutely.

You stated that permission was given by lord Melville to draw money from the bank of England to Coutts's bank; whether the only reason represented by you to lord Melville for that measure was not to facilitate the official convenience?—Entirely so. I represented the inconvenience that would attend the payments from the distance of the bank, and proposed to his lordship, that a banker nearer should be allowed to keep the  
money

money in his hands, till I found it necessary to issue it to the sub-accountants. I represented to lord Melville the danger of sending in drafts to the bank every day by messengers, who were obliged to bring out the produce of these in cash to supply the daily payments.

Was there the least mention to lord Melville, at the time application was made for his permission to make the change you have stated, of any private emolument to be derived to any body from it? None whatever; it was never in lord Melville's contemplation, and I do not remember that it was in my own at that time.

Was the permission which was given to draw money from the bank, to be deposited till it was wanted in Coutts's bank, entirely confined to the money that would be wanted for official convenience? I do not know that the conversation extended to so great a length as to go into that minute part of the subject.

But was there then, or at any subsequent time, any permission given by lord Melville to draw monies from the bank for any other purpose?—Never.

Besides the salary of the treasurer which you received, did you also receive, on lord Melville's account, during the whole period of acting as his agent, various remittances from Scotland, and other places, on his lordship's account, to a considerable amount?—I did, to a large amount.

You speak of your attending lord Melville with the statement of his accounts, which was signed by his lordship, as you are understood to state, and duplicates of

the accounts left by him?—So I stated the fact.

Whether, when you attended his lordship upon the subject of private business, and business of the nature you have stated, you observed whether his lordship gave any particular attention to the business?—I was very much concerned that I never could draw lord Melville's attention particularly to the subject of his private accounts.

Were not, in most instances, the accounts that were produced, brought by you, signed immediately upon the confidence lord Melville reposed in you, without any examination?—I also debited the accounts to his lordship, for his examination; and he may have looked at them; but I am conscious that he never attended to them particularly.

Whenever you had occasion to attend his lordship upon any business of a public nature, or any business that related to the detail and management of the office in which his own private interest was not concerned, did you find lord Melville equally inattentive, or directly the reverse?—I must state directly the reverse; lord Melville never interrupted me in any representations that I made to him respecting the public business of the office, unless it was merely telling me he had not time to attend to me at that time, and appointing another time, when I laid the subject before him.

Whether lord Melville did at any time require or receive from you any receipt, or voucher, or document of any kind upon these accounts?—I do not recollect that I ever gave him a receipt for any money in my life.

Have you any distinct recollection that can enable you to state what was the form or the contracts of the bond of this 4000l. or whether it was not a bond in the usual form?—I have no recollection of it whatever; only I believe it did not bear interest.

The first purchase you speak to was 2000l. East India stock; whether you have now any memory or recollection upon the subject?—I recollect, generally, that lord Melville wanted to be possessed of a further qualification of East India stock; and he begged me to procure it for him; but whether he told me that he would immediately repay me the money or not, I do not recollect.

Whether upon that occasion, or upon any other, lord Melville ever directed you to lay out any part of the public money in your hands for the use and benefit of lord Melville?—*He never did under the specific name of public money, or any money bearing that description.*

Is there any instance in which, prior to the purchase of any stock, it was mentioned to lord Melville by you, that it was intended to be purchased out of the public money, except in the instance of the purchase of East India stock?—Never, to the best of my recollection.

Are you to be understood to state, that in the only instance where that was proposed, it was indignantly rejected?—I mean so to be understood.

You are understood to state that you did not originally give directions, nor are cognizant by whom the directions were given for the purchase of the subscription of the 10,000l. loyalty loan?—I am unacquainted who gave directions re-

specting that loyalty loan, at least I have no recollection of that, and I do not find that it passed through me, or by my orders.

Can you recollect, whether the first instalment that was paid for that loyalty loan, was not paid out of the private funds belonging to lord Melville?—It may have been so, but I do not recollect the circumstance.

You stated, that you had paid several instalments, from time to time, upon that loyalty stock?—I have.

Was it at any time communicated to lord Melville, whilst these payments were making out, out of what funds those advances were made?—Never; I believe they were made in consequence of demands which were made upon lord Melville, and which I satisfied without any instructions from his lordship.

Do you recollect, that soon after the last instalments were paid upon that account, securities were given by lord Melville, and a power of attorney for the sale of that and all his other stocks, to secure the repayment of what was due?—I perfectly recollect the circumstance.

Did those securities cover an ample fund for the repayment of all those sums which had been advanced upon that account?—They did.

You stated, that you directed stock to the amount of 7000l. 3 per cents. to be purchased for lord Melville; was that purchase made by any directions from lord Melville of 7000l. 3 per cents.?—It was made without any directions from his lordship.

How came that purchase to be made without any directions from lord

lord Melville?—I made it in the general management of lord Melville's affairs; I believe a sum of money had come into my hand at that time for his lordship, and I thought it was proper to invest it in some manner to produce an interest to his lordship.

You spoke of two sums, one respecting sir William Forbes and Co. the other to Mansfield and Co. the one of 2000l. the other of 3300l. have you any recollection of the funds from whence those two sums came, or any thing respecting them?—I have none whatever, excepting what I gather from an examination of Mr. Coutts's books, from which I see that they were advances from his account and from my own letters.

Have you any reason to doubt but that the payments made upon that subject were repaid out of the private funds of lord Melville?—I have no reason to doubt it, as there were frequent payments subsequent to that, and they went in reduction of the general account in which those sums were included.

You were interrogated respecting a million of money that was once drawn from the bank; was that circumstance known to lord Melville?—I am persuaded I never communicated the circumstance to lord Melville; whether he may have learnt it from other quarters or not, I do not know, as I never made any secret of it, but mentioned it frequently.

What was that drawing of money to that large amount?—It was the amount of several months' pay bills that were directed to be paid off at the time, for which a sum of upwards of three millions was issued to me upon one parti-

cular day, and I chose to draw one million from the bank, and put it into the hands of Coutts and Co. in order to accommodate the bill holders at the west end of the town; and when the bills were presented a few days afterwards, I drew, as the bills holders preferred, my drafts upon Coutts's bank in discharge of their bills, or upon the bank.

You have been asked as to your own use of the public money removed from the bank to Messrs. Coutts's; you are understood to say, that you made use of it in point of fact for your own benefit?—I certainly made use of that part, which I found was not likely to be claimed, for my own profit.

Were the whole profit and emolument derived from that mode of laying out the money, which you have described, entirely your own?—Entirely.

Was any intimation or knowledge ever communicated to lord Melville of the public money having been so used?—I never made any such communication to lord Melville.

Was the public money at all times safe, and were proper securities taken for it at all those times?—I believe it at all times to have been so.

Was there any one circumstance happened, during the period of lord Melville's executing this office, that should have called his attention, from any interruption the public service received during any part of the period, to the use that was making of the public money?—I never heard of any.

Whether, during the period of lord Melville's executing his office, sums to the amount of a hun-

dred and twenty millions, did not pass through his lordship's hands, or through his office?—More or less, I believe so.

During all that time, was there a loss sustained by the public, or any impediment suffered by them of one single farthing?—Not in consequence of the transactions which have been particularly alluded to, to the best of my recollection.

If no permission had been given at all of drawing from the bank to Coutts's bank, as a place of temporary deposit, whether all the same use might not have been made of the public money, by drafts in the same way at the bank?—Certainly; but it might have been considered a greater dereliction of my duty.

Whether the small payments that are daily made in this great department, the navy department, can be made any otherwise than by cash in the hands of the sub-accountants?—I do not apprehend it to be possible; and I am told the present treasurer attempted it, and could not carry it into execution. There are many thousands made monthly lower than 10*l.* and even lower than 2*l.*

You have been asked, upon drafts made in the name of the right honourable Henry Dundas, Mr. Dundas, and Henry Dundas, have you discovered instances which lead you to believe that the name of Mr. Dundas was sometimes inserted when the money was not for him, nor applied to his use?—I do not recollect having discovered any such instances; they were generally to his use, or collaterally for his use.

Were any directions given by lord Melville as to the form of that

release, or any particular clause which it should contain?—None whatever, to the best of my recollection.

An account has been given of your having destroyed some books of account; whether any one book of that sort was destroyed by any direction, or any previous communication of it to lord Melville?—None whatever.

Was that circumstance ever known, to your knowledge or belief, to lord Melville, till after the publication of the tenth report?—I do not know that his lordship ever was acquainted with it before that time. I am quite sure that it was long after the books were in fact destroyed, that the circumstance was communicated to lord Melville.

Was the mode in which you kept your account with Mr. Coutts, and the mixture of private and public money, entirely your own act, without any knowledge of lord Melville?—It was an act entirely my own, and lord Melville never had any knowledge whatever of the manner in which I kept my accounts at Mr. Coutts's.

Whether the destruction of the books of account by you was done in the least for any purpose of concealment or benefit to my lord Melville?—I had not lord Melville's interest in contemplation at the time I destroyed the books.

Had you any money transactions with Mr. Spratt. I do not believe that lord Melville ever had the smallest knowledge of my transactions with Mr. Spratt; nor did he derive any advantage from them.

State generally, without entering into detail, whether the use  
which

which you made of that public money to your own emolument was to a very considerable amount? It certainly was to what I call a considerable amount.

At the time lord Melville went out of office in 1800, were there more balances due upon the ex-treasurer's account of 1782, the first treasurership, and the first part of the second treasurership; did they, together, amount to more than 10,000l.?—I think they each exceeded 5000l. consequently they must have collectively exceeded 10,000l. but only a few hundreds, it was about 11,000l. I believe.

Was there to your knowledge or belief, any delay in passing the accounts of the ex-treasurers, so as to retain that balance in their hands?—There was a great delay in passing the accounts, but not at all proceeding from the treasurer or the paymaster.

What was the cause of that delay?—From the necessity of a co-operation between the clerks of the navy-office and the pay-office; the navy-office had thought proper to withdraw their clerks from the business of making up the accounts of the ex-treasurer, in order to send them to the out-ports, and otherwise to disperse them in the current business of the office; and the treasurer found himself under the necessity of doing the same things.

Whether the quantum of the balance issued to the treasurer, at any time, depended in the least upon any act either of lord Melville or his paymaster?—Certainly not.

Was any one act, at any one period, during the whole time of lord Melville's treasurership, done by either him or his paymaster, to

augment those balances?—It was not in the power of either of us to augment the balances, by any act that we could have done.

## SEVENTH DAY—MAY 6.

## RE-EXAMINATION OF MR. TROTTER.

Did lord Melville in any way ever convey to you an intimation, that he wished a certain sum of money advanced to him, should be debited to him in his account current?—I can only speak in general terms, as different circumstances would of course attend different payments upon that account; and in speaking in those general terms, I say his lordship would probably enter into an explanation of monies which he expected to receive soon, and under that impression he requested me to accommodate him with a sum, they seldom were large sums, until such times as payments came into his hands; I only speak that in general terms.

When such request had been conveyed to you, to which of these two accounts you have stated to be opened between lord Melville and yourself, was that money debited?—The account current.

Had the treasurer of the navy himself any given authority, vesting him with the power of controuling your private monies, or the securities taken by you on account of these private or public monies?—None.

Did lord Melville repay the money to you with which 2000l. East India stock, in 1792, was purchased, or did that money form a part of the account current between you, till the final close of that account in the year 1800; the East

India stock bought being 2000l. and the purchase money 4000l. ?— I placed that sum to the debit of lord Melville's account current, and I believe every man of business must know, that when payments are made upon that account current, it is impossible to say what particular sum was so paid.

If all the money had been placed according to the directions of the 25th of the King, and such an improbable event had taken place as the failure of the Bank, should you have considered yourself responsible for the money so left in the Bank of England, according to the act of parliament ?—I should not.

And if Messrs. Coutts should have become insolvent, should you have considered yourself as responsible for the use of the sum lost by that failure ?—I confess I should, though I looked upon the circumstance impossible.

Supposing such a very improbable event had taken place as the failure of Coutts's house had taken place, had you at that time any fortune of your own, by which you might have made good such a sum ?—That depends entirely upon the balance that was in Mr. Coutts's hand at that time.

Supposing the balance had amounted to 50,000l., had you any such probability, in such a case, of repaying it ?—Until very late years I do not think that I had a fortune that could have made good that loss ; of late years I could have made good that loss, as my fortune exceeds it by perhaps ten or fifteen thousand pounds, and no more.

When Mr. Bathurst gave directions to you, as paymaster, to

remove the cash from Mr. Coutts's to the Bank, did you remonstrate upon that subject ?—I never made any objection to Mr. Bathurst's orders, but I certainly took the liberty to argue upon the subject.

Did your arguments prevail with Mr. Bathurst ?—They did not.

Are you correct, as nearly as you can recollect, in stating that the sum advanced for the purpose of the whole of that East India stock, advanced at different times, was, to the best of your recollection, 23,000l. or thereabouts ?—It was to the best of my recollection.

The counsel for the viscount Melville submitted, that they were entitled to re-examine the witness upon any new matter, which had been examined to, and stated they meant to confine themselves merely to explain the matter inquired into, respecting money that was drawn by the noble defendant by requisitions which were immediately carried to the chest account.

The manager for the commons stated, that, having founded that inquiry upon the cross-examination of the witness, and having asserted the right of the commons to refuse the examination of the counsel ; the commons relinquished that right at this time, in order that there might not appear the least wish on their part to keep back any thing that the learned counsel could get out of the witness in favour of lord Melville.

THEN THE WITNESS WAS ASKED

*Question by counsel.*—Whether any part of the sums stated to be drawn and carried to the chest account



count of lord Melville, was in the whole or in part applied to the use of lord Melville, or had he any emolument from them?—I am totally ignorant of the application of them, excepting in the case of 40,000*l.* which had been advanced to Boyd and Benfield, and which I only learned from what has passed in public.

Is that 40,000*l.* comprehended within the head of money drawn by requisitions, and carried immediately to the chest account?—It was, and may serve to show the nature of the requisitions that were made from that sum of money having been made more the subject of public discussion, than any of the other sums which have been advanced to his lordship.

You have stated, that a book of yours which you referred to, a private book of yours, was in the possession of the managers; how long has that private book been in the possession of the managers?—Ever since the day upon which I had the misfortune to meet the displeasure of the other house; I do not recollect the date.

*Question by the manager.*—Whether you have any knowledge of your own, with the exception of that posterior knowledge you have gained with regard to the application of the 40,000*l.*, do you know any thing of the application of other sums?—I have no knowledge whatever of the application of them.

Whether lord Melville was not credited for the dividends upon the loyalty loan up to the period at which that loan was sold?—I believe he was.

Having said, that when you de-

livered the private accounts to lord Melville, (the accounts between you and lord Melville,) his lordship was not in the course of investigating those accounts, or comparing the vouchers with them, if a complete investigation of those accounts had taken place between lord Melville and you, would it not then have appeared, that the monies in that account were monies advanced out of the public monies?—I apprehend it would.

When the application was made to lord Melville, upon the subject of the purchase of East India stock, was any reference made to the current price of that stock, at that time?—I do not recollect any reference made to the current price at that time, further than by a comparison to what his lordship expected would be the rise that stock would ultimately arrive at, at a distant time, that was the only time lord Melville ever gave me his opinion upon the value of it, and at no time whatever did his lordship ever insinuate to me, in the smallest degree, his expectations of the rise or fall of stock, excepting in that instance.

At what period of time did you begin building your house near Edinburgh?—As nearly as I can recollect, I made a considerable addition to my house, which I began about four or five years ago.

Is that house furnished?—I removed the furniture from my house at Blackheath, with which it is now furnished.

Were you ever interrogated by lord Melville as to the expence of building this house?—The expence of building this house may not be so great as the noble lords

may have heard; nor so great as to induce lord Melville to ask me any questions upon that subject.

Give to the court an account of the whole transaction concerning the release; and, in giving to the court the whole of that transaction, begin with stating what was the occasion or necessity for having that release at all?—The necessity originated in my wish to have all my affairs settled with lord Melville, as I always apprehended, I hope I may be allowed to say, that his lordship was not careful of preserving his papers or accounts so as to be satisfactory to his heirs or successors; and that there might be no difficulty or argument about showing that a final settlement had been made to either his lordship's heirs or to my own, I was anxious that a release should pass, by which it only became necessary that one voucher should be preserved. I had proposed it some time before it was carried into execution, and my mind became every day still more impressed with the necessity of having this executed; and in some conversation with his lordship, I may have proposed it again, and told him that I would forward releases for his lordship, to be signed in Scotland, if he would give me leave; but this I state more from knowing that that must have been the circumstance, than from an actual recollection of the time or place when such conversation passed. I then applied to my solicitor, in London, to draw out a release for such purpose; and, as he was my intimate friend and counsellor, as well as solicitor, he proceeded very much from his own knowledge of my situation and connection with lord Melville, in drawing up that

release: the draft was submitted to me, as it has been brought to my recollection by the honourable managers, who have possessed themselves of that draft, otherwise I had forgot the circumstance. But I find that I had seen that draft, by several words being written upon it in my own hand-writing: it was afterwards brought to me by Mr. Spottiswoode, fairly copied out, and, to the best of my recollection, forwarded by me to his lordship in Scotland, and he returned it to me; by which the transaction was finally closed.

Mr. Trotter having withdrawn, lord Lauderdale observed, that there having been several contradictions in his testimony, he thought it would be necessary, as well in fairness towards Mr. Trotter himself, as in order to a full understanding of the subject on the part of their lordships, that this witness should be examined again.

Mr. Robert Trotter, brother to A. Trotter, sir Wm. Forbes, and Mr. J. Mansfield, of Edinburgh, were examined as to the advances made to the two latter, on account of lord Melville, in the year 1787. It is the custom of these bankers to charge interest upon sums overdrawn by their customers; lord Melville was overdrawn upon both in the year 1787. Sir Wm. Forbes has been banker since 1761; he executed a *release* once in consequence of a partner dying, who left a minor son; did not believe that it contained any clause obliging the parties to destroy vouchers.

Mr. R. Trotter was asked by the defendant's counsel, whether he had any other recollection of the circumstances mentioned in the detail of those transactions, than what

he derived from the entries in his books?—He answered in the negative.

## EIGHTH DAY—MAY 8.

Mr. R. Trotter was again examined, and deposed to the lodgement of 25,000*l.* in the house of Mansfield and Co. on account of his brother A. Trotter. Upon cross-examination, witness stated, that this lodgement and interest was paid, &c. upon account of Mr. A. Trotter alone.

Mr. Antrobus, from Coutts's bank, proved the account of the defendant with that house, which account was entered as evidence.

Mr. Chapman, a clerk at Coutts's bank, deposed to the fluctuations of Trotter's balances for several years.

Mr. Coutts Trotter, partner in Coutts's bank, and brother to A. Trotter, was examined as to the loan of 13,000*l.* to lord Melville in May, 1800. The impression on his mind was, that his brother was acquainted fully with the circumstance of lord Melville's wanting the money at the time. His brother first spoke to him upon the subject. The securities for this loan were an assignment of lord Melville's salaries as the keeper of the privy seal, and keeper of the signet in Scotland, together with 2000*l.* India stock, and the collateral security of Mr. R. Dundas.

The payment of two drafts, drawn by lord Melville on Coutts and Co., the one for the above-mentioned 13,000*l.*, and the other for 19,024*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* to Mr. A. Trotter, was proved by Messrs. Charlton and Chapman. The 19,024*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* together with

1427*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* paid to Mark Sprott on account of the defendant, was proved to be the produce of the sale of the loyalty loan, reduced consols, and the 1000*l.* India stock before mentioned. The notes in which the two drafts were paid were produced by the managers, and identified by Charlton. The same notes were sworn by Mr. Taylor, from the Bank of England, to have been received by him, on the 22*d.* of May, 1800, and carried to the account of the right honourable Henry Dundas's "Act of Parliament new account."

Mr. Chapman proved the payment from Coutts of 511*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* to the Exchequer, on account of lord Melville's first treasurership of the navy.

Mr. E. Antrobus, a stock broker, deposed to the purchase of the India stock, in 1789 and 1790, by order of Alexander Trotter. This stock he held for some time in his own name.—He transferred it, about a twelvemonth after the last purchase, to Montagu Lind. From him 13,000*l.* was transferred to Francis Lind; 1000*l.* also was transferred to the defendant.

Mr. Francis Lind was examined, and stated that he never knew to whom the stock belonged—had no property in it himself—was not made acquainted with the transaction when transferred to him—has no recollection upon whose application he transferred the stock back again to Mr. Lind.

An order from the defendant to Coutts and Co. in September, 1797, to place the loyalty loan, the reduced three per cents., the consols, and the India stock, at the disposal of Trotter, was put in evidence.

Twelve thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, two shillings and sixpence, part of the sum of 32,743l. paid by Mr. Sprott into Coutts's, on account of the India stock, and the 7000l. reduced annuities, was proved by Mr. Antrobus to have been carried to the credit of the defendant.

Mr. Charlton proved the payment of a draft for this sum on the 24th of May, 1800, and the notes in which it was paid. These notes were shown him by the managers; and Mr. Lincoln, from the Bank of England, proved the payment of the same notes into the "Act of Parliament New Account" of the defendant on the 24th of May, 1800.

Mr. Kaye, the solicitor for the managers, was called and examined as to a calculation made by him upon the profits derived to lord Melville from the alleged application of certain parts of the public money to his lordship's use. Witness stated that he had made this calculation since the trial commenced; and, in answer to a question from the managers, that the 10,600l. in the chest account, or any other item from that account, was not included in it.

Mark Sprott was called in, and examined as follows:—

Whether you accepted of the controul over a certain sum of India stock, amounting to 13,500l. from Mr. Alexander Trotter in the month of May, 1800,—I think I did, but I cannot be certain.

Did you advance a sum of money upon certain stock, East India and other stock, through the solicitations of Mr. Alexander Trotter, at that time?—I did,

To what amount?—I think to 51,700l. I have seen it since to refresh my memory.

On whose account did you make that advance?—To the honourable Robert Saunders Dundas.

Did you obtain complete power over those stocks as your own in consequence of that advance?—I certainly had complete power to have had it whenever I pleased.

To whom did you pay the 51,700l. that you have mentioned?—I paid it to Alexander Trotter.

Did you receive a draft, or the produce of a draft of lord Melville, to the amount of 1427l. to even the account between the loan and the stock you had received as a pledge for that loan?—I never received a draft of lord Melville. I received it from Mr. Alexander Trotter, as far as my memory goes.

Cannot you refer to your banking book, in which you have the exact amount of the sum? Turn to the book, May 22d, 1800.—I have not got the book here.

Do you recollect that you did receive that sum of 1417l. 11s. 11d.?—I do.

Do you know from whom you received that?—It was from Alexander Trotter.

On whose account did you receive it?—On the honourable Robert Saunders Dundas's account.

Did you transact money business largely at any time for Mr. Alexander Trotter?—I have borrowed money of Mr. Alexander Trotter, and have lent him considerable sums; large sums.

Did you ever purchase navy or victualling bills, or other government securities, for Alexander Trotter, and for his benefit and advantage?

tage?—I once purchased navy bills to the amount, I said, of ten or twelve thousand pounds.

Whether the navy bills you so purchased for Alexander Trotter, at any time, were ever at a discount?—I have no memory of that.

*Cross-examined.*—Had you any pecuniary transactions with lord Melville in your life?—Never.

Were not you applied to by Mr. Trotter, in 1800, to advance money to him on certain stock?—I was. Mr. Trotter told me that he wished I would do him the favour of lending him upon India stock and reduced loyalty stock; I agreed to lend it him. He proposed for me to lend it to the honourable Robert Dundas; I then had a meeting with the honourable Robert Dundas, and I said I would not lend it upon heavy stock (*a laugh*), such as India and loyalty too, which was a heavy stock; but that I wished to lend it upon three per cent. consols and India. The sum wanted was fifty thousand odd pounds, upon which I had a meeting with him next day, and that 1400l. mentioned was to reduce the stock, that the dividend of India and the dividend of loyalty should be five per cent. equal to the sum lent five per cent.

Then it was upon that account that you received from Mr. Trotter 1427l. 11s. 11d.—It was.

Had you any intercourse with lord Melville during the course of that transaction?—None.

Was the stock disposed of or not?—It was rather long winded (*a laugh*); I was anxious to get my money; I had stayed two or three years, and I wrote either to the honourable Robert Saunders

Dundas or to Mr. Trotter, begging permission to sell the stock; for I did not think things were clear (*a laugh*).

You say you have had various money transactions with Mr. Trotter, lending money and borrowing money; whether these money transactions with Mr. Alexander Trotter were not all entirely upon Mr. Alexander Trotter's own account?—His own account.

*Question by the counsel.*—Whether you had any knowledge, at the time of these transactions, that the money advanced to you at different times by Mr. Alexander Trotter, was public money?—None.

What was the nature of the security you received beside the stock itself?—A missive letter Mr. Robert Dundas gave me, saying he had borrowed so much money upon that stock; and I engaged to account to him for the dividends; and he was to allow me interest for the money.

#### NINTH DAY—MAY 9.

Mr. Miheux, an officer at the board of controul, stated, that he had received the salary of the defendant.

*Cross-examined.*—He knew lord Melville to have performed the whole business of that board, as president, without any salary for the first nine years of his appointment, namely, from 83 to 93.

Mr. G. Fennel, principal accountant, deposed to the dissolution of the accountant's branch in the navy office, during the treasurer-ship of the defendant, and its restoration since.

Mr. Wilson deposed to his conduct, as agent for Mr. Trotter, in Mr.

Mr. T.'s absence from the navy office.

Mr. Tierney deposed to the change which was made while he was treasurer of the navy. This change was to write off the sum required to the account of each sub-accountant at the Bank, instead of drawing each day for such sum. This change was suggested by Trotter.

Mr. Latham, paymaster to Mr. Tierney, was ten months in the office, never absent but once, in consequence of illness. Mr. Tierney, during that time, officiated for him in any thing that was necessary to attend to. Witness signed drafts himself. He never delegated that power to any other person. He never made any personal payments whatever; but issued money for every necessary purpose to the sub-accountants. The balances were, during his paymastership, uniformly kept at the Bank.

#### TENTH DAY—MAY 10.

A letter from lord Melville to Mr. Huskisson, secretary of the treasury, was read, requesting to be freed from the charge of interest, on the grounds that from 1783 till 1800, the money was either in the Bank of England, or in the hands of his sub-accountants; and since that period in his own hands, liable at any hour to be claimed by the holders of assignments which had been or might be made for payment by the different boards, to the full amount of the balance due.

Mr. Huskisson deposed that he was the writer of a letter produced to him; which letter was addressed by direction, from the treasury

board to the commissioners for auditing public accounts, upon the subject of remitting the interest before alluded to.

The managers referred to their lordships' journals to show that lord Melville, who signed a certain release in Scotland on the 18th of February, was in his place in the house of lords on the 20th of April following.

This reference being made, the managers stated that they here closed their evidence.

The solicitor general rose, and with considerable ability, and at great length, summed up and animadverted upon the evidence.

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#### DEFENCE.

#### ELEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY, MAY 13.

Mr. Plumer opened the defence. —After alluding generally to the charges against lord Melville, he proceeded to enter upon a defence to the first article of impeachment. With respect to this charge, no evidence had, he said, been adduced which could in any degree affect the noble defendant on any charge of criminality. He meant to contend broadly and distinctly, that previous to the Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1785, there was no common law, neither was there any statute, which prohibited any public officer, having public money in his hands, from using that money whilst it remained with him, provided it was forthcoming when wanted for the public service. This doctrine applied equally to the offices of treasurer of the navy, paymaster of the forces, receivers general of the land

land tax, and other offices; and so distinctly had this principle been admitted, with respect to the latter office, that of the receiver of the land tax, that when a bill was brought into parliament to compel those officers to pay the public money into a certain place of deposit, and to prohibit them from making use of it for their own private emolument, a distinguished member of the house of commons, now a distinguished member of their lordships' house, strongly opposed it, and stated, as a reason, that if the bill passed, the place of receiver of the land tax would not be worth fifteen pounds per annum. The honourable manager (Mr. Whitbread) had quoted the resolutions passed in the house of commons in 1782, as having established a new æra in the navy pay office; but what did those resolutions prove? They proved distinctly what he had been stating, that there was no law to prevent the treasurer of the navy from placing the public money in the hands of whomsoever he pleased. He might then place it in the hands of any banker, in the hands of Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, or with any other house, whether of credit or no credit. The treasurer of the navy was alone responsible to the public for the amount. These resolutions of the house of commons were, it seems, passed with a view of founding a bill upon them. In point of fact, however, no bill was brought in until the year 1785, when the bill for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy was passed. Upon this bill he should say something afterwards; he should merely now state that the construction of it, in his opinion, was very different to

that put upon it by the honourable manager. There was no proof, however, that lord Melville did make any advantage of the public money. He had already stated that lord Melville had, at that period, a right to place the public money in his possession in the hands of any house whatever. But it was said, that lord Melville, in the speech he had made in the house of commons, refused to give an account of the application of the sum of 10,000*l.* which had passed through his hands, and this was one of the crimes for which he was impeached. Was, then, silence a crime? Was it to be imputed as a crime to lord Melville, that he had refused to say any thing that might affect himself? If a person charged with any crime were brought before a magistrate, the latter, in the humane spirit of the law of England, would tell him, "you are not bound to say any thing that may criminate yourself, but if you wish to speak I will hear you." But here, because lord Melville would not state any thing that might be twisted into a positive charge against himself, he was impeached, for what? for being silent; and thus, for the first time in the law of England, silence was constituted a crime where a person refused to accuse himself. With respect to the speech made by the noble defendant in the house of commons, the honourable manager had himself chosen to stand forward as a witness to prove particular parts of it, and that honourable manager would probably have, in reply, to comment upon his own evidence. With all respect, however, to the honourable manager, and the honourable witness, he would venture to state that

That the evidence of that honourable gentleman remained unconfirmed by any of the four hundred persons by whom that speech was heard. The honourable gentleman also admitted, in his cross-examination, that he paid attention to the speech for the purpose of answering it; he listened to it, therefore, with a bias in his mind; he listened to it, therefore, in order to catch particular parts of it that would serve the purposes of his answer to it. Added to this, the honourable gentleman could not produce the notes which he had taken of the speech, having either lost or mislaid them. He was warranted, therefore, in saying that the evidence, as to the expression made use of by lord Melville in the house of commons, was imperfect. The evidence which had been adduced on this charge was not applicable to any purpose of proving that lord Melville had derived any improper advantage from the public money in his hands. He now proceeded to the tenth article of impeachment, which had been preferred some time subsequent to the other nine, and in a manner very unusual, but which proceeding had, however, been sanctioned by their lordships' house. It charged, that the noble defendant did, at divers times, between July, 1782, and January, 1786, possess himself of divers sums, to the amount of 22,000l. &c. at divers times, and divers sums, during four years. Was there ever so loosely worded an article? It happened that during a part of this period, from October, 1783, to January, 1784, a period of five months, lord Melville was out of office, and yet he was charged, in this loosely worded ar-

ticle, with possessing himself of public money during that period. And yet it was stated that this article was preferred out of candour and fairness towards the noble defendant, and for the purpose of more specifically stating the charge against him. But in what manner was the article supported; what was the proof by which it was sustained, general and sweeping as it was?—The honourable manager ascends to the attics of a widow, to hunt for old papers, and at length finding a box of papers which he thinks will suit his purpose, carries it away with him; thus the honourable manager had appeared in three characters in the course of this business, namely, as a manager, a witness, and a carrier of a box. After all this, to what did this box of papers, or the other evidence in support of this most specific and particular charge, amount to? Nothing; the divers sums and divers times dwindled to nothing that could in any degree affect the noble defendant. The 10,000l. respecting which the silence of the noble defendant alone was imputed to him as a crime, was now accounted for, and accounted for in a way that clearly justified the noble defendant in the assertion which he made, that private honour and personal convenience precluded him from making the discovery. The charge made against the noble defendant before their lordships' high tribunal, had forced a disclosure respecting the application of that 10,000l., and what did it amount to? Nothing that could criminate the noble lord; to nothing that could sustain the inference of criminality that was drawn against him.—The noble defendant had filled some of the



the highest offices of state with the greatest ability and the most splendid talents; and in which he had shown an unremitting anxiety for the public welfare. Was it not natural to conclude, that in the course of the exercise of the duties of those high offices, and more particularly at those periods when the noble lord held those official situations, periods of great public danger, in times of great peril and alarm, sums of money must necessarily have been expended, of the application of which it would have been pregnant with public evil to have compelled an account of the expenditure—of which to have rendered an account might have been productive of the greatest danger to the interests of the country? Suppose for instance, with respect to the sum of 40,000*l.* which had not long since become the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and in the advancing of which the noble defendant, then one of his majesty's ministers, was concerned—suppose that the great and illustrious statesman, now no more, had been lost to his country at an earlier period, and previous to any enquiry taking place, or the discovery of the sum advanced having been made, the noble defendant might have been called upon to account for it,—to give some clue as to its application,—to state the motives and the reasons which induced its application,—what could he have said, but as he did with respect to the 10,000*l.*,—that he could not disclose the application of the money?—Then it would have been said, “Oh! it was employed to purchase some rotten borough—it was used for the purposes of undue influence and corruption—it was ap-

plied with sinister and corrupt views—it was expended for the purpose of attaining objects incompatible with public liberty.” Such would have been the outcry upon such an occasion against the noble defendant—such would have been the prejudice excited against him. Yet the application of this 40,000*l.*, after being inquired into, and sifted to the bottom, had been found to be an application of it consistent with every enlightened view of public policy, conducive to the support of public credit, and in conformity with the most patriotic intentions, to maintain the public security, and contribute to the public welfare. Viewing it in this light, parliament had, as their lordships well knew, passed a bill of indemnity, to indemnify the persons concerned in the advance of that sum of 40,000*l.*; and in so doing, had justified the motives of those who had advised its application in the particular mode specified. These circumstances, therefore, were amply sufficient to prove that some caution ought to be used before a nobleman, who had filled high and distinguished situations, was charged with a misapplication of public money. In point of fact, however, all the sums of public money, with possessing himself of which the noble defendant had been charged, had been accounted for, except two items of 1000*l.* each, of which there was no account. But was it to be supposed that at the distance of twenty-four years, every minute item in a banker's book could be accounted for? This, however, clearly appeared from the entries in the banker's book, from which the two entries to which he had alluded were proved,

proved, that very shortly afterwards there was a sum of upwards of 5000*l.* remitted to Scotland, which was placed to the account of the noble defendant at the same banker's. He concluded, therefore, this part of the charges, by stating, that there was no proof of any criminality on the part of the noble lord, either in act or intention; that there was no proof whatever of any corrupt application of the public money, or of any improper advantage made by him of any of the sums included in these charges.—With respect to the second article of impeachment, relative to the breach of the Act of Parliament, a great public clamour had been raised against the noble defendant, because being the person who brought in the act alluded to, for the better regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy, he was supposed to be the first to break it. He conceived, however, that the construction of the act was far different from what had generally been stated and alleged. The grand object of the act appeared to him to be to render the Bank of England a primary place of deposit for the money issued to the treasurer of the navy from the exchequer, and by opening there an account in the name of the treasurer of the navy for such monies, the balance of which, at the time of his going out of office, was to be transferred to his successor, to put an end to that practice which had prevailed for a number of years, of suffering the public money issued to the treasurer of the navy to remain in his hands, to be placed to a private account, such treasurer retaining in his hands, on quitting office, the

balance of such money, and continuing, notwithstanding his being out of office, to answer demands upon his ex-treasurership, and only paying over the balance on his accounts being passed. This practice, which had been productive of great inconvenience, it was evidently the intention of the act to put an end to; the money issued from the exchequer to the treasurer of the navy was to be no longer placed at any private bank on his private account; but to be deposited at once in the Bank of England, and the balances transferred successively from treasurer to treasurer, without the intervention of any private account, or any demands continuing to be made on an ex-treasurer, of sums for the public service arising during his treasurership.—But this only related to the place of primary deposit.—The act could not, in his opinion, be construed to extend to any place of subsequent deposit for sums taken from the Bank of England, in order to be applied to the public service. What were the directions of the act? that the money should be drawn from the Bank by the drafts of the treasurer of the navy; which drafts should specify the heads of service to which such money was to be applied. The act stated, explicitly, the heads of service; not that every specific sum paid to an individual was to be paid by a draft on the Bank. It was clear also, from an act recently passed for the regulation of the office of treasurer of the ordnance, in which there were clauses introduced, stating the form of the draft to be given by the treasurer of the ordnance to the different individuals having demands on that officer in  
his

his public capacity. No such provisions were made in the act for the regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy; and therefore it was clear that the intention of the legislature in the two acts was totally different. There was nothing in the latter act that could at all justify the construction, that every individual having money to receive at the office of the treasurer of the navy, was to be sent to the Bank of England to be paid. If such had been the object of the act, there could not have been a more mischievous law passed, and the noble defendant would have deserved reprobation for bringing in an act of so injurious and dangerous a tendency. Such an act must have put an end to the service upon which this country depended for its glory and pre-eminence, as it would have placed an insurmountable bar to the payment of our gallant and meritorious seamen. Could it be supposed that that deserving class of persons would be content, on going to the Navy Pay Office, to receive sums, a large proportion of which were under one pound, to be told, "we have no money here, you must go to the Bank of England to receive it?" Not only this, but under such an act a large proportion of our gallant seamen could not have been paid at all. By an act of the 15th of the present king, all drafts for sums under one pound were declared illegal and void. Thus, therefore, no drafts could have been given under such an act to the numbers whose demands individually amounted to less than that sum. The Bank of England, as he had already stated, was merely declared by the act to be the place

of primary deposit; but nothing was said in the act as to any place of deposit, from whence the ultimate payments were to be made. He contended, therefore, that there was no evidence to prove that there had been any violation of the Act of Parliament on the part of the noble defendant in sanctioning the deposit of sums of money in the house of Messrs. Coutts, or any other banking-house, such sums having been previously drawn from the Bank of England, according to the form prescribed by the Act of Parliament, under specific heads of service. He admitted, that if the draft was fictitiously drawn, in order merely to comply with the letter of the Act of Parliament, that the spirit of the act might be violated; but with this the noble defendant had no concern.

The lord chancellor intimated, that if the learned counsel had much more to offer, it might probably be more convenient to postpone the remainder of his speech to the succeeding day.

Mr. Plumer availed himself of this intimation, and the court adjourned about three o'clock to the next day.

#### TWELFTH DAY—WEDNESDAY, MAY 14.

Mr. Plumer resumed the defence. Having stated the substance of the remaining seven articles of impeachment, he proceeded to comment upon the evidence examined in support of them. Nothing whatever, he contended, had been proved that in any degree implicated the noble defendant in any charge of having improperly used the public money. Nothing what-

ever had been proved that could impeach the public character, or fully the reputation of the noble defendant. Their lordships had been told by the honourable manager who opened the charges, that strong and conclusive evidence would be brought forward to prove them. One witness in particular was to be examined, the accomplice of lord Melville, as it was stated, in making use of the public money, who would make the guilt of the defendant perfectly clear and apparent, and prove, beyond a doubt, the transactions with which he was charged. That witness was Mr. Trotter. Mr. Trotter was called, and what did he prove? Instead of establishing a single iota of what the honourable manager had stated, he proved directly the reverse. The witness, upon whose testimony so much reliance had been placed, had sworn that the noble defendant had not participated—that no human being had participated in the profits which he acknowledged to have made of the public money—that the noble defendant had not participated in the profits derived from the use of the public money—that he had not connived at its use—that he did not know of it till long afterwards.—Thus had the very principal witness called to establish the guilt of the noble defendant, completely proved his innocence. The honourable managers had failed in their proof, or rather they had proved the direct contrary of that which they set out to establish. At the first establishment of the board of controul, in the year 1784, lord Melville was appointed president, which office he held till the year 1801. In 1791 the noble

defendant was appointed secretary of state for the home department. In 1794 he resigned this office, and was appointed secretary of state for the foreign department. He held this office during a crisis of peculiar difficulty, and at a period when the country was engaged in an arduous contest, and was threatened with the greatest dangers. The noble defendant held this office until the year 1801, devoting his time and his talents to the service of his country during this period of peril and difficulty. Yet it was well known that the noble defendant relinquished his salary in the first instance as secretary of state for the home department, and afterwards as secretary of state for the war department. The whole amount of the sum thus relinquished and given up to the public was upwards of 34,000l. Could it be supposed for a moment that a person who acted thus, could be actuated by any views of avarice? The whole sum of public money with which the noble defendant was charged with having possessed himself of, amounted to only 22,000l. The contradiction, therefore, was too glaring to be entertained, that the noble defendant should voluntarily relinquish and give up to the public a sum of 34,000l., to which he was fairly and honourably entitled, and should, at the same time, possess himself of 22,000l. belonging to the public in another department, was an inconsistency not to be accounted for on any rational principle. But it was said, that the noble defendant had connived at the improper use of the public money made by Trotter, and that for such purpose he had given his consent

consent to transfer the money from the Bank of England to the house of Messrs. Coutts. To make good such a charge, it must be shown that the noble defendant was aware, at the time he gave his consent to this measure, of all the consequences which were to follow. But surely it was too much to charge the noble defendant with all the consequences of that measure, when he could not foresee them at the time he gave his consent to it. What had Mr. Trotter sworn?—He had declared upon his oath, that the reason he suggested to lord Melville for removing the public money from the Bank of England to Messrs. Coutts, was official convenience, and official convenience only. Nay, he had sworn further, that that was the real and *bona fide* reason which induced him, at that time, to make the proposal to lord Melville; and that, at that time, he had no other view in doing so than official convenience. What then became of the charge against the noble defendant, of conniving at the conduct of Trotter, when it was clearly proved in evidence that, so far from conniving, he knew nothing of it; and that so far from giving permission to Trotter to lodge the public money at the house of Messrs. Coutts, with a view to private advantage, it was clearly proved that he gave his consent expressly on the ground of official convenience, and that Trotter himself proposed it with that view, and that view alone, at that period. A curious argument had, however, been set up with respect to this evidence of Mr. Trotter. The honourable manager who opened the charges had told their lordships that Trotter was a most

material evidence, that he was the accomplice of the noble defendant, that he knew every transaction in which the latter had been engaged with respect to the public money, and that every word he said was to be believed. After, however, he had given his evidence, comes the honourable and learned manager, who sums up the evidence, and tells their lordships that not one word of what Mr. Trotter said was to be believed. This palpable contradiction he should leave the two honourable managers to reconcile between themselves in the best manner they could, but it clearly showed how completely they had been foiled by their own evidence, and how entirely the evidence called for the prosecution had proved the innocence instead of the guilt of the noble defendant. The next transaction to which he would refer, was the laying out the 23,000*l.* in East India stock for the use of the noble defendant. It had been stated that the noble defendant, after having negatived the proposition of Trotter to lay out the public money in India stock for his own advantage, had borrowed, through the medium of Trotter, 23,000*l.* for the purpose, without interest. What in the course of the trial appeared to be the real circumstances of the case? In the year 1789, that is to say three years after it was charged this partnership in iniquity between the noble defendant and Trotter had commenced, there was a great probability of a considerable rise taking place in India stock. The noble defendant made, in the house of commons, a very favourable statement with respect to the affairs of India, stating his belief that India

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would

would shortly be in a situation to render material assistance to this country, instead of any call being made upon the country to assist the East India company. These statements were made with every prospect of their being realized. The natural effect was a rise in the price of East India stock. Trotter, it appears, went to the noble defendant, and advises him to buy East India stock: the answer of the latter was, "I have no money." This too, after three years, during which it was charged there was a partnership between them in making a profit, for their own private advantage, of the public money. Trotter replies to the noble defendant, "There is 100,000l. of the public money now lying at Coutts's, which is not wanted for any immediate purpose, why not make use of that?" Did not lord Melville know this? if he had been making use of the public money, must he not have known this? Would he have hesitated a moment to make use of this sum for the purchase of East India stock? Was it necessary for Trotter to have hinted to him the expediency of making such an use of the public money, after they had been three years in partnership in turning it to their mutual profit? But Trotter had sworn that this was the first time he had ever talked to lord Melville on the subject of making use of the public money. In a private conversation between these two supposed partners in guilt, when no third person is present, the noble defendant not only refuses to make use of the public money for his own private advantage, but expresses the greatest indignation at such a proposal being

made to him. Could there be a more striking proof of the innocence of the noble defendant, with respect to all these transactions, in which he was so heavily charged with participating? Trotter then proposes to borrow 23,000l. for the use of lord Melville; the money was provided, and laid out in the purchase of stock. But what were the circumstances with respect to this loan? It was proved that interest at five per cent. was regularly paid for it, by lord Melville, to the amount of 1150l. per annum; and this for ten years, until the principal was repaid, in the year 1800, making a total of principal and interest of upwards of 34,000l. Could there be a more *bona fide* transaction on the part of lord Melville?

The next transaction to which he had to advert, was the share of the noble defendant in the loyalty loan, amounting to 10,000l. Upon this, however, there was no proof of any improper motive on the part of the noble defendant. He had come forward, like many others, patriotically to assist the country, at a period of peril and difficulty, and there was not the slightest evidence to show that he was actuated by any other consideration. With respect also to the 7000l. reduced annuities, there was nothing that could, in any degree, implicate the noble defendant in any charge before their lordships. He had nearly omitted to take notice of the charge against the noble defendant, of burning a variety of vouchers, papers, and accounts.—With respect to this, however, it was perfectly clear that the burning of vouchers and accounts was no crime in itself, although he admitted that it might,  
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in some cases, afford ground for suspicion. In this case, however, it was proved that there were no public accounts destroyed: and surely there could be no doubt as to the right of individuals to destroy whatever private accounts they might no longer conceive of any use. Lord Melville, it appeared, had been constantly in the habit of destroying such papers as he deemed to be useless, and had merely in this case pursued the same line of conduct. With respect to the release, it appeared clearly that lord Melville executed it without being aware precisely of the nature of the deed, or of the circumstances attending it. At the same time there was nothing in that transaction in itself that was unusual and improper; and releases being given, nothing was more usual than the destruction of vouchers and accounts which were thereby rendered useless. Upon the whole of the case, therefore, he was entitled to assert, that there was no proof whatever of any corruption on the part of lord Melville, of any connivance at the improper use of the public money, or of any guilty knowledge of the transactions in which Trotter was concerned with respect to such public money. The charges against the noble defendant were not only unsupported by evidence, but the evidence for the prosecution had proved the case for the defence. The law was not violated by any act of the noble defendant. Thus, then, with the law and the facts of the case in his favour, he left it to the decision of their lordships' high tribunal, trusting that, even if they should think the noble defendant guilty of any small part of the

charges, that they would consider the degradation he had experienced, the wound his reputation had received, and the destruction of his peace of mind by the anxiety consequent upon such a prosecution, as an amply sufficient punishment; but confiding at the same time in their lordships' decision, entirely to establish his innocence and declare his acquittal.

The court immediately adjourned till the next day, (Thursday.)

### THIRTEENTH DAY— THURSDAY, MAY 15.

A short examination of witnesses took place to prove the relinquishment of his salary by the noble defendant, whilst secretary of state for the home department, and afterwards while secretary of state for the war and colonial departments, as stated by the learned counsel.

Mr. Adam then addressed the court at considerable length in behalf of lord Melville. The learned counsel went over the same grounds as those taken by Mr. Plumer, contending for a similar construction on the Act of Parliament, and maintaining that the charges were completely disproved by the evidence brought to support them.

After Mr. Adam had concluded, the court adjourned to the next day, Friday.

### FOURTEENTH DAY— MAY 17.

The attorney general begged their lordships' attention to two points, to which the observations of the learned counsel on the other side had been principally directed.

Those points were with regard to the construction of the statute and common law, as applying to the charges against the noble defendant. Without referring to the reports of the commissioners for examining public accounts, or the resolutions of the house of commons, grounded upon those reports; or to the professed object of the statute of 26 Geo. III. he might appeal to all those who had been treasurers of the navy since its enactment, with the exception of the noble defendant, and indeed to common sense itself, against the construction of the learned counsel on the other side. What, could it be contended that the object of the act was accomplished the moment the money was put into the Bank, and that it might be drawn from thence the moment afterwards, and applied to private purposes? "Oh, unwise, improvident legislature, was this the only security devised for the public money?"—But that such was not the object of the law, was evident from the interpretation which it received from the treasurers, who did not conceive it sufficient to draw money from the Exchequer, place it in the Bank, and draw it out again immediately. The purpose of the statute was, that public money should not remain in the hands of sub-accountants. And if such delinquency as that with which the defendant stood charged had occurred prior to the statute, there was no doubt that the attorney general might have filed an information against the delinquent. Lord Kenyon, when attorney general, did file an information against a paymaster of the navy, and the conduct of that paymaster in using the public ba-

lances was tolerated only on the ground that his salary was inadequate to the duties. Various public accountants saw the mischiefs resulting from such a practice, and forwarded those measures which led to bringing in the bill in 1786. The learned counsel on the other side had stated that the resolutions of the house of commons were to be considered as nothing; but his majesty gave effect to these resolutions by new modelling the Navy Office, and it could not be doubted that his majesty had power to prescribe the duty of his office, and that it was criminal for them to violate the prescribed line. The noble defendant, by accepting the office of treasurer of the navy, with an increased salary in lieu of all fees and perquisites, bound himself to follow the rules prescribed, and it was preposterous to say that he was not guilty of a misdemeanour if he violated them. It had been hinted that no criminal information could, at common law, be filed against a public accountant; but it had been only hinted, for it was too absurd seriously to argue. It was not true that a public defaulter stood in the same situation as a private defaulter. A public defaulter was liable to criminal prosecution for breach of duty, as well as to process from the exchequer for his default. And it was clear law, that when no express punishment was provided by statute for violation of public duty, it was punishable at common law as a misdemeanour, particularly when the offence related to the public revenue. If the doctrine of the learned counsel on the other side could hold, a public accountant would scarce be under any restraint. But, in truth  
there



there did exist an Act of Parliament, which, whatever construction might be put upon it, certainly meant to protect the public interest, and guard the public money. If so, can any rational man for a moment believe that the act was satisfied by carrying the money from the Exchequer to the Bank, and letting it remain there but for a moment? In deciding these points, he was sure their lordships would consult the dignity of their own character, and decide as was befitting them.

Mr. Whitbread expressed his concurrence in the definition of the law, which their lordships had heard so ably stated by his learned colleague, and which served, in his judgment, completely to refute the doctrine so confidently asserted by the learned counsel for the noble defendant. With respect to other parts of the defence, it had been stated, that the noble defendant declined to receive the salary of the office of secretary of state. But independently of the consideration that the noble defendant held the secretaryship improperly, and against a resolution of the house of commons; his display of generosity in that instance bore a very questionable character. A noble lord (Grenville) had recently given up a salary, that of the auditorship of the exchequer, and in a manner that, far from being liable to suspicion, was entitled to praise. But how different the character of that sacrifice, which the noble defendant appeared to make! He gave up 4000*l.* a year to be sure, but why retain the treasurership of the navy? Because the receipts from the latter were very different from those which could be expected from the

secretaryship of state, as fully appeared from even the case of the 10,000*l.* which the noble defendant affected to have laid out for public purposes, which purposes were never hinted at even by the defendant's counsel, and which could never be ascertained. With regard to the assertion of the learned counsel, that the noble defendant was inaccurate in accounts, he should only refer to that which certainly was inconsistent with the idea; namely, the arrangements made in the Navy Office in 1784; and also the adjustment of his own salary in that office, in order to make it up to 4000*l.* a year. This idea of inaccuracy was also contradicted by the noble lord's management of the finances of India. In his statement of those finances in the house of commons on the opening of the Indian budget, and other occasions, there certainly never was the least appearance of inaccuracy, or embarrassment in accounts. The learned counsel had maintained the impossibility of disproving all the objections that might apply to the conduct of a man in office for twenty-four years. When told that evidence appeared to prove that money was applied to the private use of the noble defendant by Douglas; then the learned counsel stated, that as Douglas was dead, the business could not be explained. But when the case of 1805, at which period the balance incurred during the paymastership of Douglas was discharged; the same apology of Douglas's death, aided by the destruction of the papers, was relied on. How fortunate for the defendant was the act of death and the destruction of his papers! If the managers could only avail

themselves of the evidence of Douglas—if they could but read the accounts between the noble defendant and his deputies, and ascertain the manner in which he applied the sum to which his confessions in the house of commons referred—could they but penetrate that triple shield of brass in which the defendant was enclosed—how much, from what they had already discovered, were they justified in expecting!

The honourable manager proceeded to detail the evidence relative to the first and tenth articles, commenting upon it as he went on, and contending, upon similar grounds to those urged by the solicitor general, that it was conclusive against the noble defendant.

The honourable manager concluded with observing, that having gone through the 1st and 10th articles, he should now, not from any desire of time for preparation, nor from any want of personal strength, but merely to consult their lordships' convenience, beg leave to postpone the remainder of his reply till to-morrow.

#### FIFTEENTH DAY—MAY 17.

Mr. Whitbread resumed his speech. He commented at length on the confession of the noble lord respecting the application of 10,000*l.* to purposes which he avowed he would not disclose. He then adverted to the demeanour of Mr. Trotter in giving his evidence, and insisted that from his manner as much was to be inferred as from the plainest testimony. He argued from the fourth and fifth clauses of the act of 1786, and contended that they were notori-

ously violated by the noble defendant: with respect to the want of care in the noble defendant in examining his accounts, it did not appear that such was his character by his subsequent conduct. He had had the caution to insert an unusual clause in a release for the destruction of all vouchers, and he had not neglected to perform that agreement. With regard to the removal of the money from the Bank to Coutts's, it was argued that the noble defendant had done it for reasons of official convenience, when the pay office was removed from Broad-street to Somerset-house. But, in fact, it was in 1786 that the money was removed to Coutts's, and the office was not removed until the year 1787:—the falsity of that pretence was then most evident. The honourable manager next adverted to the refuge taken by the noble lord under the 5th clause, and refusing to answer the commissioners of inquiry. He considered this a strong indicative of what were the noble lord's feelings.—He fled to the 5th clause, and exclaimed in the words of the Scotch song, "Throw your auld cloak about me." He then entered into a detail of the transactions of 1800, and observed, had not that been negotiated, the noble lord would not probably have been enabled to pay his balances, and the public must have suffered a loss. In adverting to the conversation stated to have passed between lord Melville and Trotter, he observed, that though the latter would not recollect any of the conversations with precision, it was not to be doubted but they understood each other: there were many modes of communicating ideas besides by  
words

words. When our immortal bard represents king John as wishing the death of his nephew Arthur, without daring to speak his wishes direct to Hubert, he thus addressed him:—

“ If that thou could’st see without eyes,  
Hear without thine ears, and make reply  
Without a tongue, using conceit alone,  
Without eyes, ears, and painful sound of words,  
Then, in despite of blooded, watchful day,  
I would into thy bosom pour my thoughts.”

Similar, most likely, was lord Melville’s directions to Trotter, respecting India stock; but if any doubt remained as to this point, there could be none to those services to which the noble lord admitted he had applied, contrary to the purposes of the act. In conclusion, the hon. manager adverted to the manner in which the counsel had attempted to defend their client. Instead of attempting to rescue his impeached honour, and restore his character, they had only attempted to save him from punishment: “ Oh, miserable man, to be so defended!” said the honourable manager. Every one of the charges which the managers have presented against you have been completely substantiated. By your own confession, you have shown that you have illegally applied a large sum of the public money; and for that alone we are justified in seeking a verdict of condemnation against you. You expressed your readiness to swear that you did not derive any profits from the public money during the paymastership of Douglas, and we have proved that you did. You have also declared, that you derived no profits during the paymastership of

Trotter, and we have proved that you did. And what has been deposited by our evidence, not a single witness has been called on your part to controvert.—No, your counsel have not ventured to repel it. Their strength has been to secure a retreat. We attacked them in their fortresses—we pursued them in their flight for refuge, first to the bastion, and next to the citadel.—When being unable to make a stand, they endeavoured to carry off the body of their client; but in this, too, it will be seen that they have failed. They have not fought, but bled. We, however, have overtaken and conquered, and we claim from your lordships the just reward of our success—a verdict against the noble defendant.

The lord chancellor asked the learned counsel for the defendant if they wished to say any thing upon the cases quoted by the attorney general.

Mr. Plumer merely observed, that he thought the case of Bembridge and Powell did not apply.

The attorney general stated, that he quoted the case for the principle it established, which he insisted was analogous to the present case.

The court then adjourned to the chamber of parliament.

#### SIXTEENTH DAY—JUNE 12.

The court having assembled in the usual form, about twelve o’clock, the lord chancellor stated that the first question he was to put to their lordships was, Whether lord viscount Melville was guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged upon him in the first article of charge, or not guilty?—His lordship then proceeded to ask the opinion of each lord, beginning

ning with the junior in rank present, in the following form:—  
 “ John lord Crewe (the junior baron), what says your lordship to this first article of charge?” Lord Crewe answered, “ Not guilty, upon my honour,” laying his right hand upon his breast. “ James lord Lauderdale, what says your lordship to the first article of charge?”—“ Guilty, upon my honour.” The same question was repeated to each lord, who answered in like manner, either “ Guilty,” or “ Not guilty, upon my honour.” The lord chancellor voted last, and laying his hand upon his breast, said, “ I Thomas lord Erskine, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, give it as my opinion to your lordships, that lord viscount Melville is not guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours contained in the first charge.”

A similar question was put on the second and other charges, and the following are the numbers on each:—

<i>Charges.</i>	<i>Not guilty.</i>	<i>Guilty.</i>
1 - -	120 - -	15
2 - -	79 - -	66
3 - -	83 - -	52
4 - -	Unanimous.	
5 - -	131 - -	4
6 - -	89 - -	46
7 - -	85 - -	50
8 - -	121 - -	14
9 - -	119 - -	16
10 - -	123 - -	12

There being 135 peers present.

Soon after three o'clock the lords had given their votes upon all the articles of charge. About half an hour was occupied by the clerk in casting up the numbers on each

side, on the different charges. About a quarter before four silence was again proclaimed, and

The lord chancellor declared, that, by the vote of their lordships, lord viscount Melville was acquitted of all the high crimes and misdemeanours charged upon him in the different articles of charge; and then, addressing himself to lord Melville, said, “ Henry lord viscount Melville, I am to declare to you that you are acquitted of all the charges exhibited against you, and of every matter and thing therein contained.”

Lord Melville, who stood while the chancellor addressed him, bowed and retired.

The lord chancellor put the question to adjourn to the chamber of parliament, which was immediately ordered.

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#### *Report on the Vaccine Inoculation.*

At a special meeting of the board of directors, lately held at the central house of the society, No. 14, Salisbury-square, Fleet-street, the following report of the medical council, on the subject of vaccine inoculation, was laid before the board.

#### REPORT.

The medical council of the royal Jennerian society having been informed that various cases had occurred which excited prejudices against vaccine inoculation, and tended to check the progress of that important discovery in this kingdom, appointed a committee of twenty-five of their members to inquire, not only into the nature and

and truth of such cases, but also into the evidence respecting instances of small-pox alleged to have occurred twice in the same person.

In consequence of this reference, the committee made diligent inquiry into the history of a number of cases, in which it was supposed that vaccination had failed to prevent the small-pox, and also of such cases of small-pox as were stated to have happened subsequently to the natural or inoculated small-pox.

In the course of their examination the committee learned that opinions and assertions had been advanced and circulated, which charged the cow-pox with rendering patients liable to particular diseases, frightful in their appearance, and hitherto unknown; and judging such opinions to be connected with the question as to the efficacy of the practice, they thought it incumbent upon them to examine also into the validity of these injurious statements respecting vaccination.

After a very minute investigation of these subjects, the result of their inquiries has been submitted to the medical council; and from the report of the committee it appears:—

I. That most of the cases which have been brought forward as instances of the failure of vaccination to prevent the small-pox, and which have been the subjects of public attention and conversation, are either wholly unfounded or grossly misrepresented.

II. That some of the cases are now allowed, by the very persons who first related them, to have been erroneously stated.

III. That the statements of such of those cases as are published have, for the most part, been carefully investigated, ably discussed, and fully refuted, by different writers on the subject.

IV. That notwithstanding the most incontestable proofs of such misrepresentation, a few medical men have persisted in repeatedly bringing the same unfounded and refuted reports and misrepresentations before the public; thus perseverely and disingenuously labouring to excite prejudices against vaccination.

V. That in some printed accounts, adverse to vaccination, in which the writers had no authenticated facts to support the opinions they advanced, nor any reasonable arguments to maintain them, the subject has been treated with indecent and disgusting levity; as if the good or evil of society were fit objects for sarcasm and ridicule.

VI. That when the practice of vaccination was first introduced and recommended by Dr. Jenner, many persons who had never seen the effects of the vaccine fluid on the human system, who were almost wholly unacquainted with the history of vaccination, the characteristic marks of the genuine vesicle, and the cautions necessary to be observed in the management of it, and were therefore incompetent to decide whether patients were properly vaccinated or not, nevertheless ventured to inoculate for the cow-pox.

VII. That many persons have been declared duly vaccinated, when the operation was performed in a very negligent and unskilful manner, and when the inoculator did

did not afterwards see the patients, and therefore could not ascertain whether infection had taken place or not; and that to this cause are certainly to be attributed many of the cases adduced in proof of the inefficacy of cow-pox.

VIII. That some cases have been brought before the committee, on which they could form no decisive opinion, from the want of necessary information as to the regularity of the preceding vaccination, or the reality of the subsequent appearance of the small-pox.

IX. That it is admitted by the committee, that a few cases have been brought before them, of persons having the small-pox who had apparently passed through the cow-pox in a regular way.

X. That cases, supported by evidence equally strong, have been also brought before them of persons who, after having once regularly passed through the small-pox, either by inoculation or natural infection, have had that disease a second time.

XI. That in many cases in which the small-pox has occurred a second time, after inoculation, or the natural disease, such recurrence has been particularly severe, and often fatal; whereas, when it has appeared to occur after vaccination, the disease has generally been so mild as to lose some of its characteristic marks, and even sometimes to render its existence doubtful.

XII. That it is a fact well ascertained, that, in some particular states of certain constitutions, whether vaccine or variolous matter be employed, a local disease only will be excited by inoculation, the constitution remaining unaffected; yet

that matter taken from such local vaccine or variolous pustule is capable of producing a general and perfect disease.

XIII. That if a person, bearing the strongest and most indubitable marks of having had the small-pox, be repeatedly inoculated for that disease, a pustule may be produced, the matter of which will communicate the disease to those who have not been previously infected.

XIV. That although it is difficult to determine precisely the number of exceptions to the practice, the medical council are fully convinced that the failure of vaccination, as a preventive of the small-pox, is a very rare occurrence.

XV. That of the immense number who have been vaccinated in the army and navy, in different parts of the united kingdom, and in every quarter of the globe, scarcely any instances of such failure have been reported to the committee but those which are said to have occurred in the metropolis or its vicinity.

XVI. That the medical council are fully assured, that in very many places in which the small-pox raged with great violence, the disease has been speedily and effectually arrested in its progress, and in some populous cities wholly exterminated, by the practice of vaccination.

XVII. That the practice of inoculation for the small-pox, on its first introduction into this country, was opposed, and very much retarded, in consequence of misrepresentations and arguments drawn from assumed facts, and of miscarriages arising from the want of correct

rect information, similar to those now brought forward against vaccination, so that nearly fifty years elapsed before small-pox inoculation was fully established.

XVIII. That by a reference to the bills of mortality it will appear, that to the unfortunate neglect of vaccination, and to the prejudices raised against it, we may in a great measure attribute the loss of nearly two thousand lives by the small-pox, in this metropolis alone, within the present year.

XIX. That the few instances of failure, either in the inoculation of the cow-pox, or of the small-pox, ought not to be considered as objections to either practice, but merely as deviations from the ordinary course of nature.

XX. That if a comparison be made between the preservative effects of vaccination, and those of inoculation for the small-pox, it would be necessary to take into account the greater number of persons who have been vaccinated within a given time; as it is probable that, within the last seven years, nearly as many persons have been inoculated for the cow-pox as were ever inoculated for the small-pox since the practice was introduced into this kingdom.

XXI. That from all the facts which they have been able to collect, it appears to the medical council, that the cow-pox is generally mild and harmless in its effects; and that the few cases which have been alleged against this opinion may be fairly attributed to peculiarities of constitution.

XXII. That many well known cutaneous diseases, and some scrophulous complaints, have been represented as the effects of vaccine

inoculation, when, in fact, they originated from other causes, and in many instances occurred long after vaccination; and that such diseases are infinitely less frequent after vaccination, than after either the natural or inoculated small-pox.

Having stated these facts, and made these observations, the medical council cannot conclude their report upon a subject so highly important and interesting to all classes of the community, without making this solemn declaration:

That, in their opinion, founded on their own individual experience, and the information which they have been able to collect from that of others, mankind have already derived great and incalculable benefit from the discovery of vaccination, and that it is their full belief, that the sanguine expectations of advantage and security which have been formed from the inoculation of cow-pox will be ultimately and completely fulfilled.

Signed, Ed. Jenner, M. D. president. T. C. Lettsom, M. D. V. P. John Ring, V. P. Joseph Adams, M. D. John Addington. C. R. Aikin. Wm. Babington, M. D. M. Baillie, M. D. W. Blair. Gil. Blane, M. D. Isaac Buxton, M. D. Wm. Chamberlaine. John Clarke, M. D. Astley Cooper. Wm. Daniell Cordell. Richard Croft, M. D. Tho. Denman, M. D. John Dimsdale. Henry Field. Edward Ford. Joseph Fox. Wm. M. Frazer, M. D. Wm. Gaitskell. Wm. Hamilton, M. D. John Hingeston. Everard Home. Robert Hooper, M. D. Joseph Thurlock. John Jones. Thomas Key. F. Knight. G. Leese. L. Leese. Wm. Lewis. Wm.

Wm. Lister, M. D. Alex. Marcet, M. D. Joseph Hart Myers, M. D. James Parkinson. Thomas Paytherus. John Pearson. George Rees, M. D. John Gibbs Ridout. J. Squire, M. D. James Upton. J. Christian Wachfell. Thomas Wallhman, M. D. Robert Willan, M. D. Allen Williams. James Wilson. J. Yelloly, M. D.

Jan. 2, 1806. JOHN WALKER,  
Secretary to the Council.

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*Report of the Result of the Spanish Expedition fitted out to spread the Vaccine Inoculation.*

*From the Madrid Gazette, October 14, 1806.*

On Sunday, the 7th of September, we are told, Dr. Francis Xavier Balmis, surgeon extraordinary to the king, had the honour of kissing his majesty's hand, on occasion of his return from a voyage round the world, executed with the sole view of carrying to all the possessions of the crown of Spain, situated beyond the seas, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of vaccine inoculation. His majesty has inquired, with the liveliest interest, into all that materially related to the expedition; and learned, with the utmost satisfaction, that the result has exceeded the most sanguine expectations which were entertained at the time the enterprize was undertaken.

This undertaking had been committed to the diligence of several members of the faculty, and subordinate persons; carrying with them twenty-two children, who had never undergone the small-pox;

selected for the preservation of the precious fluid, by transmitting it successively from one to another, during the course of the voyage. The expedition set sail from Corunna, under the direction of Balmis, on the 30th of November, 1803. It made the first stoppage at the Canary Islands, the second at Porto-Rico, and the third at the Caraccas. On leaving that province, by the port of La Guayra, it was divided into two branches: one part sailing to South America, under the charge of the sub-director, Don Francis Sabani; the other, with the director Balmis on board, steering for the Havannah, and thence for Yucatan. There a subdivision took place: the professor, Francis Pastor, proceeding from the port of Sisal to that of Villahermosa, in the province of Tobasco, for the purpose of propagating vaccination in the district of Ciudad Real de Chiapa, and on to Guatemala, making a circuit of four hundred leagues, through a long and rough road, comprising Oaxaca; while the rest of the expedition, which arrived without accident at Vera-Cruz, traversed not only the vice-royalty of New Spain, but also the interior provinces; whence it was to return to Mexico, which was the point of reunion.

This precious preservative against the ravages of the small-pox has already been extended through the whole of North America, to the coasts of Sonora and Sinaloa, and even to the pagans and new converts of Pimeria Alta. In each capital a council has been instituted, composed of the principal authorities, and the most zealous members of the faculty; charged with



with the preservation of this invaluable specific, as a sacred deposit, for which they are accountable to the king and to posterity.

This being accomplished, it was the next care of the director to carry this part of the expedition from America to Asia, crowned with the most brilliant success, and, with it, the comfort of humanity. Some difficulties having been surmounted, he embarked in the port of Acapulco for the Philippine Islands; that being the point at which, if attainable, it was originally intended that the undertaking should be terminated.

The bounty of divine providence having vouchsafed to second the great and pious designs of the king, Balmis happily performed the voyage, in little more than two months; carrying with him, from New Spain, twenty six children, destined to be vaccinated in succession, as before; and, as many of them were infants, they were committed to the care of the matron of the Foundling Hospital at La Corunna; who, in this, as well as the former voyages, conducted herself in a manner to merit approbation. The expedition having arrived at the Philippines, and propagated the specific in the islands subject to his catholic majesty; Balmis having concluded his philanthropic commission, concerted with the captain general the means of extending the beneficence of the king, and the glory of his august name, to the remotest confines of Asia.

In point of fact, the cow-pox has been disseminated through the vast Archipelago of the Visayan Islands; whose chiefs, accustomed to wage perpetual war with us,

have laid down their arms, admiring the generosity of an enemy, who conferred upon them the blessings of health and life, at a time when they were labouring under the ravages of an epidemic small-pox. The principal persons of the Portuguese colonies, and of the Chinese empire, manifested themselves no less beholden, when Balmis reached Macao and Canton; in both which places he accomplished the introduction of fresh virus, in all its activity, by the means already related; a result which the English, on repeated trials, had failed to procure, in the various occasions, when they had brought out portions of matter in the ships of their East India company; which lost their efficacy on the passage, and arrived inert.

After having propagated the vaccine inoculation at Canton, as far as possibility and the political circumstances of the empire would permit, and having confided the further dissemination of it to the physicians of the English factory at the above-mentioned port, Balmis returned to Macao, and embarked in a Portuguese vessel for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 15th of August. In the way he stopped at St. Helena, in which, as in other places, by dint of exhortation and perseverance, he prevailed upon the English to adopt the astonishing antidote, which they had undervalued for the space of more than eight years, though it was a discovery of their nation, and though it was sent to them by Jenner himself.

Of that branch of the expedition which was destined for Peru, it is ascertained that it was shipwrecked in one of the mouths of the

the

the river de la Magdalena; but having derived immediate succour from the natives, and from the magistrates adjacent, and from the governor of Carthagena, the sub-director, the three members of the faculty who accompanied him, and the children, were saved, with the fluid in good preservation, which they extended in that port, and its province, with activity and success. Thence it was carried to the isthmus of Panama, and persons, properly provided with all necessaries, undertook the long and painful navigation of the river de la Magdalena; separating, when they reached the interior, to discharge their commission in the towns of Teneriffe, Mompox, Ocaña, Socorro, San Gil y Medelin, in the valley of Cucuta, and in the cities of Pamplona, Giron, Tunja, Velez, and other places in the neighbourhood, until they met at Santa. For, leaving every where suitable instructions for the members of the faculty, and in the more considerable towns, regulations conformable to those rules which the director had prescribed for the preservation of the virus; which the viceroy affirms to have been communicated to fifty thousand persons, without one unfavourable result. Towards the end of March, 1805, they prepared to continue their journey in separate tracks, for the purpose of extending themselves, with greater facility and promptitude, over the remaining districts of the vice-royalty, situated in the road of Papayan, Cuenca, and Quito, as far as Lima. In August following they reached Guayaquil.

The result of this expedition has been, not merely to propagate

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vaccination amongst all people, whether friends or enemies, among Moors, Visayans, and Chinese, but also to secure to posterity, in the dominions of his majesty, the perpetuity of so great a benefit; partly by means of the central committees that have been established, and partly by the discovery of indigenous matter in the cows of the valley of Atlixco, near the city of Puebla de los Angeles, by Balmis, in the neighbourhood of that of Valladolid-de Mechoacan, by the adjutant Antonio Gutierrez, and in the district of Calabozo, in the province of Caraccas, by Don Charles de Pozo, the physician of the residence.

A multitude of observations, which will be published without delay, respecting the developement of the cow-pock in various climes, and its efficacy, not merely in preventing the natural small-pox, but in curing, at the same time, other morbid affections of the human frame, will manifest how important the consequences of an expedition, which has no parallel in history, will prove to the cause of humanity.

Though the object of this undertaking was limited to the communication of the cow-pock in every quarter, the instruction of practitioners, and the establishment of regulations, which might serve to render it perpetual; nevertheless, the director has omitted no means of rendering his services beneficial, at the same time, to agriculture and the sciences. He brings with him a considerable collection of exotic plants. He has caused drawings to be made of the most valuable subjects in natural history. He has amassed much important information; and among other claims to  
the

the gratitude of his country, not the least consists in having imported a valuable assemblage of trees and vegetables, in a state to admit of propagation; and which being cultivated in those parts of the peninsula that are most congenial with their growth, will render this expedition as memorable in the annals of agriculture, as in those of medicine and humanity. It is hoped that the sub-director and his coadjutors, appointed to carry these blessings to Peru, will shortly re-

turn by way of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing their journey through that viceroyalty, the viceroyalty of Lima, and the districts of Chili and Charcas; and that they will bring with them such collections and observations as they have been able to acquire, according to the instructions given by the director; without losing sight of the philanthropic commission which they received from his majesty, in the plenitude of his zeal for the welfare of the human race.

# A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 17, 1805, to DECEMBER 16, 1806.

Christened { Males 10452 } In all, | Buried { Males 9215 } In all,  
 { Females 9928 } 20380 | { Females 8723 } 17938

Increased in Burials this Year 363.

Died under Two Years	5405	Fifty and Sixty	1503	Hundred and Two	0
Between Two and Five	2029	Sixty and Seventy	1265	Hundred and Three	0
—Five and Ten	822	Seventy and Eighty	859	Hundred and Four	1
Ten and Twenty	635	Eighty and Ninety	414	Hundred and Five	0
Twenty and Thirty	1329	Ninety and a Hundred	99	Hundred and Ten	0
Thirty and Forty	1782	Hundred	2	Hundred and Fifteen	0
Forty and Fifty	1793	Hundred and One	0		

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
<b>A</b> Bortive & Still-born	657	Cramp	3	<b>B</b> Broken Limbs	3
Abcess	93	Croup	44	Bruised	2
Aged	1380	Diabetes	1	Burnt	36
Ague	13	Dropfy	763	Drowned	132
Apoplexy and sud-		Evil	3	Excessive Drink-	
den	348	All Fevers	1354	ing	15
Asthma & Phthific	382	Fistula	4	Executed *	4
Bedridden	5	Flux	4	Found dead	16
Bile	3	French Pox	53	Fractured	3
Bleeding	24	Gout	101	Killed by Falls,	
Bursten and Rup-		Gravel, Stranguary,		&c.	74
ture	24	and Stone	27	Killed themselves	31
Cancer	71	Grief	3	Murdered	3
Chicken Pox	1	Headmouldshot, Hor-		Poisoned	2
Childbed	235	shoehead, and Wa-		Scalded	6
Colds	12	ter in the Head	199	Smothered	2
Colick, Gripes, twist-		Jaundice	63	Starved	1
ing of the Guts	21	Jaw Locked	2	Suffocated	5
Consumption	3996	Inflammation	560		
Convulsions	3602	Itch	1	Total	335
Cough and Hooping-		Lethargy	2		
Cough	623	Livergrown	13		
		Lunatick	146		
		Measles	530		
		Miscarriage	1		
		Mortification	285		
		Palsy	138		
		Palpitation of the			
		Heart	4		
		Pleurisy	24		
		Purples	2		
		Quinfy	2		
		Rash	1		
		Rheumatism	6		
		Scurvy	2		
		Small Pox	1158		
		Sore Throat	7		
		Sores and Ulcers	5		
		St. Anthony's Fire	2		
		Spasm	16		
		Stoppage in the Sto-			
		mach	14		
		Teeth	481		
		Thrush	83		
		Tumour	1		
		Vomiting and Loofe-			
		nels	1		
		Worms	6		

\* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 15; of which number 4 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCKS.

Date.	Bank stock, B.Red	3 pr C	3 pr Cent Confol.	4 pr C Conf.	5 per cent. navy	5 per Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bouds.	Exchequer Bills.	S. S. Stk.	Old Al.	New Al.	Omnium.	Irish 5 pr. C.	Imp. 3 pr. C.	English Lottery Tickets.	English Prizes.
Jan.	198 1/2	60 5/8	61 a 60 3/4	79	90 7/8	100	17 1/8	2	191	2 a 3 pr. par 1 dif.	5 a 3 pr. par 1 pr.	63 1/2	59 3/8	59 1/4	9 1/2 a 3 pr. 4 1/2 pr. 10 pr. 9 1/2 pr.	87 3/4	60	19 19	2 p.c. dif. Ditto
Feb.	191 3/4	58 1/2	61 1/8 a 61	75 3/8	89 1/4	99 5/8	16 1/2	2	184 3/4	3 a 4 pr. 2 a 3 pr. 2 a 3 pr. 2 a 3 pr.	5 a 2 a 3 pr. 1 a 3 pr. 2 a 5 pr. par 1 dif.	65 1/2	61 5/8	60 3/8	4 1/2 pr. 10 pr. 9 1/2 pr.	87 1/2	57 5/8	19 19	Ditto
March	208	62 7/8	60 1/2	80 1/8	92 7/8	100 1/8	17 1/2	Shut.	186 1/2	2 a 3 pr. par 1 dif.	1 a 3 pr. 2 a 5 pr. par 1 dif.	65	61	59 7/8	9 1/2 pr.	89 1/2	60 1/2	19 10	2 p.c. dif. Ditto
April	202 1/2	61 1/4	59 3/4 a 60	79 3/8	92 3/8	Shut.	17 1/2	Shut.	184 1/2	2 a 3 pr. par 1 dif.	2 a 5 pr. par 1 dif.	59 1/4	Sh.		2 1/2 2 1/4 2 1/4 2 1/4	90 1/2	60 1/8	19 18	Ditto
May	213 1/4	59 5/8	60 a	77 3/8	93		17 1/8	1 7/8	180	2s. pr.	3s. pr.							7 0	
June	212	59 1/2	59 3/8 a 60	77 1/2	92 1/2	98 3/4	17 1/4	1 1/2	179 3/4	1s. pr. 2s. dif.	1s. dif.				2 1/2 2 1/4 2 1/4 2 1/4	89	58 3/8	20 5	
July	208 1/2	59 3/8	60 3/8 a 60	77 1/4	94 1/8		17 1/8	1 1/2	184	1s. pr. 2s. dif.	1s. dif.				2 1/2 2 1/4 2 1/4 2 1/4	88 3/4	58 1/2	20 15	
August	215 1/2	64 1/2	62 1/4 a 65 1/2	82 1/8	92 3/8		18 1/8	1 1/2	179 1/4	2 a 3 dif. 1 pr.	5 a 2 dif. 1 a 2 pr.	65 1/4	59 1/4		2 1/2 2 1/4 2 1/4 2 1/4	89 1/4	58 1/2	20 5	2 p.c. dif.
Sept.	222 1/2	63 1/4	64 1/2 a 65 1/2	81 1/4	95 1/8	Shut.	17 1/8	1 1/2	192 1/4	1s. dif. ditto	2s. pr. 1s. pr.	63 3/8			9 8	93	63 3/8	19 15	
Oct.	223	60 5/8	63 1/2 a 63 1/2	81 1/4	99 1/8	Shut.	18 1/8	1 1/2	187	1s. dif. ditto	3s. pr. 1s. pr.	66	63 5/8	63 5/8	8 7 3/4 pr. 6 1/4 pr.	92 1/2	65	19 15	Full mo.
Nov.	215	61 1/8	60 1/2 a 61	78 3/8	95 1/2	Shut.	17 3/8	1 1/8	189	1 a 2 dif. 1 dif.	1 dif. 1 pr. 5 a 3 pr.	66	60 5/8	Sh.	7 1/2 4 pr. 3 1/2 4 pr.	91	62	19 17	Full mo.
Dec.	209	58 1/2	58 1/2 a 59 1/2	78 1/2	94 1/2		17 1/4	1 1/8	186 1/2	2 a 3 pr. par 1 dif. 4 a 5 pr. 1 a 2 pr. 3 dif. par 1 dif.	1 a 5 pr. par 3 pr. 3 p. 1 dif. par 2 dif.	66 1/4	60 1/4	61 7/8	4 3 3/4 pr. 3 3/4 pr. 2 1/2 2 1/4 pr.	91 1/4	60 1/8	22 15	2 p.c. dif.

The above are the highest and lowest prices of the Stocks for the Year 1806.



Table of the Prices of the Quatern Loaf, in London, from Dec. 1805 to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		August.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.			
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.		
6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	5	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	9	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	11	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
13	11	11	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	10	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	13	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	11	11	8	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	12	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	10	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
20	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	18	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	15	10	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	21	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	20	11	18	11	15	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	11	21	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
27	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	25	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	22	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	26	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	24	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	28	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	27	10	25	11	22	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	26	11	26	11	24	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	28	11

TABLE of the Prices of Meat, Sugar, Salt, and Coals, in London, from Dec. 1805 to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

	Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.		Cwt.	Bushel.
Beef, ---	4	8	5	6	5	6	5	8	5	8	6	0	5	8	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0			
Mutton, ---	5	0	5	8	5	8	6	0	5	8	6	0	4	10	5	0	5	8	5	6	0	5	2				
Pork, ---	5	4	5	8	6	0	6	8	5	8	6	0	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	6	0	5	6	0			
Sugar, ---	49	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	47	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	47	5	45	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	40	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	42	10	41	11	37	10			
Salt, ---	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0			
Coals, ---	52	3	53	6	48	9	54	0	51	6	50	9	48	0	50	6	49	6	52	6	54	3	50	6			



Table of the Number of Bankruptcies in England, from Dec. 1805, to Nov. 1806.

Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
73	47	85	96	68	83	65	49	72	86	73	68

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1806.

	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rin.	
	Greatest Height.	Leaft Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaft Height.	Deg.	Greatest Height.	Leaft Height.	Deg.	Leaft Height.	Greatest Height.	Deg.	Leaft Height.	Greatest Height.	Deg.		Mean Height.
1806.																	
January	55	28	42,5	55	29	42,7	58	48	53,1	30,13	28,65	29,52	96	78	88,3	1,837	
February	56	30	43,4	56	32	43,8	57	46	52,4	30,28	29,33	29,84	96	72	87,6	0,535	
March	56	26	42,7	56	26	43,0	58	47	53,6	30,45	28,90	29,72	95	74	87,0	1,328	
April	64	31	45,7	64	33	46,1	59	50	54,9	30,47	29,38	30,02	94	71	84,0	0,245	
May	75	43	57,8	73	46	58,8	67	56	61,9	30,43	29,40	29,89	97	65	80,7	1,020	
June	83	46	62,5	83	52	63,5	71	62	65,9	30,53	29,60	30,10	94	53	75,9	0,505	
July	81	52	64,5	81	53	64,0	69	63	65,8	30,21	29,51	29,81	10	66	81,3	4,889	
August	80	41	64,5	79	54	64,9	70	62	67,3	30,20	29,25	29,85	91	68	79,0	2,087	
September	73	44	59,5	73	44	59,6	68	59	63,0	30,27	29,53	30,02	98	71	82,7	1,920	
October	65	35	53,2	64	38	53,7	62	53	59,1	30,33	28,66	29,87	97	70	84,9	0,793	
November	59	36	49,1	56	37	49,7	59	53	56,5	30,30	29,05	29,76	97	98	88,8	2,551	
December	57	39	48,0	56	40	48,8	59	52	55,8	30,28	28,72	29,58	97	79	88,3	2,717	
Whole Year.			52,8						59,1			29,83			84,0	20,427	

\* The Quickfilver in the bafon of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water spring tides at Somerfet Houfe.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-house Books, and delivered to William Dowding, Esq. Receiver of Corn>Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks, paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1807.*

EXPORTED.

1806.	BRITISH.			FOREIGN.				
ENGLAND.	Quarters.			Quarters.				
Wheat - - - - -		448		3,823			} Bounties Nil	
Rye - - - - -		2,864		1,145				
Barley - - - - -		15,182		370				
Malt - - - - -		6,725						
Oats - - - - -		22,359		3,117				
Beans - - - - -		6,644						
Pease - - - - -		4,520		25			} Drawbacks Nil.	
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.		
Wheat Flour - - -	64,258	3	17	22,040	3	25		
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,141	3	15					
Groats - - - - -	311	3	22					
<b>SCOTLAND.</b>								
Rye - - - - -			9				} Bounties Nil.	
Barley - - - - -			706					
Bear or Big - - -			531					
Malt - - - - -			80					
Oats - - - - -			2,288					
Groats - - - - -			3					
Beans - - - - -			89				} Drawbacks Nil.	
Pease - - - - -			111					
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.					
Wheat Flour - - -	653	1	0					
Barley Hulled - -	113	3	2					
Biscuit - - - - -	4,303	1	3					
Oatmeal - - - - -	796	0	20					

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.		Quarters.	£.	s.	d.
Wheat	- - -	288,289	}	21,431	14 9 Duties.
Rye	- - -	829			
Barley	- - -	3,578			
Oats	- - -	458,673			
Beans	- - -	3,348			
Pease	- - -	1,514			
		cwt. qrs. lbs.			
Wheat Flour	- - -	279,060 3 16			
Indian Corn	- - -	107 0 4			
Indian Meal	- - -	20 2 9			
		Bolls.			
Oatmeal	- - -	21,875			

IMPORTED.

SCOTLAND.		Quarters.	Bounty Nil.
Wheat	- - -	25,060	}
Barley	- - -	1,806	
Oats	- - -	51,568	
Beans	- - -	57	
		cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	- - -	7,636 0 1	
		Bolls.	
Oatmeal	- - -	16,170	

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester Bushel, for the year, 1806.

Per Bushel	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
	9 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 11	4 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

*The following public Bills received the Royal Assent in the Course of the 4th Session of the 2d Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, commencing on the 21st day of Jan. 1806.*

*February 7th, 1806.*

An act to empower the auditor of the exchequer to constitute a trustee for the execution of the said office in the case therein mentioned.

*February 12.*

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

*February 28.*

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to lady viscountess Nelson, in consideration of the eminent services performed by the late vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson to his majesty and the public.

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan, bart. in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

An act for raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

*March 22.*

An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom, as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of December, 1806, and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas Term, 1806.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An act for allowing, until the signature of preliminary articles of peace, vessels employed in the Greenland whale fishery, to complete their full number of men at certain ports.

An act for further continuing until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, for discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

An act for allowing the exportation of corn and other articles for the use of his majesty's forces and garrisons.

An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties, on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland; and for granting a duty upon malt and spirits made and distilled in Ireland, until the 29th day of September, 1806; and for granting certain inland duties

ties of excise and taxes in Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1807.

An act for settling and securing certain annuities on Cuthbert, lord Collingwood, and the several other persons therein described, in consideration of the signal and important service performed by the said Cuthbert lord Collingwood to his majesty and the public.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1807, and to amend several acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, and Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

An act to continue until the 1st day of June, 1807, and amend an act passed in the 37th year of his present majesty, for carrying into execution the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America.

An act to permit, until the 25th day of March, 1809, the exportation to the United Kingdom, of wool from the British plantations in America.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1807, the operation of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, to suspend proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings, under certain acts relating to the woollen manufacture, and also under an act of queen Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain persons employed or concerned in the said manufacture.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the mi-

litia in Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act to continue, until the 25th of March, 1807, and amend so much of an act made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

An act for making allowances in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March, 1807, the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

An act to extend the provisions of an act passed in the 44th year of the reign of his present majesty, for enabling subjects of foreign states to enlist as soldiers in his majesty's service, and to indemnify those who have advised his majesty to land such soldiers in this kingdom.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1808, an act made in the 33d year of the reign of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

#### *March 31.*

An act for raising the sum of ten millions five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for

for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act for raising the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

An act for continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1811, so much of an act made in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of his late majesty, as relates to the landing of rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations, before payment of the duties of excise.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1813, several laws relating to the transportation of felons and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland.

*April 2.*

An act for reviving and continuing several laws of customs relating to the establishing courts of judicature in the island of Newfoundland; and to the prohibiting the exportation from, and permitting the importation to Great Britain, of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1809; and for continuing several laws relating to the granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens, exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great Britain, of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax; to the granting a bounty upon the importation into Great Britain of hemp, and rough and undressed flax; from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the encouragement of the Greenland whale fisheries; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the regu-

lating the prices at which corn and grain may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and to the admission to entry in Great Britain, of oil and blubber of Newfoundland, taken by his majesty's subjects carrying on the fishery from, and residing in the said island; and for continuing an act of the twenty-third year of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the manufactures of flax and cotton in Great Britain; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the permitting the importation into Great Britain, of hides and other articles in foreign ships; and to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, of corn or potatoes, or other provisions; and to the permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1808; and for reviving and continuing an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the 25th year of his present majesty, for the encouragement of the flaxen and hempen manufactures of Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1827; and for amending and further continuing an act made in the 7th year of his present majesty, for the free importation into Great Britain of cochineal and indigo, until the 25th day of March, 1809.

*April 21.*

An act to authorize his majesty, until the 25th day of March, 1807, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act made in the forty-fourth year of his present

present majesty, for empowering his majesty to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in Ireland, as might voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury of Ireland, to issue treasury bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1806; and for making forth duplicates of treasury bills lost or destroyed.

An act for raising the sum of twenty millions by way of annuities.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act made in the thirty-ninth year of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

*May 5.*

An act to review and amend so much of an act made in the forty-third year of his present majesty, for granting certain stamp duties in Ireland, as provides for the exempting from the said duties, bank notes, and bank post bills, issued by the governor and company of the bank of Ireland.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as charges a duty of three shillings upon certain tenements or dwelling-houses in Ireland.

An act to declare the law with respect to witnesses refusing to answer.

An act for repealing the several duties of customs upon tea imported into Great Britain, and granting a duty in lieu thereof; and for grant-

ing to his majesty additional duties of excise on tea.

An act for granting to his majesty, until twelve months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties of excise on tobacco and snuff.

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to vice-admiral sir John T. Duckworth, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

An act for raising the sum of three millions, by loans, or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and for six months after the expiration thereof, by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into, and exported from, or brought or carried coastwise within Great Britain.

An act for granting to his majesty certain stamp duties on appraisements, and on licences to appraisers in Great Britain.

An act for carrying to the consolidated fund of Great Britain, the duties on wine granted by two acts of the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his present majesty.

An act for the better regulation of the office of treasurer of the ordnance.

*May 23.*

An act for raising the sum of five hundred thousand pounds by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1806.

An act for raising a certain sum of money, by way of annuities or debentures,



debentures, for the service of Ireland.

An act for continuing an act made in this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

An act for increasing the salary of the judge of the court of admiralty in Scotland, and the judges of the commissary court in Edinburgh.

An act for extending the annuity granted to earl St. Vincent, to the two next persons to whom the title of viscount St. Vincent is limited.

An act to repeal several acts passed in the forty-third and forty-fourth years respectively, of his present majesty's reign, for the raising and establishing an additional force for the defence of the realm.

An act to prevent the importation of slaves, by any of his majesty's subjects, into any islands, colonies, plantations, or territories belonging to any foreign sovereign, state, or power; and also to render more effectual a certain order, made by his majesty in council, on the 15th day of August, 1805, for prohibiting the importation of slaves (except in certain cases) into any of the settlements, islands, colonies, or plantations, on the continent of America, or in the West Indies, which have been surrendered to his majesty's arms during the present war; and to prevent the fitting out of foreign slave ships from British ports.

An act for indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in advising, issuing, or carrying into execution, any order or orders, for

permitting the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in foreign bottoms, into and out of, his majesty's West India islands, and the colonies, settlements, and territories, which have been conquered by his majesty's arms.

An act for the more speedy trial of offences committed in distant parts upon the sea.

*June 9.*

An act to provide for the payment, at the bank of Ireland, of the interest on certain debentures, now payable at the exchequer of Ireland; and also for altering the days of payment of the interest or dividends on certain annuities in Ireland.

An act to amend an act of the last session of parliament, for continuing and amending several acts for regulating and securing the collection of the duties on spirituous liquors distilled in Ireland, and the warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

An act to amend an act made in the last session of parliament, for the collection of the malt duties in Ireland, and regulating the trade of a maltster.

An act for establishing certain regulations in the collection and management of his majesty's revenues of customs, excise, and taxes, in Ireland.

An act to regulate the packing of butter in Ireland, for sale or exportation.

An act for amending an act passed in Ireland, in the 29th year of king George the Second, intituled, "An act for amending and making more effectual, the several laws relating to the first fruits, payable out of ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical benefices in this kingdom; and for the better regulation and management of the charitable bequest of Dr. Hugh Boulter, late lord archbishop of Armagh, for augmenting the maintenance of poor clergy in this kingdom, so far only as relates to the said charitable bequest.

An act to authorize certain public officers to send and receive letters and packets by the post, free from the duty of postage.

*June 13*

An act for granting to his majesty until the 29th day of September, 1806, certain duties on the importation, and to allow certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of certain sorts of iron, sugar, and tea, into and from Ireland.

An act to repeal several acts passed in the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his present majesty, for raising and establishing an additional force in Ireland for the defence of the realm.

An act to repeal the several duties under the care of the commissioners for managing the duties upon stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Ireland, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the laws relating to the stamp duties in Ireland.

An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and until the 6th day of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, further additional rates and duties in Great Britain, on the rates and duties on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices; and for repealing an act passed in the forty-fifth year of his present majesty, for re-

pealing certain parts of an act made in the forty-third year of his present majesty, for granting a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades and offices; and to consolidate and render more effectual the provisions for collecting the said duties.

*June 20.*

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt and spirits made in Ireland.

An act to continue until the 24th day of June 1807, and amend an act made in the last session of parliament, for appointing commissioners to enquire and examine into any irregularities and abuses which might have taken place in conducting and managing the paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Dublin.

An act for making better provision for soldiers.

*July 3.*

An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for regulating licences for the sale of spirituous liquors, wine, beer, ale, and cyder, by retail in Ireland.

An act to amend several acts for the encouragement of finding and working mines and minerals within Ireland.

An act for enabling his majesty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from, the port of Road Harbour, in the island of Tortola.

An act for granting rates of postage on the conveyance of letters and packets

packets to and from Gibraltar and the island of Malta.

An act for permitting Prussian yarn to be imported in foreign ships, on payment of the like duties as if imported in British ships.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the duties of excise in England.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the stamp duties in England.

An act for continuing the encouragement of persons making discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto; and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty on the amount of the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes therein mentioned.

An act to confirm an agreement entered into between the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the most noble Augustus Henry duke of Grafton, in pursuance of an act of the 43d year of his present majesty.

An act to provide for the more effectual examination of accounts of the expenditure of the public money in the West Indies, and for the better discovery of frauds and abuses therein.

*July 12.*

An act for better encouraging the manufacture of thread lace in Great Britain.

An act for abolishing fees received by certain officers and other persons employed in the service of the customs, in the port of London; and for regulating the attendance of officers and others so employed.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the post office in England.

An act to grant certain allowances out of the duties, under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, to persons in respect to the number of their children.

An act for reviving and continuing until the 25th day of March 1813, an act made in the 43d year of his present majesty, for regulating the manner in which the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies shall hire and take up ships for their regular service,

An act for enabling his majesty to grant the castle of Norwich, with the common gaol, Castle Hill, and certain land adjacent thereto, in the county of Norfolk, and for vesting the same in his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, for the use thereof; and for other purposes relating thereto.

An act more effectually to regulate the collection of the duties on goods, wares, and merchandize imported or exported into or from Ireland; and the payment of bounties, allowances, and drawbacks thereon.

An act to provide for the regulating and securing the collection of the duties on spirits distilled in Ireland and the warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

*July 16.*

An act for consolidating and rendering

dering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings, and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster hall, and the two houses of parliament.

An act to enable his majesty annually to train and exercise a proportion of his subjects in England under certain regulations, and more effectually to provide for the defence of the realm.

An act for the return of correct lists of persons liable to serve in the militia, under an act passed in the 42d year of his present majesty; and to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years.

An act to amend three acts, made in the 35th, 41st, and 42d years of his present majesty, relating to the conveyance of letters and packets by the post.

An act to enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

An act to enable the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer of Ireland, to contract for the purchase of the duties of prisage and butlerage in Ireland.

An act for the more effectually regulating and providing for the relief of the poor, and the management of infirmaries, and hospitals in Ireland.

An act to amend the laws respecting the accounting for money presented in Ireland for the making, repairing, widening, or fencing of public roads, and the building and repairing of bridges, pipes, or gullies.

An act to permit the free interchange of every species of grain, between Great Britain and Ireland.

An act for making additional and further provisions for the effectual performance of quarantine in Great Britain.

An act for allowing a bounty on the exportation of oil of vitriol made in Great Britain.

An act to empower the commissioners and governors of the royal hospital for seamen at Greenwich in the county of Kent, to make certain allowances to old, infirm, or wounded or disabled officers in the royal navy, and to provide a fund for the payment of such allowances, and for the increase of pensions to disabled seamen and marines.

An act for improving the funds of the chest of Greenwich, and amending an act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, relating to the said chest.

An act for repealing the duties of excise on stills used for distilling or rectifying low wines or spirits for consumption in Scotland; on worts or wash made for extracting spirits; and on spirits made for consumption in Scotland; and for granting and securing other duties in lieu thereof; and for better securing the duties on foreign spirits and on malt.

An act for allowing, until the 1st day of August 1807, the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, and for granting a bounty thereon.

An act for continuing, until the 1st day of August 1807, an act of the last session of parliament, for allowing, under certain restrictions, the bringing a limited quantity of coals, culm, or cinders to London  
and

and Westminster, by inland navigation.

An act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Portsmouth; and for extending the lines and works at Dover.

An act to provide for the better execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes in Ireland.

An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed by an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, an act for appointing commissioners for putting into execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1805; and an act made in the 38th year of his present majesty, for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1798; and for appointing other commissioners, together with those named in the first mentioned act, to put into execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present majesty; and for indemnifying such persons

as have acted as commissioners for executing the said acts.

*July 21.*

An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors.

An act for reducing the bounty payable on the exportation of refined sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing the like bounty on the exportation of sugar candy, as is payable on refined sugar.

An act for granting during the continuance of the present war, and until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an additional bounty on the exportation of the silk manufactures of Great Britain.

An act for authorizing his majesty in council to allow, during the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships, into and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America.

An act to amend the laws of excise, so far as relates to prosecutions for penalties, to the counterfeiting the stamps on the wrappers of paper, and to the punishing persons guilty of perjury.

An act to permit, for and during the continuance of the present war, French wines to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

An act to amend an act passed in the last session of parliament, for increasing the drawback on linens exported from Great Britain to the West Indies.

An act to permit raisins, currants,  
\* B b 2 and

and figs to be exported from Great Britain, duty free.

An act to allow certain articles to be exported from Gibraltar and Malta direct to his majesty's colonies in North America, in return for British American fish.

An act to permit until the first day of January 1809, the importation of masts, yards, and bowsprits, or of timber fit for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America duty-free.

An act to extend the time for purchasing the legal quays and warehouses in the port of London, and for authorising the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to purchase Somers and Lyons Quays in the said port.

An act to prohibit for two years after the conclusion of the present session of parliament, any ships to clear out from any port of Great Britain, for the coast of Africa, for the purpose of taking on board Negroes, unless such ships shall have been previously employed in the African trade, or contracted for, for that purpose.

An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland, until the 5th day of July 1807; and several acts for granting duties upon malt and spirits made and distilled in Ireland, and for the better collection and security of the revenues of customs and excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein, until the 29th day of Sept. 1807; and to amend several of the said acts.

An act to repeal so much of an act, made in the first year of king James the second, as prohibits the

importation of gunpowder, arms, and utensils of war, from Ireland.

An act to revive and amend an act made in the parliament of Ireland, forenabling the lord lieutenant to appoint commissioners for enquiring into the several funds and revenues granted for the purposes of education, and into the state and conditions of all schools in Ireland.

An act to amend several acts for the sale of his majesty's quit rents, crown, and other rents, and of certain lands forfeited and undisposed of in Ireland.

An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of volunteers from the militia of Ireland, under certain restrictions.

An act for regulating the rank of offices in yeomanry and volunteer corps.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act to amend and extend the benefits of an act made in the 35th year of his present majesty to enable petty officers, seamen, and marines, serving in his majesty's navy, to allot part of their wages or pay for the maintenance of their wives and families.

An act for making provision for such masters in ordinary of the high court of chancery as from age or infirmity shall be desirous of resigning their offices with the approbation of the said court; and for augmenting the income of the masters in ordinary of the said court.

An act to provide additional salaries to the present clerks in the office of the accountant general of the high court of chancery, and to provide additional clerks for the said office, with salaries; and to make other

other payments in respect to the said office.

An act for making compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, and for the use of his majesty's ordnance at Warley Common and Woolwich, in pursuance of an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty.

An act for exonerating the estates of Percival Lewis, esq. and Marianne Lewis, spinster, in the parish of Putney in the county of Surrey, from the claims of his majesty against the estate of Edward Lewis, esq. deceased.

An act for erecting a light-house on the Bell or Cape rock, on the eastern coast of Scotland, and for enabling the commissioners of the treasury to advance a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, towards that purpose.

*July 22.*

An act to amend an act passed in the 42d year of his present majesty, for consolidating the several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land tax, and to make further provision for exonerating small livings and charitable institutions from the land tax.

An act to provide for the security and expedition of the conveyance of letters by the post in Ireland.

An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts.

An act to alter and amend two acts, made in the 28th and 30th years of his present majesty, for limiting the number of persons to be carried on the outside of stage

coaches, or other carriages, and regulating the conduct of the drivers and guards thereof.

An act to extend the provisions of an act made in the 43d year of his present majesty, for permitting certain articles to be warehoused in Great Britain, or other articles not therein mentioned, and to alter the condition of the bond directed to be given by an act of the 24th year of his present majesty, by the masters and owners of vessels and boats licensed by the lords of the admiralty.

An act to repeal part of the excise countervailing duty on Irish hops imported; for granting an excise countervailing duty on the importation of Irish window glass; and to exempt tiles made for the purpose of draining lands from the duties of excise.

An act for altering and amending several laws relating to the duties of excise upon malt, until the 25th day of March 1807.

An act to amend two acts, passed in the 42d year of his present majesty, relating to the militia of England and Scotland respectively as to the pay of the officers and men of the said militia.

An act for making more effectual provision for the more speedy and regular examination and audit of the public accounts of this kingdom.

An act for the better regulation of the office of surveyor general of woods and forests.

An act for enquiring into the state of Windsor forest in the county of Berks, and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said forest, and of the lands of the crown within the same.

An act to repeal an act passed in

the forty-fourth year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, 'An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting his majesty's regular forces, and for the gradual reduction of the militia of England, so far as the same relates to the city of London.'

An act for enabling his majesty to settle annuities on certain branches of the royal family.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on the earl Nelson, and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of earl Nelson may descend; and for granting a sum of money to purchase an estate to accompany the said title; and also, for granting a sum of money for the use of the sisters of the late vice-admiral viscount Nelson; in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by the said late viscount Nelson, to his majesty and the public.

An act to enable his majesty to continue a certain annuity to George, now lord Rodney, grandson of George Brydges lord Rodney, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to his majesty and the public, by the said George Brydges lord Rodney.

An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, for the year 1806; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament,

*July 23.*

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver-general of the duties of customs in Great Britain.

An act to enable his majesty to grant new leases on former rents, for the benefit of charitable institutions, or augmentation of ecclesiastical corporations.

An act to stay, until forty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament, proceedings in actions, prosecutions, or informations, under an act made in the second year of king James the first, intituled, "An act concerning tanners, carriers, shoemakers, and other artificers, occupying the cutting of leather," so far as relates to the buying of oak bark and rough hides, and calves skins in the hair.

An act for the preservation of the public harbours of the United Kingdom.

An act for taking down the present building in which the treasury chambers, and officers of the court of exchequer in Scotland were situated, and erecting new buildings in lieu thereof.

An act for applying certain balances arising from the forfeited estates in Scotland, towards making canals, harbours, and other public works there.

An act for appropriating certain balances arising from the forfeited estates in Scotland, to the use of the British fisheries, and the erecting a lunatic asylum at Edinburgh, and the payment of the officers of the late board of annexed estates in Scotland.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution the purposes of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of his present majesty,



majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houftoun and Company, to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with, and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, James Mac Dowall, and Robert Houftoun Rae, in the West Indies and elsewhere, except in Scotland.

An act for more effectually car-

rying into execution the purposes of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houftoun and company, to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, James Mac Dowall, and Robert Houftoun Rae, esquires, in Scotland.

## SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1806.

### NAVY, &c.

*January 28.*

That 120,000 men be employed for the sea service,  
for the year 1806; including 29,000 marines.

	£.	s.	d.
For wages of ditto for 13 months - -	2,886,000	0	0
For victualling for ditto - - -	2,964,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships - - -	4,680,000	0	0
For ordnance for sea service - - -	390,000	0	0

*March 3.*

For additional pay to officers and seamen, between  
May 1st and Dec. 31st, 1806 - - -

	193,158	2	4
For such measures as the exigency of affairs may re- quire for Great Britain - - -	2,400,000	0	0
For like purposes for Ireland - - -	600,000	0	0

*March 4.*

For ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea  
and marine officers, for 1806 - - -

	1,045,353	12	11
For building and repairing ships of war for ditto - -	1,980,830	0	0
For the hire of transports - - -	1,250,000	0	0
For defraying the charge of prisoners of war in health - - -	400,000	0	0
Ditto, of sick prisoners of war - - -	45,000	0	0
For hospitals for seamen - - -	30,000	0	0

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£. 18,864,341 15 3

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### ARMY.

*February 1.*

For 134,473 effective men for guards, garrisons, &c.  
in his majesty's service in Great Britain and Ire-  
land, and on the Continent, from Dec. 25th, 1805,  
to March 24th, 1806, being 90 days - - -

1,193,105 0 0

For

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 377

	£.	s.	d.
For the forces in the plantations, &c. including Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, in Ceylon, and in New South Wales	505,037	0	0
For the militia, fencible infantry, &c. in Great Britain and Ireland, from Dec. 25th, 1805, to March 24th, 1806	617,584	0	0
For 134,473 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from March 25th, to May 24th, 1806	795,406	0	0
For forces in the plantations, &c. for the same period	336,693	0	0
For the militia, fencibles, infantry, &c. for same period	411,725	0	0
<i>April 15.</i>			
For supernumerary officers, for 1806	35,315	2	0
For public departments in Great Britain and Ireland, and for exchequer fees, for 1806	176,977	15	0
For increased rates for quartering soldiers, lodging money in Scotland, allowance for small beer, &c. for 1806	486,666	12	8
For half-pay to reduced officers of the land forces, for 1806	184,547	0	7
For allowances to reduced officers, for 1806	5,801	13	8
For reduced officers of British American forces, for 1806	50,000	0	0
For officers late in the service of the States General, for 1806	1,000	0	0
For Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals	244,711	6	5
For officers' widows in Great Britain and Ireland, ditto	31,970	17	6
For hospital expences in Ireland, and the Royal Military Infirmary in Dublin	15,418	16	1
For the barrack departments in Great Britain	555,193	0	0
For the barrack departments in Ireland	458,647	4	0
For 134,473 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from May 25th, to June 24th, 1806	397,704	0	0
For forces in the plantations, &c. for the same period	168,347	0	0
For the militia, fencible infantry, &c. from May 25th, to June 24th, 1806	205,864	0	0
<i>May 22.</i>			
For 121,529 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from June 25th, to Dec. 24th, 1806	1,929,309	7	2
For forces in plantations, &c. for the same period	946,518	15	3
For parties in Great Britain, recruiting for regiments serving in India, for 1806	21,998	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For recruiting and contingencies of land forces -	225,404	16	11
For general, staff, and hospital officers in Great Britain and Ireland, for 1805 - - -	234,104	17	11
For militia and fencible infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from June 25th to Dec. 24th -	1,235,161	0	5
For contingencies for ditto - - -	52,153	17	0
For cloathing the militia of Great Britain -	157,227	16	4
For volunteer corps in Great Britain and Ireland -	1,738,806	3	1
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain and Ireland, for 1806 - - -	985,909	1	10
For allowances to chaplains of the forces, for 1806 -	15,000	0	0

*July 15.*

For augmentation of pay to certain classes of officers and privates of the forces, from June 25th to Dec. 24th, 1806 - - - -	161,700	9	11
For augmentation to the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, from June 25th to Dec. 24th -	50,000	0	0
For augmentation to the pensions of officers' widows, for the same period - - -	3,723	8	6
For extraordinary expences of the army, for 1805 -	272,368	15	10
For the extraordinaries of the army in Great Britain, for 1806 - - - -	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto, for Ireland - - - -	600,000	0	0
	<u>£. 18,507,518</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>

## ORDNANCE.

*February 4.*

For ordnance for land service in Great Britain, for 1804 - - - -	79,432	13	2
Ditto, for 1805 - - - -	354,322	18	10

*March 17.*

Ditto, for 1806 - - - -	2,957,181	6	6
For ordnance for sea service for Great Britain, for 1806 - - - -	130,000	0	0
For sums advanced by Irish exchequer, for ordnance services there, for 1805 - - -	129,230	15	5
Ditto, for ordnance in Ireland, for 1806 -	677,976	18	5

£. 4,328,144 12 4

EXCHEQUER

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

March 17.

	£.	s.	d.
For discharging Exchequer Bills made out under 45 G. III. c. 119	-	2,500,000	0 0
Ditto, made out 45 G. III. c. 118	-	8,000,000	0 0
Ditto, made out 45 G. III. c. 120	-	1,500,000	0 0
<i>March 27.</i>			
Ditto, made out 39 and 40 G. III. c. 28	-	3,000,000	0 0
For discharging certain Exchequer Bills issued for the service of 1805	-	4,500,000	0 0
		£. 19,500,000	0 0

VOTES OF CREDIT.

July 8.

Issued pursuant to addresses of the commons	-	49,465	15	8
Issued further pursuant to address of the commons	-	4,715	11	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Irish currency, issued pursuant to addresses of the commons	-	3,250	0	0
		£. 57,431	7	1 $\frac{3}{4}$

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

March 27.

For the Civil Establishment of Upper Canada, for 1806	-	8,250	0	0
For ditto of Nova-Scotia, &c.	-	7,165	0	0
For ditto of New Brunswick	-	4,650	0	0
For ditto of St. John in America	-	3,100	0	0
For ditto of Cape Breton	-	2,040	0	0
For ditto of Newfoundland	-	2,565	0	0
For ditto of the Bahama islands	-	4,400	0	0
For ditto of the Bermudas	-	1,030	0	0
For ditto of New South Wales	-	12,819	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
For the Civil Establishments at Sierra Leone	-	18,000	0	0
For Forts, &c. in Africa	-	18,000	0	0

March 25.

For discharging 5 per cent. Annuities under 2 lists of 37 and 42 Geo. III.	-	695,076	15	9
				To

	£.	s.	d.
To discharge annuities granted to the late Duke of Gloucester	2,381	17	6
For the Navigation between Inverness and Fort William	51,250	14	0
For Roads and Bridges in Scotland, for 1806	10,250	14	0
For the Usher of the Court of Exchequer	1,934	4	5
For convicts at home	48,329	0	0
For reprinting Journals, &c. of the House of Commons	10,000	0	0
For printing and stationary for the two houses of parliament	29,300	0	0
For printing Votes, Bills, Reports, and other papers of the Commons, during the present Session	20,000	0	0
For the French, Toulonese, and Corsican emigrants, and American loyalists	143,849	17	0
For the public office in Bow-street	12,000	0	0
For salaries and allowances to officers of the houses of Lords and of Commons	5,210	0	0
For the British Museum	3,400	0	0
For discharging the Interest of Exchequer Bills	1,000,000	0	0
For Bills drawn from New South Wales	30,000	0	0
For superintendance of Aliens	1,420	0	0
For the Royal Military College	20,161	7	1
For ditto in the Barrack Department to Dec. 24, 1805	28,323	18	6
For the Royal Military Asylum	23,350	10	10
For additional allowances to Clerks in the Auditor's Office, to Jan. 5, 1806	8,565	18	3
To Lord Walsingham, as Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords	2,698	13	0
To T. Brodie Esq. for making an Index to the thirty-two volumes of the "Lords' Journals"	534	14	0
To Dr. Clarke, for his attendance relating to the Act for the residence of the Clergy	278	6	6
To the Thames Police Office for the plan for the security of the Shipping	974	8	0
To J. Clementson, Esq. for Rent of a House, due at Midsummer, 1805	219	14	0
For a House in Downing-street, for an Office for the Secretary of State	3,435	19	6
For attendance on the Committee relating to Sir Home Popham	457	1	6
To J. Vernon, Esq. for the purchase of Premises for the New Mint	7,062	12	6
To Sir R. Ford, for a plan for a horse-patrole round the Metropolis	4,346	12	6
For British subjects detained in France	1,059	2	0

For

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 381

	£.	s.	d.
For accommodation of the additional Commissioners of public accounts - - -	1,949	2	6
For carrying on the building of the New Mint -	25,000	0	0
To E. Stracey, Esq. as counsel to the Chairman of the House of Lords, for Session 1804-5 -	1,515	9	0
To pay Bills on account of New South Wales, for 1806 - - - -	1,592	12	2
For deficiency of expence of the public office in Bow-street, in 1805 - - -	243	10	5
To J. White, Esq. for charges of prosecution and defence of Law-suits - - -	5,000	0	0
For establishing a Settlement in New Holland -	302	10	4
For erecting Buildings at Bethlem Hospital -	10,000	0	0
To Earl Nelson - - - -	10,000	0	0
To be employed in the purchase of a house and estate to accompany the title of Earl Nelson -	90,000	0	0
For the use of the two sisters of Viscount Nelson -	20,000	0	0

May 22.

For the funeral of Viscount Nelson - - -	14,698	11	6
For the funeral of Mr. Pitt - - -	6,045	2	6
For secret services for 1806 - - - -	175,000	0	0
For building a New Mint - - - -	50,000	0	0
For deficiency of grant for prosecutions relating to coin, in 1804-5 - - -	1,270	17	9
For extraordinary expences of prosecutions relating to coin, in 1806 - - -	2,500	0	0
For contingencies of the three Secretaries of State, ditto - - - -	12,400	0	0
For extra charge for Messengers to the three Secretaries of State - - - -	9,000	0	0
For Ministers of the Vaudois Churches, for 1806	1,828	5	4
To Sheriffs, for conviction of felons - - -	11,600	0	0
For law charges - - - -	20,000	0	0
For Protestant dissenting ministers and French refugees - - - -	10,336	3	0
For the Board of Agriculture - - - -	3,000	0	0
For the seamen who served in the battle of Trafalgar	300,000	0	0
As a compensation to Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie for loss sustained by cargoes of Swedish herrings	25,000	0	0

June 30.

For buildings in Palace-yard, Westminster -	54,184	14	0
For work done at the two houses of parliament, and at the Speaker's - - - -	12,600	0	0

To

	£.	s.	d.
To the Trustees of the British Museum -	7,500	0	0
For fees on passing public accounts -	3,000	0	0
For salaries to the additional Commissioners for public accounts and their officers, to April 5, 1806 -	5,243	3	0
For additional allowances to clerks in the office for public accounts, to April 5, 1806 -	2,718	14	9
To H. C. Litchfield, Esq. for prosecution and defence of law-suits -	5,000	0	0
For the carrying on the building of the New Mint -	10,000	0	0
To the Thames Police Office -	324	16	0
Treasurer's Remembrancer for preserving the Records -	40	17	0
For publishing the weekly returns of the average price of sugar -	434	17	0
For carrying on the impeachment against Viscount Melville -	4,000	0	0
To the East India Company, for the public service -	1,000,000	0	0
For compensation for lands taken at Warley Common and Woolwich, for the ordnance -	55,507	18	8
For paying off 5 per cent. annuities, under 37 and 42 G. III. -	286,179	18	0
For the establishment of a horse patrol on the public roads, to July 5, 1806 -	3,167	5	6
For printing by order of the Commissioners of public records -	3,596	5	10
For printing under the Act for procuring returns of the poor -	393	1	0½
To the Royal College of Surgeons, for a building for the reception of Mr. Hunter's collection -	15,000	0	0
To the Commissioners of naval inquiry -	26,500	0	0
For allowance to the Commissioners of military inquiry -	10,500	0	0
To the Veterinary College, for 1806 -	1,500	0	0
For deficiency of grant for printing and stationary for the houses of parliament, for 1805 -	2,380	2	5
For the military roads in Scotland -	4,994	1	8
For deficiency of grants for Great Britain, in 1805 -	1,707,589	10	3

## I R E L A N D.

April 3.

To S. More, Esq. for preparing public accounts of Ireland, to be laid before Parliament -	340	0	0
To J. Smart, Esq. for ditto -	240	0	0
To P. Le Bas, Esq. for keeping corn bounties accounts -	200	0	0

To



	£.	s.	d.
To R. Marshall, Esq. for preparing accounts of im-ports and exports of Ireland, for Parliament -	250	0	0
To R. Wetherall, Esq. for preparing accounts for Parliament - - - -	200	0	0
To G. Hatton, Esq. for ditto - - - -	200	0	0
To S. Hood, Esq. for ditto - - - -	130	0	0
To H. Haffield, Esq. for ditto - - - -	200	0	0
For civil building in Ireland, for 1806 -	25,000	0	0
For printing and binding Acts of 46 G. III. -	1,200	0	0
For proclamations and advertisements for 1806 -	10,500	0	0
For printing, stationary, &c. for the Chief and under Secretaries offices, &c. in Ireland - -	21,880	0	0
For criminal prosecutions, and other law expences in Ireland, for 1806 - - - -	25,000	0	0
For apprehending public offenders in Ireland, for 1806 - - - -	2,500	0	0
For completing the sum for support of the non-con-forming ministers of Ireland, 1806 - -	254	18	0
For support of ditto - - - -	9,429	18	0
For expence of practise in the port of Dublin -	1,047	10	2
For expenditure at gold mine in the county of Wicklow - - - -	610	6	11
For battle-axe guards - - - -	740	0	0
For incidents of the treasury of Ireland - -	2,000	0	0
To the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures	21,600	0	0
For raising hemp and flax - - - -	2,000	0	0
For the hempen and flaxen manufactures in Leinster, &c. - - - -	2,000	0	0
For the growth of flax - - - -	7,250	0	0
For promoting the said manufactures - -	10,350	0	0
For building and re-building churches, &c. -	5,000	0	0
For a hall of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ire-land - - - -	4,500	0	0
To the Dublin society for promoting husbandry, &c.	10,000	0	0
For the farming society of Ireland - - -	3,000	0	0
For paving the streets, &c. of Dublin - -	10,000	0	0
To the Commissioners for widening the streets in Dublin - - - -	4,500	0	0
For promoting the English protestant schools in Ire-land - - - -	22,621	6	1
For the Foundling Hospital in Dublin - -	22,500	0	0
For the Hibernian marine society in Dublin -	1,588	15	0
For re-building St. Andrew's Church, in Dublin -	2,700	0	0
For the Hibernian School for soldiers' children -	8,210	10	10
For the Female Orphan House, near Dublin -	1,081	2	2
To the Association for discountenancing vice, &c.	1,391	2	6
For supporting the Lock Hospital, in Dublin -	8,988	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For the House of Industry, and Penitentiary in Dublin	22,862	17	10
For maintaining eighty patients in the House of Recovery, &c.	1,030	18	6
For the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin	2,287	8	0
For the office of Commissioner of charitable donations and bequests	400	0	0
For the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland	8,000	0	0
For Madam Steevens Hospital	4,743	3	0
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	£. 6,567,556	17	7½
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## RECAPITULATION.

Navy	-	-	-	-	18,864,341	15	3
Army	-	-	-	-	18,507,518	18	5
Ordnance	-	-	-	-	4,328,144	12	4
Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	-	19,500,000	0	0
Votes of Credit	-	-	-	-	57,431	7	¼
Miscellaneous Services	-	-	-	-	6,567,556	17	7½
	<hr/>				£. 67,824,993	10	9¼
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## WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

## GRANTS.

January 31, 1806.

For continuing the Duties on Malt	-	-	}	£.	s.	d.
For raising four shillings in the pound on Pensions, Offices, and personal Estates	-	-				
For continuing certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff	-	-	}			
	-	-				

February 11, 1806.

For raising £. 5,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	-	5,000,000	0	0
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March 10, 1806.

That the charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the Land Tax.

That the charge of allowances to Adjutants and Serjeant-majors, of the Militia of England, disembodied, be defrayed out of the Land Tax.

That

£. s. d.

That the allowances to certain subaltern Officers of the Militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the Land Tax.

That the charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland, and allowances to subaltern Officers, be defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland.

March 18, 1806.

For raising £. 10,500,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	-	10,500,000	0	0
For raising £. 1,500,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	-	1,500,000	0	0

March 29, 1806.

For raising £. 20,000,000 by Annuities, whereof the charges of £. 18,000,000 are to be defrayed on the part of Great Britain, and of £. 2,000,000 on the part of Ireland	-	-	-	-	20,000,000	0	0
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April 3, 1806.

For raising £. 3,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	-	3,000,000	0	0
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May 8, 1806.

For raising £. 2,000,000 (Irish currency) by annuities on debentures, for the service of Ireland	-	-	-	-	2,000,000	0	0
For raising £. 500,000 (Irish currency) by Treasury Bills, for the service of Ireland	-	-	-	-	500,000	0	0

June 30, 1806.

For applying £. 4,500,000, part of the sum remaining to be received on the 30th of May, 1806, to complete the sum of £. 14,500,000, granted out of the produce of the War Taxes for 1805	-	-	-	-	4,500,000	0	0
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July 3, 1806.

For raising a certain sum by Lotteries, to be applied to the service of Great Britain and Ireland, in the proportion of two-thirds for Great Britain, and one-third for Ireland.

£. s. d.

July 8, 1806.

For applying the sum of £. 3,500,000 out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain	-	-	3,500,000	0	0
For applying £. 18,000,000, arisen or to arise from the duties and revenues, charged by Acts 43, 44, 45, and 46 Geo. III. for granting certain duties during the war	-	-	18,000,000	0	0
Total Ways and Means, English			£. 66,000,000	0	0
Irish			2,500,000	0	0

## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the Meeting of the Fourth Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Twentieth, on the 21st Day of January, (47th of the King,) 1806.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I**N pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission, under the great seal, amongst other things to declare the cause of his holding this parliament, his majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless his majesty's arms at sea since you were last assembled in parliament.

The activity and perseverance of his majesty's fleets have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy, and every encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleet of France and Spain, off cape Trafalgar, has manifested, beyond any exploit re-

corded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprise of his majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his majesty's dominions.

His majesty most deeply regrets that the day of that memorable triumph should have been unhappily clouded with the fall of the heroic commander under whom it was achieved, and he is persuaded that you will feel that this lamented but glorious termination of a series of transcendent exploits claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of his country; and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his majesty to annex to those honours, which he has conferred on the family of the late lord viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence as may preserve to the latest posterity the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example.

His majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that whilst the superiority of his arms at sea has been thus uniformly asserted and maintained, he has not been

wanting in his endeavours to apply the means which were so liberally placed at his disposal, in aid of such of the powers of the continent as had evinced a determination to resist the formidable and growing encroachments of France. He has directed the several treaties to be laid before you; and though he cannot but deeply lament that the events of the war in Germany have disappointed his hopes, and led to an unfavourable issue, yet his majesty feels confident that, upon a review of the steps which he has taken, you will be of opinion that he has left nothing undone on his part to sustain the efforts of his allies, and that he has acted in strict conformity to the principles declared by him and recognised by parliament as essential to the interests and security of his own dominions, as well as to the general safety of the continent.

It is a great consolation to his majesty, and one in which he is persuaded you will participate, that although the emperor of Germany has felt himself compelled to withdraw from the contest, his majesty continues to receive from his august ally, the emperor of Russia, the strongest assurances of unshaken adherence to that generous and enlightened policy by which he has hitherto been actuated; and his majesty has no doubt that you will be fully sensible of the important advantage to be derived from preserving, at all times, the closest and most intimate connection with that sovereign.

Gentlemen of the House of  
Commons,

His majesty has directed the es-

timates for the year to be laid before you, and he has commanded us to inform you that they are formed upon that scale of exertion which the present situation of the country renders indispensable. His majesty fully relies upon your granting him such supplies as, upon due deliberation, the public exigencies may appear to require.

It is his earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people; and with this view he has directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the proceeds arising from the sale of such prizes made on the powers with which he is at war, as are by law vested in the crown, to be applied to the public service of the year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty is fully persuaded, that, whatever pride and confidence you may feel in common with him in the success which has distinguished the British arms in the course of the present contest, you will be sensible how much the events of the war on the continent, by which the predominant power and influence of France have been so unhappily extended, require the continuance of all possible vigilance and exertion.

Under this impression, his majesty trusts that your attention will be invariably directed to the improvement of those means which are to be found in the bravery and discipline of his forces, in the zeal and loyalty of every class of his subjects, and in the unexhausted resources of his dominions, for rendering

dering the British empire invincible at home as well as formidable abroad; satisfied, that by such efforts alone the contest can be brought to a conclusion, consistent with the safety and independence of the country, and with its rank amongst the nations of the world.

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*Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, on the part of the Commissioners, July 23, 1806.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that the state of the public business enables his majesty to close this session of parliament.

We are, at the same time, directed to express to you the great satisfaction which his majesty has derived from your unremitting zeal and diligence, and from that attention to the most important interests of his empire, which has been so conspicuously manifested in all your proceedings.

The measures which have been adopted for the permanent improvement of the various branches of our military system, your attention to combine these arrangements with the great object of public economy, and the regulations which you have established for the speedy and effectual audit of the public accounts, call for his majesty's particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the house of commons.

We have it in command from

his majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the various exigences of the public service, particularly by raising within the year so very large a proportion of the necessary supplies; a measure in itself highly advantageous, and which must create, both at home and abroad, the most favourable impression of our national resources, and of the spirit which animates the British people. You may be assured that the utmost attention shall be paid to the frugal administration of those supplies which you have so liberally granted.

His majesty is particularly sensible of the fresh proof he has received of your affectionate attachment to him, in the provision which you have made for enabling the younger branches of his royal family to meet the necessary expenses of their stations.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty being always anxious for the restoration of peace, on just and honourable terms, is engaged in discussions with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end. Their success must depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy; and in every event his majesty looks with the fullest confidence to the continuance of that union and public spirit among all ranks of his people, which can alone give energy to war, or security to peace.

Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read: After which the lord chancellor said:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

By virtue of his majesty's commission

mission under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Thursday, the 28th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 28th day of August next.

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*Speech of the Lord Chancellor delivered, in his Majesty's Name, to both Houses of Parliament, Dec. 19, 1806.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His majesty has commanded us to assure you, that in the difficult and arduous circumstances, under which you are now assembled, it is a great satisfaction to him, to recur to the firmness and wisdom of his parliament, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the sense of his people.

His majesty has ordered the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negotiations with France, to be laid before you. His majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interest and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.

The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events.

After witnessing the subversion of the ancient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandizement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty, nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions, which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility.

Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of the calamities which ensued, opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose.

In the midst of these disastrous events, and under the most trying circumstances, the good faith of his majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between his majesty and the emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists; it has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence: and his majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

Gentlemen



Gentlemen of the house of  
commons,

His majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honour and independence of our country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to his majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his majesty's wishes, by combining all practical economy with those efforts which it is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe, could not fail to affect, in some degree, many important interests of the country. But under every successive difficulty, his majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an encreasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform and determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations. The unconquerable valour and discipline of his majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre. The great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been, at any time, more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independence of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.

With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, his majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis; assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people.

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*Address of the City of London to his Majesty, Wednesday Feb. 19, 1806.*

The humble, loyal, and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly approach your majesty with the warmest sentiments of loyalty and attachment to your majesty's sacred person and family.

We beg to assure your majesty, that while we contemplate with the deepest concern and disappointment, the late disastrous events, which have led, in so rapid and extraordinary a manner, to the defeat and humiliation of the Austrian power, we cannot refrain from offering to your majesty our sincere thanks and congratulations on the formation of an administration, combining men of the highest consideration and talents, affording, amidst these adverse events, the cheering

cheering prospect, that by such an union of wisdom and energy in your majesty's councils, a system of vigour, vigilance, and economy will be adopted,\* [which] may support our public affairs, preserve and strengthen our national security, and prove most conducive to the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and the happiness and liberties of your people.

Viewing the high and distinguished characters composing your majesty's present government, we have perfect confidence, that, *under your majesty's direction, the national strength will be augmented, its resources improved and preserved, and the utmost energies of a free, loyal, and united people will be called forth into action; so that, with the blessing of divine Providence, this country may keep fast its liberties and independence, and may maintain its due rank among the nations of Europe.*

Permit us to assure your majesty of our firm co-operation, in every measure which may be deemed essential towards resisting any unreasonable pretensions on the part of your majesty's enemies, and for enabling your majesty to restore to your people the blessings of peace, on such terms as may be consistent with the honour, dignity, and safety of these realms.

Signed, by order of the court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

The following is his majesty's most gracious answer :

“I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address. I receive with the highest satisfaction your assurances of loyalty and attachment to my person and family, and you may rest assured that I have no other object in view, in the measures adopted for the administration of my government, than to maintain the honour and dignity of my crown, and the union, the happiness, and the essential interests of my people.”

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*Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

In the house of commons, May 23, the secretary at war, after paying many compliments to the zeal and ability of the managers of lord Melville's impeachment, moving that the thanks of the house be given to them, for their upright conduct.—The motion was carried with *one* dissentient voice.

The speaker then rose, and addressed the managers as follows :

“Gentlemen,

“This house, upon the result of grave and important inquiries into the administration of the public expenditure, came to the reso-

\* Instead of the word which, as marked above, the committee which drew up the address inserted the following, “as may retrieve our public affairs.” And instead of the words in italics, was inserted as follows: “that, by a revision of past errors, a reform of public abuse, a wise application of our resources, the most efficacious means of national defence, and a dignified and conciliatory conduct towards foreign powers, this country, surmounting every difficulty, may be restored to its ancient rank, power, and opulence, and the peace, happiness, and security of your majesty's dominions be established on a firm and lasting foundation.”

A motion was afterwards made in the common-council, where the committee was charged with misconduct, and the address was presented as above.

lution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions ; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people.

“ The conduct and management of that power it delegated to you ; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts ; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situations in the state rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons instructed with the public treasure.

“ Throughout the progress of the trial so undertaken, we have seen with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and dispatch, which have rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their antient strength and honour. Upon your part we have also witnessed that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs ; that boldness so properly belonging to the commons, with which you have maintained the charge ; and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions.

“ The issue of the whole is now with the lords ; and, whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions,

promises the fairest hopes of ultimate justice.

“ But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty, you have satisfied the expectation of the commons ; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks ; and, in obedience to their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution ;

“ “ That the thanks of this house be given to the members, who were appointed the managers of the impeachment against Henry lord viscount Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them, ”

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*Treaties, &c. presented by his Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 3, 1806.*

*Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April, 1805.*

ART. I.—As the state of suffering in which Europe is placed, demands speedy remedy—Their majesties the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for farther encroachments on the part of the French government. They have agreed, in consequence, to employ the most speedy and the most efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe,

rope, and to engage them to accede to the present concert; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, may amount to five hundred thousand effective men; and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or compel the French government to agree to the re-establishment of peace, and the equilibrium of Europe.

ART. II.—The object of this league will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely:

*a.* The evacuation of the country of Hanover, and the north of Germany.

*b.* The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.

*c.* The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit.

*d.* The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.

*e.* The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

ART. III.—His Britannic majesty, in order to concur efficaciously on his side to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be deter-

mined upon in the general plan of operations. His majesty will moreover assist the different powers who shall accede thereto by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers in proportion to the exertions they may make, to contribute to the common success, it is agreed, that these subsidies, (barring particular arrangements) shall be furnished in the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, for each hundred thousand men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereafter specified.

ART. IV.—The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each power shall employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled, so as to suit the convenience of each of the belligerent parties. His Britannic majesty will likewise be prepared to advance within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by

by particular arrangements to be entered into by each power, who shall take part in this concert: but his said majesty understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any power within the current year, as well on account of the said advance as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling for every hundred thousand men.

ART. V.—The high contracting parties agree, that the different members of the league shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the commanders in chief of the different armies, to carry on the correspondence, and to attend to the military operations.

ART. VI.—Their majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the first article, they will not make peace with France but by the common consent of all the powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the continental powers shall not recall their forces before the peace; moreover, his Britannic majesty engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.

ART. VII.—The present concert which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Peterf-

burgh, within the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms. Done at St. Petersburg, 30th March—(11th April,) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOS-  
SILZOFF.

No. I. (A.)—*First Separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—(30th March,) 1805.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having made known to his Britannic majesty, his arrangements with their majesties the emperor of Germany and the king of Sweden, his Britannic majesty engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present treaty of concert towards each of those powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present instrument, both those powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France by virtue of the engagements they have taken with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the under-  
signed

der-signed, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg this 11th April (30th March,) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (B.)—*Fourth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—(30th March,) 1805.*

The collecting of 500,000 effective men, mentioned in article I. of the treaty of concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an effective force of 400,000 men, composed in the following manner:— Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 115,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albania, in Greece, &c. and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the under-signed, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present se-

parate article and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, this 11th April, (30th March,) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (C.)—*Fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April, (30th of March,) 1805.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, engages also to march as soon as possible an army of not less than 60,000 men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than 80,000 men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts in the proportion established by the treaty of concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the one hundred and fifteen thousand men, which his imperial majesty of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.

It is moreover agreed, that, as the forces promised by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, his Britannic majesty will

will pay them the subsidies at the rate established by the present treaty of concert, until the return of the said forces to their homes; and moreover, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *premiere mise en campagne*.

The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies and of the *premiere mise en campagne*, stipulated in the present article, before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands to commence their operations against the French.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert, signed this day, and ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the under-signed, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOS-  
SILZOFF.

No. 1. (D.)—*Sixth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.*

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being

disposed to form an energetic concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations, by which they are constantly guided, are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding at this time upon several principles, which they will evince in pursuance of a previous concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.

These principles are in no degree to control the public opinion in France, or in any other countries where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and territories which may be wrested from the common enemy, in the name of the country or states to which, by acknowledged right, they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and finally to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure the observance by the establishment of a federative system calculated upon the situation of the different states of Europe.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOS-  
SILZOFF.

No. 1. (E.)—*Eighth separate Article.*

It being possible that the bias which the French government tries to give to the counsels of the different states of Europe, may determine one or other of those states to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the object of the present concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, his Britannic majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias agree to make common cause against every power, which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the development of those measures, which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present concert.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed

this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOS-  
SILZOFF.

No. 1. (F.)—*Eleventh separate Article.*

The high contracting parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Buonaparte by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite his imperial and royal apostolic majesty to put his armies in a state of readiness for action without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France.—His Britannic majesty, considering the extraordinary expenses which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to his imperial royal majesty, immediately after his accession to the present concert, the sum of one million of pounds sterling for *premiere mise en campagne*, which the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.

This



This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the under-signed, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, 11th April, (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (G.) *Separate and secret Article.*

Although the high contracting parties have agreed by the first separate article of the treaty of concert established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall partake of the advantages of the said concert, but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France four months after its signature, by virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; yet his Britannic majesty, considering the advantage to the future security of Europe, which results from an union similar to that formed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias with their majesties the emperor of Germany and king of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further encroachments of Buonaparte, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of

the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

This separate and secret article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we, the under-signed, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate and secret article, and have affixed thereunto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSILZOFF.

No. 1. (H.)—*Additional Article.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprize concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he promised to bring into action, to an hundred and eighty thousand men, His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland promises and engages to pay in that case, to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to the 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *premiere mise en campagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the sixth separate article

of

of the treaty of concert established between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the 30th March, (11th April,) 1805.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms. Done at St Petersburg, the 10th May, (28th April,) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

(L. S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOS-  
SILZOFF.

No. 1. (I.)—*Additional Article of the Treaty of Concert, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, 1805.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the object of these movements is to obtain securities for the continent, promises and engages to his Britannic majesty, in his own name, and in that of his allies, that should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected with an existing concert, with his Britannic majesty, but that the powers of the continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet

so soon as the war shall have broken out they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the concert of the 30th March—(11th April,) with all the clauses incorporated with it.

In return for this assurance, his Britannic majesty promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the emperor of all the Russias the stipulations of the above mentioned concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out, between Russia and France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the day on which they shall have quit- ted the frontiers of the empire; and moreover, the three months stipulated subsidy, under the name of *premiere mise en campagne*; with this condition, nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, his Britannic majesty shall not be bound to pay to Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *premiere mise en campagne* being therein comprised.

In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the above-mentioned concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of his imperial and royal majesty shall have signed the act of accession of his court: and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprize (except in the case of special arrangements), the subsidies

dies which have been allotted for them by the above-mentioned concert, and on the conditions therein specified.

This additional article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the above-mentioned concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms. Done at St. Petersburg, the 12th—24th July, 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEVESON  
GOWER.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZAR-  
TORYSKI.

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No. II. (A.)—*Preliminary Declaration of Count Stadion to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, dated at St. Petersburg, July 28—(Aug. 9, 1805.)*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolical majesty, by order of his august sovereign, after having invited his excellency, the ambassador of Great Britain, to join with him in the preliminary declarations which he has exchanged this day with his excellency the prince of Czartoryski, has moreover declared as follows :—

His imperial and royal apostolic majesty, in acceding to the treaty concluded on the 30th March—

13th April, 1805, and subsequently ratified by the courts of London and St. Petersburg, under the reservations, modifications, and demands, as announced in the above-mentioned preliminary declarations, limits the pecuniary succours, which he expects from his majesty the king of Great Britain for the current year 1805, to the three millions sterling, of which sum one million and a half is to be considered as *premiere mise en campagne*, and as such is to be furnished with as little delay as possible ; and the other million and a half as subsidies, to be paid in equal monthly payments, until the last day of the year. These subsidies, as well as one million of the sum appointed for *premiere mise en campagne*, are to be furnished to his imperial majesty, and shall remain in his possession, even though the vigorous demonstrations in which his forces are actually employed should not terminate in hostilities, but should lead by the way of negotiation to the re-establishment of peace. Moreover, as these armed demonstrations afford the greatest and most efficacious aid for the promotion of the object of the concert, to which his imperial and royal apostolic majesty has acceded, he expects that, as long as they shall continue, the subsidy shall likewise continue to be paid, in the same manner as if his armies were employed in actual war, and that for the year 1806, and the subsequent years, in consideration of the great number of troops which he is opposing to the common enemy, the subsidy shall be increased to the sum of four millions sterling, payable in the same man-

ner as is stated above, until the return of the regiments into the hereditary dominions.

His excellency the ambassador of Great Britain, having declared that the instructions and precise orders of his court, precluded him from acceding, without restriction, to the above-mentioned demands, and having engaged, by a preliminary act, exchanged against the present, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to stipulations which differ from them considerably, as well with regard to the sum, as to the terms of the propositions made in the name of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty.

The undersigned accepts this act, given in by the ambassador of England, but he declares at the same time, that he does not consider the sums stipulated therein as sufficient, and that he expressly reserves for his court the power of reclaiming to this effect, and of effecting, the fulfilment of its demands.

In transmitting the preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, to his excellency the ambassador of his majesty the king of Great Britain, he is authorized to declare to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately, on these same bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of Austria, to the concert of the 30th March—(11th April).

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in as short a time as possible.

In faith of which the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present

preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th of July (9th August), 1805.

(L. S.) J. PHILLIPPE, COMTE  
DE STADION.

*No. II. (B.) Declaration of Count Stadion to Prince Czartoryski, dated Petersburg, 28th July—9th August, 1805.*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, being especially authorized by the emperor, his august master, declares, in answer to the declaration which has been delivered to him by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, of this day's date, as follows:—

1. His imperial and royal majesty in accepting the different articles announced in this declaration, accedes to the concert concluded between the courts of St. Petersburg and London, the 30th March—11th of April, of this year, as well as to the last plan, which the Russian ministry has caused to be presented at Vienna. His majesty promises to fulfil the engagements thereof, with the exception of the modifications, clauses, and demands, included in the different official pieces to which his imperial majesty of Russia has given his consent in the preliminary declaration, which will be taken as the basis of the concert of measures which Austria and Russia are to employ for the attainment of their object.

2, His imperial and royal majesty engages to execute, without delay, the military arrangements agreed upon at Vienna, the 16th of

July.

July; as well for the armed demonstration, which is to facilitate the negociation, as for the operations against the enemy, which may ensue; in the confidence and certain expectation that the present preliminary agreement shall be unexceptionably and literally fulfilled, and that the definitive agreement shall be concluded without delay, and on the same basis between the three powers.

3. His imperial and royal majesty engages, as soon as the whole, or a part of the Russian troops, shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on the basis which his majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and if hostilities shall take place, to make neither a peace nor truce, but with the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th of March—11th of April, of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, to his excellency the prince Czartoryski, is authorized to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th of March—11th of April.

The present declaration, and that delivered to the undersigned by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the least possible time, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg.

In faith of which the under-

signed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present declaration; has caused to be affixed thereto the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency prince Czartoryski, joint minister for foreign affairs of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 9th August—28th July, 1805.

(L. S.) J. PHILLIPPE, COMTE DE STADION.

No. II. (C.)—*Copy of the Declaration delivered by Prince Czartoryski, to the ambassador Count de Stadion, on the 28th July—9th of August, 1805.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs, being authorized to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares to his excellency the ambassador count de Stadion, as follows:

1. The several observations and proposals announced by the court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice chancellor of the court and state, count de Cobentzel, to the ambassador count de Razoumofsky, on the 7th of July, are assumed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the court of Russia and those of Vienna and of London. In like manner, the modifications proposed therein by his imperial and royal majesty, for the regulation of the affairs of the continent, are also adopted, in case of there being reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negociation.

2. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias confirms the military arrangements detailed in the protocol of conferences between the general baron de Winzingerode on one side, and prince de Schwarzenberg; and general Mack on the other, and which was signed on the 16th of July. And his imperial majesty engages strictly to fulfil the whole of the measures therein arranged.

3. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages moreover, to endeavour to prevail on his Britannic majesty to consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper, entitled, "Remarks on some particular Objects of the Convention signed between the Courts of Petersburg and London, the 30th March—11th April of this year.

4. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, promises to use his best endeavours to engage his Britannic majesty to grant the total amount of the subsidiary demands made by the court of Vienna: with this condition, nevertheless, that in case his imperial majesty, notwithstanding all his exertions, should fail in the attempt, this circumstance shall occasion no essential change in the measures concerted between Russia and Austria.

5. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages, as soon as the whole, or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on those bases which his imperial majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and when the war shall have broken out, to make neither peace nor a truce, without the con-

sent of his allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March—11th April of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn act, to the ambassador of Austria, is authorized to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March—11th April.)

The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador count de Stadion, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the shortest possible term, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg.

In faith of which the undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused the seal of his arms to be affixed thereto, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the count de Stadion.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th July—(9th August, 1805.)

Signed

(L. S.) LE PRINCE ADAM DE CZARTORYSKI.

No. II. (D.) — *Declaration of Prince Czartoryski to Lord G. L. Gower, dated at St. Petersburg, 28th July—(9th August, 1805.*

The undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs, being authorized to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares

declares to his excellency the ambassador, lord Granville Leveson Gower, as follows :

1. The undersigned has this day exchanged with his excellency the ambassador of Austria, the declarations, of which copies are hereto annexed.

2. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias expects that the ambassador of England will agree, in the name of his court, without reserve to their contents ; and that if he does not consider himself sufficiently authorized thereto, he will express, in a formal declaration, the several points to which he can immediately consent.

3. The undersigned is authorized to exchange this declaration against that which shall be delivered to him by his excellency lord Granville Leveson Gower.

The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador of England, which are to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg in the shortest possible term.

In faith of which the undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs, has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed to it the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the ambassador of England.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 28th of July, 1805.

(L. S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI,

No. II. (E.)—*Declaration, signed by his Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and delivered to*

*Prince Czartoryski, and to Count de Stadion, 9th August, 1805.*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, having been invited by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, joint minister for foreign affairs, and the count de Stadion, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial royal and apostolic majesty, to accede to the declarations reciprocally exchanged between the two imperial courts on this day, the 9th of August, in virtue of his full powers, declares as follows :

The several observations and proposals expressed by the court of Vienna in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice-chancellor of the court and state, the count de Cobenzel, to the ambassador count Razoumofski, on the 7th of July, and in the *Memoire Raisonné* of the 21st of July, are assumed by his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the three courts of London, Vienna, and Petersburg, and the modifications proposed therein, for the regulation of the affairs of the continent, are in like manner adopted, in case there should be reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of the negotiation.

The British ambassador, while he declares that his positive instructions preclude him from acceding to the pecuniary demands of the court of Vienna, engages, in the name of his sovereign, that the monthly subsidies agreed to by the concert of the 30th March (11th April), shall be payable from the 1st of October, 1805. He engages,

\* P d 3

likewise,

likewise, to advance, with the least possible delay, the equivalent of five months subsidies, under the head of *premiere mise en campagne*, with this express condition, that his Britannic majesty may reclaim whatever payments shall have been made in favour of his imperial and royal majesty, beyond the million stipulated by the eleventh additional article of the above-mentioned treaty, whether as *premiere mise en campagne*, or as current subsidy, in case that the negotiations, which are about to be set on foot with the French government do not terminate in war.

He declares, moreover, that if the said negotiations shall not be brought to a conclusion before the 31st day of December, 1805, the expiration of the first three months shall be the term of the payments which are to be continued monthly, until the commencement of hostilities.

His imperial and royal majesty having engaged to embody an armed force of not less than 320,000 men, the undersigned consents, that the advances to be made, under the head of *premiere mise en campagne*, shall be paid according to this calculation, with this condition, nevertheless, that if, contrary to all expectation, the Austrian armies do not amount to the force above specified, his Britannic majesty may deduct from this payment a sum proportionate to the numbers that are wanting.

The British ambassador cannot consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper, entitled, "Remarks on some particular objects of the Convention, signed between the courts of Pe-

tersburgh and of London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year; as he has hitherto received no instructions from his court, which authorize him to accede to such demands.

The British ambassador accepts the accession of his majesty the emperor and king, under the conditions specified in the preliminary declarations exchanged this day between the plenipotentiaries of their imperial and royal majesties, with this formal reservation, that this acceptation shall not be considered as valid, nor the above-mentioned engagements obligatory, unless the court of Vienna shall on their side conform themselves to the whole of the stipulations of the said act.

The undersigned, in delivering to his excellency prince Czartoryski, and count de Stadion, the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, is authorized to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March, (11th April.)

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts, in the shortest possible term,

In witness whereof the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Britannic majesty, has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th July (9th August) 1805.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE LEYESON  
GOWER.

No. III.



No. III.—*Preliminary and Secret Convention between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, 3d of Dec. 1804.*

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, being animated with a mutual desire to strengthen and draw closer the ties of friendship and harmony which so happily exist between the two courts, having thought proper, with this view, to regulate by a preliminary and secret convention, certain points of their mutual interests, relative to the present situation of affairs; their said majesties have named for that purpose, his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the sieur Henry Pierrepont, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary; and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Frederic d'Ehrenheim, president of his chancery, and commander of his order of the polar star, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I. His Britannic majesty, in order to enable his Swedish majesty more effectually to provide for the defence of Stralsund, against any attack whatever on the part of the French, engages to pay, once for all, the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling, which is to be appropriated solely to that purpose: this sum shall be remitted in three payments, at the interval of a month between each, the first of which is to become due upon the ratifications of this convention being exchanged.

II. His majesty the king of

Sweden engages, so long as the war between Sweden and France continues, or during the space of eighteen months, for the least, to permit the establishment of a *depôt* in Swedish Pomerania, either at Stralsund, or in the island of Rugen, or in both those places, for the corps of Hanoverians which his Britannic majesty shall be desirous of raising there.

III. The officers appointed to raise the said levies, shall be allowed to clothe, arm, and victual them; to form them into battalions, and to remove them out of Swedish Pomerania, into such places, and in such proportions, as his Britannic majesty shall judge proper.

IV. The stipulations of the two preceding articles, being founded on the principle that Sweden is actually declared a belligerent party, it is understood the said Articles II, and III, are to be suspended in their operation, until his Swedish majesty shall find himself, by the return of the open season, in a situation to send additional reinforcements into Pomerania, insomuch that no measure relative to these dispositions, can be adopted before that time.

V. His majesty the king of Sweden engages moreover to grant to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, during the continuance of the war between Great Britain and France, the right of an *entrepot* at Stralsund, for all the articles of the growth, produce, and merchandize, as well of Great Britain as of her colonies, shipped in British or Swedish vessels. All such articles intended for re-exportation, whether by sea or land, shall only pay a duty of three quarters per cent, *ad*

*valorem*; and those for consumption such duties only as are actually established at the port of Stralsund, with respect to the most favoured nations. A more detailed arrangement of this branch of commerce, as likewise of other points, whereby the commercial interests of the two nations might be more closely connected, is to be reserved for a particular act.

VI. His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, mutually engage to ratify the present act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of its signature.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of our respective sovereigns, have signed the present convention, and thereunto affixed the seals of our arms

Done at Stockholm, this 3d of December, 1804.

(Signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPONT.

(L. S.) F. D'EHRENHEIM.

*No. IV.—Convention between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Helsingborg, the 31st of August, 1805.*

ART. I. The preliminary and secret convention, concluded between the two sovereigns on the 3d of December, 1804, is renewed, and shall continue in full force and validity, during the period hereinafter specified in Art. VII.

II. His majesty the king of Great Britain, conceiving that the object stated in the preamble, can-

not be more completely attained with respect to Swedish Pomerania, than by maintaining the fortress of Stralsund in a respectable state of defence, in order to preserve a rallying point and place of retreat for the forces of the allied powers, and especially for the troops of the emperor of all the Russias, in case his imperial majesty should be desirous of landing his forces at that place, in order to co-operate in the general plan, engages to pay monthly, the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, for every thousand of regular troops with which his Swedish majesty shall reinforce the usual garrison of the city of Stralsund.

III. A garrison of eight thousand men in the whole, being deemed sufficient for the defence of this place, and the usual garrison, including the burgher militia, amounting to upwards of four thousand; it is understood that the reinforcement spoken of in the preceding article, shall not exceed four thousand men of regular troops, so that the subsidies to be furnished by his majesty the king of Great Britain, will amount to the sum of seven thousand two hundred pounds per month.

IV. The payment of the above-mentioned subsidies shall be made before the end of every month, and shall be computed from the 1st day of July last for the Swedish troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, actually in Stralsund, and for the reinforcements which may arrive there, from the day of their landing.

V. The two high contracting parties not having been able to agree upon the expences of transport, his majesty the king of Sweden, desirous

desirous of affording a convincing proof of his wish to contribute to the success of the common cause, engages to be at the sole charge of conveying to Pomerania, the troops which are to be sent there, in pursuance of the present convention, and not to require any thing for their return.

VI. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having signified his desire to land a part of his troops in Pomerania, his Swedish majesty engages, in consequence of the present convention, to afford every facility in his power to such debarkation, and moreover to enter into particular stipulations with his imperial majesty on that head.

VII. As the conditions of the obligations contained in the Articles II. and III. of the preliminary and secret convention, limit the enjoyment of the privileges therein granted to the king of Great Britain, to the duration of the war between Sweden and France, or to the period of eighteen months for the least; and his Britannic majesty not having availed himself of the stipulations of the above-mentioned two articles, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to extend them as long as the subsidies fixed by the present convention, shall be discharged by Great Britain, and whilst that power shall continue the war against France, in conjunction with Russia.

VIII. The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged at Stockholm, within six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Helsingborg, the 31st of August, 1805.

(Signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPONT.

(L. S.) J. C. BARON DE TOLL.

No. IV. (A.)—*Act of guarantee by the Emperor of Russia, of the Convention, signed at Helsingborg, on the 3d of Dec. 1804.*

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December, 1804; the two high contracting parties have amicably requested his imperial majesty to consent to guarantee the execution of so desirable an object. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias has accordingly willingly agreed to a measure, which tends solely to so salutary an end; and having thereunto furnished us with his full powers, we, the undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty, declare and assure by this present act, in virtue of our full powers, that his majesty the emperor of all the Russias guarantees the convention which has been signed this day, between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, in all its extent, as well as the two separate articles which are annexed to it, and which form part of the same, as of all the other

other conditions, clauses, and stipulations, which are contained therein, in the best possible form; and that his imperial majesty will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the particular ratifications of this act of guarantee.

In faith of which we have signed the present act, and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptance; as shall be likewise exchanged the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said acts of acceptance, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

Done at Helsingborg this 31st day of August, 1805.

(L. S.) D. ALOPEUS.

*No. IV. (B.)—This is simply the acceptance by his majesty of the Russian Guarantee to the Treaty of Helsingborg, of 31st August, 1805.*

*No. IV. (C.)—First Separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed 31st of August, 1805.*

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, having agreed by the present separate and additional article, that the subsidies fixed by the 2d and 3d articles of the convention signed this day, shall continue to be paid by Great Britain, during the continuance of the war between that power and France, conjointly with Russia, or as long as the state of affairs, and the operations of the allies, shall require that the fortress of Stralsund

be kept in a respectable state of defence, unless the two high contracting parties shall mutually consent to the cessation of such subsidies. In both cases, if the term of their payment should happen when the sea is not navigable, his Britannic majesty engages, nevertheless, to continue their payment, according to the same rate as heretofore, till the day of the return of the Swedish troops into Pomerania, which shall take place by the earliest opportunity.

*No. IV. (D.)—Second Separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed the 31st of August, 1805.*

The Hanoverian troops, which, in pursuance of the stipulations of the 2d and 3d articles of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December, 1804, renewed by the 7th article of the present convention, may be hereafter assembled in Swedish Pomerania, shall continue, as long as they remain in that province, under the supreme orders of the commander-in-chief of the united forces, without any violation of the rights established in the three above-mentioned articles.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done

Done at Helsingborg, this 31st day of August, 1805.

(Signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPONT.

(L. S.) T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

*No. V.—Treaty between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Beckasög, 3d Oct. 1805.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity !

ART. I. There shall be a perfect understanding, friendship, and alliance, between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the king of Sweden.

II. The convention concluded between their said majesties on the 31st of August last, is hereby renewed, and shall remain in full force and validity independent of the new stipulations contained in the present treaty.

III. His majesty the king of Sweden, desirous of co-operating with effect towards the success of the general plan, engages to furnish a corps of troops destined to act against the common enemy, in concert with the allies, and especially with the troops of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, which shall be landed in Pomerania. The number of Swedish troops employed for this purpose, shall be fixed in every case at 12,000 men.

IV. His Britannic majesty, in order to facilitate to his Swedish majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and interest by which he is animated for the common cause, engages to furnish him an annual subsidy, at the rate of twelve pounds ten shillings sterling

for every man, which subsidy shall be paid in equal proportions at the end of each month.

V. His Britannic majesty moreover engages, as a compensation for the expences of assembling, equipping, and conveying the said troops, to furnish, under the head of putting them in motion, a sum equal to five months subsidy, to be calculated according to the scale laid down in the preceding article, and payable immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

VI. The two high contracting parties engage not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude peace with the common enemy, but by mutual consent ; but, on the contrary, to remain firmly and inseparably united, as long as the war lasts, and until the conclusion of a general pacification.

VII. In pursuance of the engagements agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, by virtue of the preceding article, not to lay down their arms but by common consent, his Britannic majesty engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until the end of the war.

VIII. His Britannic majesty, in order as well to cover the expences of the Swedish army, as of all other objects connected therewith, engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until three months after the peace.

IX. His Britannic majesty, impressed with the importance of putting the fortress of Stralsund in the best possible state of defence, engages to place, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, at the disposal of

of his Swedish majesty, the additional sum of 50,000l. sterling for that purpose.

X. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.

Done at Beckasfog, the 3d of October, 1805.

(Signed)

(L. S.) H. PIERREPONT.

(L. S.) T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

*Definitive Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the Honourable the English East India Company, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah Bahadur, and his Children, Heirs, and Successors.*

Whereas many doubts and misunderstandings have arisen respecting the clear meaning and interpretation of parts of the treaty of peace, concluded between the British government, and Dowlut Row Scindiah, at Serjee Anjengaum, on the 30th December 1803: with a view of doing away with all such doubts, and of preventing the recurrence in future of any misunderstanding, this definitive treaty of amity and alliance is concluded between the two states, by lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, acting under the immediate direction and superintendance of the right honourable general Gerard lord Lake, commander-in-chief of his majesty's and the honourable

company's forces, &c. &c. &c. and vested with full powers and authority from the honourable sir George Hilario Barlow, baronet, appointed by the honourable the court of directors of the said company, to controul and direct all their affairs in the East Indies: and Moonshce Kavil Nyne, vested with full powers and authority on the part of the said Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah.

ART. I. Every part of the treaty of peace concluded by general sir Arthur Wellesly, K. B. at Serjee Anjengaum, except what may be altered by this engagement, is to remain binding upon the two states.

ART. II. The honourable company can never acknowledge that Dowlut Row Scindiah has any claim or right grounded on the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, to possess the fort of Gualior, or the territories of Gohud, but from considerations of friendship, it agrees to cede to the maharajah that fortrefs, and such parts of the territory of Gohud as are described in the accompanying schedule.

ART. III. As a compensation for this cession, and to remunerate the English government for the annual expence incurred in supporting the rajah of Gohud, Dowlut Row Scindiah agrees on his own part, and that of his firdars, to relinquish, after the 1st of January, 1806, all right and claim whatever to the pensions of fifteen lacks of rupees, granted to several of the chief officers of his state, by the 7th article of the aforesaid treaty of Serjee Anjengaum.

ART. IV. The honourable company agree to pay to Dowlut Row Scindiah the arrears due upon

on the pensions granted by the 7th article of the treaty of peace, as above-mentioned, up to the 31st of December, 1805, and also the balance due upon the revenues of Dholepoor, Rajah Kerrah, and Barree, up to the same date, making deductions on the following heads:—

1st. Pensions forfeited by Bappoo Scindiah and Sudasheo Row, by acts of hostility towards the British government; to be stopped from the date of their hostility.

2nd. Plunder of the British residency.

3d. Cash advanced by Mr. Jenkins to parties of the Maharajah's troops.

4th. Charges of collection, &c. for the provinces of Dholepoor, Barree, and Rajah-Kerrah.

ART. V.—With a view of preventing any misunderstanding relative to their respective possessions in the quarter of Hindostan, it is agreed that the river-Chumbul shall form the boundary between the two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east, and within that extent of the course of the Chumbul, Dowlut Row Scindiah shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on its north bank, and the honourable company shall have no claim, or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on the south bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadek and Sooseparah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the honourable company.

ART. VI.—By the 5th article of this treaty, which makes the river Chumbul the boundary of the

two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east, the Maharajah resigns all pretensions and claims to any tribute from the rajah of Boondee, or any other on the north bank of the Chumbul, within the afore-mentioned limits, as also to the countries of Zemeenadah, Dholepoor, Rajah Kerrah, and Barree, anciently in the possession of the Maharajah, all which now remains in the possession of the honourable company.

ART. VII.—The honourable company, on consideration of the benefits derived from the article which makes the Chumbul the boundary between the two states, and from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments through the resident at the Durbar; and the honourable company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum to Bacezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and a jaggeer amounting to the sum of one lack of rupees per annum to Churnah Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

ART. VIII.—The honourable company engage to enter into no treaties with the rajahs of Oudeepoor and Joudpoor and Kottah, or other chiefs, tributaries of Dowlut Row Scindiah, situated in Malwa, Mewar, and Marwar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Scindiah may make with those chiefs.

ART. IX.—The honourable company

company are now engaged in a war with Jeswant Row Holkar, and using every exertion for his reduction, but should they hereafter make a peace, or enter into any agreement with that chief, they engage not to restore to him, or desire to be restored to him, any of the possessions of the family of Holkar, in the province of Malwa, lying between the river Tapti and Chumbul, which may have been taken by Dowlut Row Scindiah, nor will the honourable company interfere in any manner whatever in the disposal of those provinces, and they will consider Dowlut Row Scindiah at full liberty to make such arrangement as he chuses with Jeswant Row Holkar, or with any other branch of the Holkar family, respecting the claims of that family to tribute from the rajahs or others, or to any possessions situated to the north of the river Tapti, and to the south of the river Chumbul: but it is clearly to be understood, that as the company's government agrees not to concern itself with the arrangements which Scindiah may make with the family of Holkar, respecting their claims or hereditary possessions situated between the Tapti and the Chumbul, that government will not take part in any dispute or war which may be the result or consequence of any such arrangement or settlement.

ART. X.—As Serjee Row Ghautka has acted in a manner calculated to disturb the friendship between the two states, the Maharajah agrees never to admit that chief to share in his councils, or hold any public employment under his government.

ART. XI.—This treaty, con-

sisting of eleven articles, has been this day settled by lieut. col. Malcolm, acting under the directions of the right honourable lord Lake, on the part of the honourable company, and by Moonsee Kavil Nyne, on the part of Dowlut Row Scindiah; lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Moonsee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, and has received from the said Moonsee Kavil Nyne, a counterpart of the said treaty signed and sealed by the said Moonsee. Lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the honourable the governor-general, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty, now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Moonsee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the Maharajah, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the Maharajah, the treaty executed by lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm, under the immediate direction of the right honourable lord Lake, shall be returned: and Moonsee Kavil Nyne, in like manner engages, that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the honourable the governor-general, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the honourable the governor-general, the treaty executed by Moonsee Kavil Nyne, by virtue of the  
full



full powers and authority vested in him, as abovementioned, shall also be returned.

Done at Mustafahpoor, this twenty-second day of Nov. Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and five, or twenty-ninth of Shaban, in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.  
KAVIL NYNE.

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*Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty concluded between the Right Honourable Lord Lake on the Part of the Honourable Company, and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, on the 22d of November, 1805.*

Whereas objections have arisen to the terms of the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the aforesaid treaty, it is hereby agreed and declared, that in lieu of those three articles, the two following shall be substituted.

Article I.—With a view to prevent any misunderstanding relating to the respective possessions of the honourable company and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in the quarters of Hindostan, the Maharajah hereby agrees to cede to the honourable company all the territory north of the river Chumbul, which was ceded to the Maharajah by the 7th article of the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, that is to say, the whole of the districts of Dholepoor, Barree, and Rajah Kerrah; and the honourable company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, or revenues, or possessions on the south bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadeck and Sooseperarah, which are

on the banks of the Jumna, will, however, remain in the possession of the hon. company.

Art. II.—The honourable company, from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments, through the resident at the Durbar; and the honourable company, also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum, to Bacezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah; and a jaggeer amounting to one lack of rupees per annum, to Chumna Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

Done at Illahabad, the third day of December, one thousand eight hundred and five.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

Published by order of the honourable the vice-president in council.

THOS. BROWN,  
Acting chief secretary to  
the Government.

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*Treaty of Peace and Amity between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar.*

Whereas disagreement has arisen between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and it is now the desire of both parties to restore mutual harmony and concord, the following articles of agreement are therefore concluded between lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, on the part of the honourable company, and Shaikh Hubeeb

Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; the said lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, having special authority for that purpose from the right hon. lord Lake, commander in chief, &c. &c. His lordship aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from the hon. sir G. H. Barlow, bart. governor general, &c. &c. and the said Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla, and Bala Ram Seit, also duly invested with full powers on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Art. I.—The British government engages to abstain from all prosecution of hostilities against Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and to consider him henceforth as the friend of the hon. company; Jeswunt Rao Holkar agreeing on his part, to abstain from all measures and proceedings of an hostile nature, against the British government and its allies, and from all measures and proceedings in any manner directed to the injury of the British government or its allies.

Art. II.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all right and title to the district of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondee, Lakherte, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Dae, and other places north of the Boondee hills, and now in the occupation of the British government.

Art. III.—The honourable company hereby engage to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowtee, or with any of the rajahs, situated to the south of the Chumbul, and the honourable company agree to deliver over immediately to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, such of the ancient possessions of the Holkar family

in the Dekhan, now in the occupation of the honourable company, as are south of the river Taptee, with the exception of the fort and pergunnah of Chandote, the pergunnahs Ambar and Seagham, and the villages and pergunnahs situated to the southward of the Godavery, which will remain in the possession of the honourable company. The honourable company, however, in consideration of the respectability of the Holkar family, further engage, that in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, being such as to satisfy that state of his amicable and peaceable intentions towards the British government and its allies; it will, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of this treaty, restore to the family of Holkar, the fort of Chandore and its district, the pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the districts formerly belonging to the Holkar family, situated to the south of the Godavery.

Art. IV.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims to the district of Koonch, in the province of Bundelcund, and all the claims of every description in that province; but in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar being such as to satisfy the British government of his amicable intention towards that state and its allies, the honourable company agree, at the expiration of two years from the date of this treaty, to give the district of Koonch, in jagghire, to Beemah Bhye, the daughter of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, to be holden under the company's government on the same terms as that now enjoyed by Bhalla Bhye.

Art. V.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims of every description

description upon the British government and its allies.

Art. VI.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages never to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British government.

Art. VII.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages never to admit into his council or service, Serjee Rao Ghautka, as that individual has been proclaimed an enemy to the British government.

Art. VIII.—Upon the foregoing conditions, Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall be permitted to return to Hindostan without being molested by the British government, and the British government will not interfere in any manner in the concerns of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. It is, however, stipulated, that Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall immediately upon this treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindostan by a route which leaves the towns of Putteala, Khytult, Theend, and the countries of the honourable company and the rajah of Jeypoor, on the left; and Jeswunt Rao Holkar engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder, and that they shall commit no act of hostility in any of the countries through which they may pass.

Art. IX.—This treaty, consisting of nine articles, being this day settled by lieut. colonel John Malcolm, on the part of the honourable company, and by Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla, and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; lieut. colonel John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, and confirmed by the

seal and signature of the right hon. lord Lake, to the said Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, who on their part have delivered to lieut. colonel John Malcolm, a counterpart of the same, signed and sealed by themselves, and engaged to deliver another copy thereof, duly ratified by Jeswunt Rao Holkar to the right hon. lord Lake, in the space of three days: the said lieut. colonel John Malcolm also engages to deliver to them a counterpart of the same, duly ratified by the honourable the governor general in council, within the space of one month from this date.

Done in camp at Raipoor Ghaut, on the banks of the Bheah river, this twenty-fourth day of December, Anno Domini 1805, corresponding with the second of Shawaul in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed)

JOHN MALCOLM.

SHAIKH HUBEEB OOLLA.

BALA RAM SEIT.

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*Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded between the British Government and Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, through the Agency of the Right Hon. Lord Lake, on the 24th December, 1805.*

Whereas by the 2d article of the abovementioned treaty, Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar renounces all right and title to the districts of Tonk, Rampoor, Boondee, Leckerree, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Dace, and other places north of the Boondee hills, and now in the occupation of the British government: and whereas it has been understood that the Maharajah at-

taches great value to the districts of Tonk, Rampoorah and other districts in that vicinity, which constituted the ancient possessions of the Holkar family; and the relations of amity and peace being now happily restored between the British government and Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the British government is desirous of gratifying the wishes of the Maharajah to the utmost practicable extent, consistent with considerations of equity, and of manifesting its solicitude to cultivate the friendship and good will of the Maharajah; therefore the British government thereby agrees to consider the provisions of the 2d article of the treaty aforesaid, to be void and of no effect, and to relinquish all claim to the districts of Tonk, Rampoorah, and such other districts in their vicinity, as were formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, and are now in the occupation of the British government.

Done on the river Ganges, the 2d day of February, 1806.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

Published by order of the honourable the vice president in council.

THOMAS BROWN,  
Acting chief secretary to the  
government.

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*Prussian Proclamation for excluding  
British Trade, &c.*

By a treaty concluded between his Prussian majesty and the emperor of France and king of Italy, it has been stipulated that the ports of the German Ocean (the North Sea) and the rivers which empty

themselves in it, shall be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as was practised whilst Hanover was occupied by French troops. The Prussian troops, therefore, have orders to refuse entrance to all British ships which may attempt to enter such ports and rivers, and to order them back. Measures will also be taken to prevent English goods from being landed and transported.

Given at Head-quarters, Hanover, 28th of March, 1806.

(Signed) SCHULENBERG.

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*Prussian Patent.*

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:—

The wish to secure our faithful subjects, and the neighbouring states of the North of Germany during the war, and to preserve and confirm the duration of the blessings of peace, was at all times the intention of our indefatigable endeavours. These wholesome measures were made known, upon some recent occasions, as the object of our late patent, dated January 27th, 1806, according to which the Electoral States of Brunswick Lunenberg in Germany, were taken possession of by our troops, when the administration of the same passed into our hands. But in consequence of the exchange of the electorate of Hanover, in consideration of the cession of three of the provinces of our monarchy, and for the permanent tranquillity of our subjects, and the neighbouring states, we have found it indispensibly necessary to enter into and  
conclude

conclude a convention with his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and as the electoral states of the house of Brunswick, situated in Germany, were obtained by the emperor Napoleon by *right of conquest*, we hereby declare, that the *rightful possession* of the territory of that house has passed over to us, in consideration of the cession of three of our provinces, and is now subject to our power only; consequently, from the present time, the government and the administration of these countries, will be administered simply in our name alone, and under our supreme authority.

We therefore call upon all persons, whatever may have been the functions assigned them, to execute those functions only in our name, and under our authority.

Count Schulenberg Kehnert, and the commissioners who are attached to him, expect no less than that all the prelates, the burghers, and the inhabitants in general, will obediently conform themselves to the order of things, which a *new æra* has rendered necessary for their tranquillity and well-being; and in so doing, they will afford his majesty a proof of their devotion to their country.

So, on our part, nothing shall be neglected to confirm them in the persuasion of our paternal affection, and our sincere wish to render them happy.

(Signed)

FREDERICK WILLIAM.  
SCHULENBERG,  
HAUGWITZ.

April 1, 1806.

*Order in Council for detaining  
Prussian Ships.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 5th of April, 1806, present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas his majesty has received advice that his majesty the king of Prussia has taken possession of various parts of the electorate of Hanover, and other dominions belonging to his majesty, in a forcible and hostile manner; and has also notified that all British ships shall be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, and not suffered to enter or trade therewith, in violation of the just rights and interests of his majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the established law and practice of nations in amity with each other; his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, is thereupon pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Prussia, until further order; and his majesty is further pleased to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all Prussian ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours or roads, within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the

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said ships and vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained; and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the Cinque Ports, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

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*Order in Council.*

At the Court at the Queen's palace, the 16th of April 1806, present the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas his majesty has received advice, that his majesty the king of Prussia has taken possession of his majesty's electoral dominions in a forcible and hostile manner; and has caused it to be notified to his majesty's minister at the court of Berlin, that all British ships were thenceforth to be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, under the forcible controul of Prussia, in violation of the just rights and interests of his majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the law and practice of nations in amity with each other; and whereas his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, has been pleased to cause an embargo to be laid upon vessels belonging to the subjects of Prussia now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said vessels: and whereas there is just reason to apprehend that the neutrality of the rivers

Elbe, Weser, and Ems, and the free navigation thereof, will not, under these circumstances, be duly respected by his majesty's enemies, but will be rendered subject to the hostile measures above described; his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that a general embargo or stop be made in like manner, until further order from this board, of all ships and vessels belonging to persons residing in any ports or places situate upon the said rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, save and except vessels under the Danish flag, and also save and except that in respect to the goods and effects on board such ships and vessels which shall have been laden in, or are coming consigned to, any ports of the united kingdom, the same shall be forthwith liberated and delivered up to the said loaders and consignees respectively; and it is hereby further ordered, that no property or freight money appearing to belong to any subject of Prussia, or to any persons residing as aforesaid, respecting which proceedings are now depending, or shall hereafter depend, in any of his majesty's courts of prize, shall be decreed to be restored, nor shall the proceeds of any property or freight money belonging as aforesaid, which hath already been decreed to be restored, be paid to or on behalf of the claimants, but the same shall be kept in safe custody until his majesty's further orders herein: and it is further ordered, that no person residing within his majesty's dominions do presume to pay any freight money due or payable to or on behalf of any person or persons, being subjects, or residing

riding within the dominions of the king of Prussia, or in the ports or places aforesaid, for the freight of merchandize laden on board any ship which is detained under the said embargo, or which shall hereafter be brought into any of the ports of his majesty's dominions, but that such freight money shall be forthwith paid into the registry of the high court of admiralty, there to remain until his majesty's pleasure shall be further known, or until other provision shall be made by law; and whereas it has been represented to his majesty that the goods on board several of the Prussian vessels so detained, or to be detained by the embargo, are the property of his majesty's subjects, or the property of persons not being subjects of Prussia: it is further ordered, that all goods on board any vessels detained under the said embargo, which were laden in, or coming consigned to, ports of the united kingdom, shall be delivered to the disposal of the owners or their agents, upon affidavit being made and produced in the high court of admiralty, that the said goods were not, at the time of shipment, nor are now, the property of subjects of Prussia, and upon paying the freight due upon such goods, into the registry of the said court, and upon giving sufficient bail to abide adjudication in case any proceedings should be commenced against the said goods, within two months from the date of such delivery; and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and lord warden of the cinque ports, and the judge of the high court of admiralty, are to

give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain. STEPHEN COTTRELL.

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*Memorial of Baron Von Hardenberg,  
Minister of State to the King of  
Prussia, to Lord Harrowby.*

*Berlin, Dec. 22, 1805.*

My lord,

Conformably to the answer I have already had the honour to transmit to your excellency, to the question which you addressed to me, relative to the security of the troops of his Britannic Majesty, in the North of Germany, I hasten to lay before you the positive assurances which I have the pleasure to be able to communicate to you.

Your excellency is acquainted with the present state of affairs. You will first perceive that, at the point to which matters have now come, since the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz, between Austria and France, in consequence of the return of the great Russian army, and the total uncertainty in which we are with regard to the intentions of Napoleon towards Prussia, the utmost caution is absolutely necessary. The bravest army cannot always reckon upon success; and it is undoubtedly the interest of Prussia, and the interest of the world, to prevent any attack upon her at the present moment, when she would have to bear the whole burthen of the war; and no confederacy adapted to circumstances, has been formed; for, in case her armies should prove unsuccessful, the last ray of hope to maintain the security and independence of the continent, would be extinguished.

The king, still animated by the same wish to establish a general peace on a permanent footing, and, if possible, to the satisfaction of all parties, must consequently have been ardently desirous that his mediation, stipulated in the convention signed on the 3d of November, at Potzdam, should have been accepted by France. In an interview which count Von Haugwitz had with Napoleon, on the 28.h of November, that monarch manifested a disposition to accept of this mediation on the two following conditions:—

1. That during the negotiation no troops of his Britannic Majesty, nor any Russians nor Swedes, should advance into Holland to commence warlike operations there, after their departure from the north of Germany.

2. That a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortresses of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions.

The king could not accept these propositions under the circumstances of the moment in which they were made; but these have totally changed, and in the present conjuncture, his majesty has not only judged them admissible, upon condition that the emperor Napoleon engages on his side, not to send any troops into the north of Germany, as long as the negotiations shall continue, and that he shall not undertake any thing against Hanover during the same interval; but even favourable, as time will thus be gained to take some deliberate measures, and to prepare for every contingency; either in case a war should break out, or this intermediate state of things should lead to a definitive negotiation.

That no time may be lost, his majesty has sent major Von Pfuhl to the French head-quarters, that this arrangement may be carried into effect. At the same time count Haugwitz has received the necessary instructions, bearing date the 19th inst. and the king has given France to understand, that he shall consider the occupation of Hanover by French troops as an act of hostility.

Agreeably to what I have just stated, his majesty has authorized me to inform your lordship, that, in conformity with the assurances already given, in case the troops of his Britannic majesty, and the Russians, should prove unfortunate, the king engages for the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty in Hanover, and grants them perfect liberty, in case of necessity, to retreat to the Prussian army, and to the states of the king, but with the following modifications, which circumstances render necessary:—

1. That they take their positions in the rear of the Prussian troops, and abstain, during the period of the intermediate negotiation, from every movement and step of a provoking nature towards Holland.

2. That in case the Prussian troops shall be attacked by the French, his majesty may rely with perfect confidence on the support and co-operation of the troops of his Britannic majesty, as long as they shall continue in the north of Germany. His majesty has given orders for a respectable corps to advance into Westphalia, and will adopt every necessary measure for security and defence. The Russian troops, under the command of general count Tolstoy, are already at  
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the entire disposal of his majesty, as the emperor Alexander has fully authorized him to dispose of them at pleasure; and likewise of those which are under general Benningfen in Silesia.

I therefore request your excellency to write as speedily as possible to lord Cathcart, the commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, and to prevail upon him to take, without delay, such steps as are necessary for these different purposes; and in particular to comply with the invitation that will be transmitted to him by the order of the king, through count Kalkreuth, to consult personally with him and count Tolstoy, on the positions which the troops of his Britannic majesty, the Russians, and Prussians, will have to take in consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements.

As the Swedish troops are in the same predicament with those of his Britannic majesty and the Russians, it would be extremely desirable to prevail upon his Swedish majesty to conform to this arrangement.

I hope that to this end your lordship will act in concert with prince Dolgorucki, whom his imperial majesty of all the Russias has charged with every thing relative to the destination of the Russian army. In case his Swedish majesty will resign the conduct of his troops to count Tolstoy, the king is ready to give them the same guarantee which he offers to the troops of his Britannic majesty, during their continuance in the north of Germany.

With regard to the provisioning of the fortress of Hameln, it is conceived, that the grant of a certain district, from which the gar-

risson might themselves procure provisions, would be attended with great inconveniencies, both in respect to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and on account of the collusions which might thence ensue between the troops. It therefore appears preferable, to furnish necessaries from the Hanoverian territory, through an intermediate person, to whom general Barbon must send a statement of what he wants for daily consumption, and on whose requisition the Hanoverian ministry will take care that it be delivered at the places appointed for that purpose. But general Barbon must, on his side, engage to remain quiet within the town of Hameln.

Conformably to these ideas, the king has sent M. Von Krusemark, lieutenant-colonel of the Garde du Corps, and adjutant to field-marshal Von Mollendorff, to Hanover. I have given him, for my part, a letter to the minister of his Britannic majesty at Hanover, and another for general Barbon, that the necessary arrangements for providing instantaneously for the subsistence of the garrison of Hameln may be made, and put in execution without delay.

I have now nothing left, my lord, but to refer to the verbal communication, I had the honour to make to you, and to intreat you to take in general such steps as you shall think expedient for carrying into execution the whole arrangement which I have had the honour to submit to you. I request you to have the goodness to inform the commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, that it is only in case he should think proper to accede to this arrangement, and

to adopt such measures as depend upon him for carrying it into execution, that his Prussian majesty can possibly engage to guarantee the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty. In case of an attack on the part of the French, it will, however, be necessary that the conduct of the whole should center in one point, and it appears natural that the oldest in rank should then assume the chief command. It would consequently devolve upon general count Kalckreuth, both for the above reason, and likewise because he, being in the vicinity of the enemy, would be best able to judge what measures to adopt.

I repeat to your excellency the assurance of the highest consideration with which, I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's, &c.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

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*Swedish Declaration.*

From the moment his Swedish majesty had determined upon taking a part in the coalition against the usurpations of Napoleon Bonaparte, his majesty had fixed his attention upon the preservation of the electoral possessions of the king of England upon the continent, which had been evacuated by the French troops. Ready to enter them with a Swedish and Russian army, united under his orders, his majesty hastened, upon the first intelligence of the movement of a Prussian corps towards that country, to enquire into the intentions of his Prussian majesty, and in full confidence to demand of him, whether the march of his troops had the same object as

the combined army; namely, that of restoring the electorate of Hanover to its legitimate possessor, and in that case to concert with his Prussian majesty the joint measures to be taken. The king of Prussia from that period, evaded entering into any explanation relative to this important object, and that in a manner far from friendly. The irresolution since manifested by this sovereign, in joining the cause of the allies, could not but tend to augment his majesty's suspicions; and his majesty did not hesitate to anticipate events, in causing it to be publickly made known at a period when the intentions of the court of Prussia, with respect to the states of his Britannic majesty, could only be matter of conjecture, that the country of Lauenburg should still remain under the protection of the Swedish troops, until a convention for that purpose was concluded with the king of England. It was the sole right of this monarch only, as proprietor of the country, to decide upon the future fate of his hereditary states; every arrangement, therefore, relative thereunto, between France and Prussia, was inadmissible.

It was, notwithstanding, upon this arrangement, that the king of Prussia, in his proclamation of January 27, which was published soon after, endeavoured to assert his right to the complete occupation of the electorate of Hanover. The reiterated protestations made by the court of Berlin on this occasion, of being induced to take this step merely to save the country from greater calamities, ought to have been received as a guarantee for its future independence. This language, however, did not last long; instead

instead of regarding the electorate as a depot till the return of a general peace, as his Prussian majesty had solemnly announced in the proclamation before cited, a new proclamation, issued from Berlin, dated April 1, announced, on the contrary, the definitive union of these provinces to the Prussian monarchy; a measure which the court of Berlin pretended was founded upon the right of conquest, and a formal treaty with France.

In this state of things, the king, faithful to his engagements with his Britannic majesty, thought he could not use too much circumspection when the abandoning of the German states of his ally became the subject of consideration, which being once delivered from the presence of the Swedish troops, would soon have fallen under the power of the Prussians. His majesty, therefore, confining himself to the protection of the countries on this side of the Elbe, on his departure from Ratzeburg, declared, that having left in this duchy a corps of Swedes, under the orders of his aide-de-camp, general commandant, Count Lowenheim, he should look upon any attack upon these troops, and the independance of the country, as a measure of aggression against his own states. This declaration has been repeatedly made, and particularly in the letter of Count Lowenheim, dated April 13, to the Prussian military commandants in Hanover, and the country of Mark. Count Lowenheim said expressly that he had the strictest orders to defend Lauenburg against any foreign troops that should attempt to enter it. Notwithstanding this, a detached corps passed that frontier at Marienstett, on the 23d of this

month, and in spite of the brave resistance of the Swedish troops, by the superiority of their numbers, they took forcible possession of the country.

Under the present circumstances, the king could not regard this violent measure otherwise than as an act of hostility on the part of his Prussian majesty; consequently he has ordered an embargo to be laid on all the Prussian vessels in the Swedish ports.

If his majesty has so long delayed to resent the outrages committed upon him and his allies by the court of Berlin, it has arisen from his majesty's constant wish to avoid every thing that might lead to a rupture as long as possible. The intimate connection subsisting between the king of Prussia and Napoleon Bonaparte, the declared enemy of the three allied courts; the exclusion of the English commerce from the ports and rivers of the north of Germany, together with the unjust authority established in the electorate of Hanover—all these were sufficient indications of the real system of his said majesty: and the attack which has just been made upon the Swedish troops in Lauenburg, has put the last seal to it.

The undersigned, especially charged by the king, his master, to treat with the accredited ministers of the two allied courts, has received his majesty's express orders to expose the above-mentioned facts, in order to enlighten the public opinion, upon the present situation of affairs between the courts of Stockholm and Berlin.

COUNT DE FERSEN, grand  
marshal of Sweden.

*Answer*

*Answer of Baron Hardenberg to the Note in the Moniteur, of March 21.*

The Moniteur, of the 21st of March, No. 80, in printing a letter addressed by me, on the 22d of December, 1805, to lord Harrowby, then his Britannic majesty's minister at Berlin, has called upon me to declare, whether that letter is real or fictitious, and has accompanied this demand with several remarks.

That which renders the duties and obligations of a statesman peculiarly painful, is the frequent necessity under which he finds himself, in being compelled to observe a profound silence, at the same time when he is either misunderstood or calumniated.

However, I owe it to the king, as well as to myself, to declare that the letter in question, though altered in several essential expressions, is official, and was written by his majesty's orders. I owe this declaration to the king, because at the court of Berlin, whatever may be the usage cited by the Moniteur, ministers dare not use the liberty of taking such steps unknown to their sovereign. I owe this declaration to myself, because I cannot remain indifferent to the supposition, that I am capable of such a failure in my duty, or that I should expose myself to his majesty's disavowal, after having acted in his name.

On the 22d of December the king, as well as every other person at Berlin, was ignorant that a treaty had been signed at Vienna on the 15th, by M. le Comte Haugwitz, he having reserved every kind of information upon

this subject till he should make an oral report: and not arriving at Berlin till the 25th of December, as it is expressed in my letter to lord Harrowby, we were quite uncertain as to the intentions of his majesty the emperor of the French; in the mean while the armies of both powers were in the field, and upon the war establishment.

M. le major-general Pfuhl was sent to the French head-quarters, and count Haugwitz was dispatched to explain himself upon the intermediary arrangement, which forms the subject of the letter to lord Harrowby, and which had been proposed by count Haugwitz. M. le Pfuhl met this minister on his way, returning to Berlin, bringing with him a definitive treaty; of course the intermediary arrangement fell to the ground. This is the whole fact, according to the strictest truth. Every impartial judge will know how to appreciate the remarks of the Moniteur. I feel myself honoured in the esteem and confidence of my sovereign and the Prussian nation. I am honoured by the sentiments of respectable foreigners, with whom I have been connected, and I have the satisfaction of reckoning some French among the number. I was not born in Prussia, but I will not yield in patriotism to any native. I have obtained my rights, as much by my services, as by transferring my patrimony, and thus becoming a proprietor. If I am not a soldier, I feel that I should not have been unworthy of the profession, if fate had destined me to defend my sovereign and his rights, the dignity, safety, and honour of the state, by force of arms. Thus much in answer to the remarks of the Moniteur. As to the rest, nei-  
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ther the Bulletins of the Gazettes, nor the remarks of their conductors, will ever be able to disgrace me.

The real copy of my letter of the 22d, to lord Harrowby, is annexed. In comparing it with that inserted in the *Moniteur*, among other things it may be observed, that there is not any question, *either of a confederation to be formed which may adapt itself to events; but of that want of concert adapted to circumstances; nor yet of gaining time to take measures more decisive*, but only of the advantage of seeing things in a clearer point of view, which might be expected to result from the intermediary arrangement. Neither is there any thing said of a plan that I should have submitted to lord Harrowby; but the intermediary arrangement only is mentioned, which was presented to him, to prevent any thing that might have impeded the negotiations which promised the continuance of peace between Prussia and France, and which would probably have led to a general pacification.

HARDENBERG.

*Berlin, April 8, 1806.*

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*Message from his Majesty to the Parliament, on Hostilities with Prussia. April 21.*

G. R.

His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that he has found himself under the necessity of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisional measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia. His majesty deeply regrets this extension and aggravation of calamities, al-

ready so severely felt by the nations of the continent, whose independence and prosperity he has never ceased to consider as intimately connected with those of his own people. But measures of direct hostility, deliberately adopted against him, have left him no alternative.

In a moment of confidential intercourse, without even the pretence of any cause of complaint, forcible possession has been taken by Prussia of his majesty's electoral dominions. Deeply as this event affected the interest of this kingdom, his majesty chose nevertheless to forbear, on this painful occasion, all recourse to the tried and affectionate attachment of his British subjects. He remonstrated, by amicable negotiation, against the injury he had sustained, and rested his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representations, and on the common interest which Prussia herself must ultimately feel, to resist a system destructive of the security of all legitimate possession. But when, instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his majesty was informed that the determination had been taken, of excluding by force the vessels and the commodities of this kingdom, from ports and countries under the lawful dominion, or forcible controul of Prussia; his majesty could no longer delay to act, without neglecting the first duty which he owes to his people. The dignity of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, equally forbid his acquiescing in this open and unprovoked aggression. He has no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the

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the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and he will look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy, on the part of Prussia, shall remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power, with whom his majesty has no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts.

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*Papers presented to Parliament, April 21, relative to the Rupture between England and Prussia.*

No. I.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Francis James Jackson, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave, dated Berlin, Jan. 27, 1806.*

My lord,

I have the honour of inclosing to your lordship a letter, which although dated yesterday, I have just received (four P. M.) from Baron Hardenberg. I hasten to forward it by estafette to the agent at Cuxhaven, in the hopes of its arriving there in time for the Thursday's packet. I also send to Lord Cathcart by estafette, a copy of the Prussian minister's letter to me. I shall simply acknowledge the receipt of it, and inform his excellency, that I have forwarded his communication to your lordship. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS JACKSON.  
Right hon. lord Mulgrave, &c. &c.

*(Translation of Inclosure No. I.)*

Sir,

I hasten to fulfil the promise given to lord Harrowby on the 8th

of this month, to communicate to you, sir, as soon as a final decision should be taken on the subject, the additional circumstances relating to the security of the north of Germany, and to the guarantee by the king of the safety of those British troops which are in that part of the continent.

A messenger from Munich has just brought his majesty intelligence of the consummation of the arrangements which the present conjuncture of affairs has induced him to enter into with France, in order to save those countries, and especially the states of Hanover, from the misfortunes of another ruinous war, and to insure their tranquillity. As these arrangements stipulate particularly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France; his majesty could not delay taking the necessary measures for the entry therein of a corps of his army, which will be under the orders of his excellency the general of cavalry, count Schulenberg Kehnert, to whom also the king has confided the administration of the country. His majesty, animated by the most lively desire to see the importance and the urgency of the motives which have induced him to take these steps, justly appreciated by his Britannic majesty, and his enlightened ministers, has directed baron Jacobi to give a detailed explanation thereof at London.

It would be superfluous to point out to your attention, how urgent and indispensable, in the present state of affairs, the re-embarkation of the English troops in  
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the north of Germany is become; since the retreat of the foreign troops is the condition upon which France has promised not to order her troops to re-enter Hanover, and since also it was upon this supposition alone, that the king guaranteed their security. I presume, that lord Cathcart has already received, and is upon the point of executing, the orders of his court for the return of those troops, for which transports have been waiting for some time past. I have, however, to request, sir, that you would, for the purpose of still further dispatch, write to that commander in chief on the subject; and, acquainting him with the present circumstances, that you would induce him to hasten, as far as depends on him, a measure, which in these circumstances, and the approaching arrival of our troops, will not admit of any delay. I request you to accept the reiterated assurance of my high and perfect consideration.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

Berlin, Jan. 26, 1806.

To Mr. Jackson, &c. &c.

No. II.

*His Prussian Majesty's Proclamation on taking temporary Possession of the Electorate of Hanover.*

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:—

After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward from these districts the flames of war, and its consequences, which momentarily threatened the north of

Germany, and particularly the electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been concluded between us and the emperor of the French; in pursuance of which, the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany will not be again occupied by French, or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us: in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick electoral countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our general of cavalry, count von der Schulenberg Kehnert: to whom, till the peace, we intrust the administration of the said countries, &c. As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the north of Germany, and of the Brunswick states, so we have resolved to pay out of our treasury for the necessaries for our troops, according to the peace-establishment, leaving the extraordinary expences of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on the other hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expences of government, shall only be appropriated to its advantage. We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected.

Given under our own hand, at Berlin, the 27th January, 1806.

L. S. FREDERIC WILLIAM.  
VON HARDENBERG.

No.

## No. III.

*Copy of a Note from Mr. Secretary Fox to Baron Jacobi Kloest, dated 17th March, 1806.*

The undersigned is commanded by his majesty to state to baron Jacobi Kloest, for the information of his court, the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession has been taken of the electorate of Hanover. If his Prussian majesty judged it expedient, in order to prevent French troops from approaching so near that part of his frontier, to take to himself the military occupation of the electorate, it does not appear to his majesty, that it was by any means necessary that the civil government of that unhappy country should be subverted, or that an army more numerous, and consequently more injurious to the inhabitants, than necessity required, should be maintained there. His majesty relies with the greatest confidence on his Prussian majesty's declaration, that the present occupation is merely temporary; but his majesty cannot but express a wish, that the declaration on this point were more solemnly made in the face of Europe. The honour of the court of Berlin, as well as the consideration mutually due to each other from two princes so nearly connected in blood and alliance, seem to call for a clear explanation on this important subject.

His majesty on his part desires to be equally as explicit, and to put an end to all hopes (if such indeed have been entertained by the court of Berlin) that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent

or indemnity, will ever induce his majesty so far to forget what is due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate.

His majesty learns with concern, that it is in agitation to give up Anspach and other parts of his Prussian majesty's dominions in Bavaria, in consequence of a convention with France; but he does not pretend any right to interfere or to give any opinion with respect to the propriety of the measures, whatever they may be, which his Prussian majesty may deem eligible for the interest of his crown and people; at the same time it is to be observed, that his majesty, whether in his capacity of king of Great Britain, or in that of elector of Hanover, was in no wise a party to the convention alluded to, or responsible for its consequences. The cessions therefore which his Prussian majesty may make to his majesty's enemies, can surely never be alleged as a justification of taking to himself his majesty's lawful inheritance.

His majesty therefore hopes, that his Prussian majesty will follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and will demonstrate to the world, that whatever sacrifices the present circumstances may induce him to make with respect to his own territories, he will not set the dreadful example of indemnifying himself at the expence of a third party, whose sentiments and conduct towards his Prussian majesty and his subjects have been uniformly friendly and pacific.



No. IV.—*Note verbale.*

Until the explosion of the last continental war, his Prussian majesty had no other object in view, than to secure the tranquillity of his monarchy, and that of the neighbouring states.

He was then able to effect this upon terms which met the entire approbation of every court. He has been desirous of doing the same since the breaking out of the present war. But the choice of the means has no longer been in his power. France has considered Hanover as her conquest, and her troops were on the point of entering it for the purpose of disposing of it definitively according to the pleasure of the French emperor, without the possibility of his Britannic majesty's preventing it.

The occupation of that country by his Prussian majesty, and the shutting of the ports in the German seas, and that of Lubeck against the British flag (as was the case during the possession of Hanover by the French), were the indispensable conditions of an arrangement by which the country is secured against the entry of foreign troops, and the quiet of the north of Germany preserved.

This has not been obtained without painful sacrifices on his majesty's part. Those of the house of Hanover are in no degree to be attributed to the king's measures, but are the inevitable consequences of a war, which his conciliating policy has in vain endeavoured to prevent. This war might have produced still more serious consequences. The treaty between Prussia and France at least protects the northern states from further

evils; and could every power but duly appreciate how much they are indebted to the system he has adopted, the king would with justice obtain the gratitude of all.

## No. V.

*Proclamation of Count Schulenberg, announcing the shutting of the Ports of the North Sea against the British Ships and Trade, dated Hanover, 28th of March, 1806.*

In a treaty, which has been concluded between his majesty the king of Prussia, my most gracious sovereign, and his imperial majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, it has been stipulated, that the ports of the north sea, as well as all rivers running into it, shall be shut against the British ships and trade, in the same manner as when the French troops occupied the states of Hanover. In conformity to the orders I have received, I make this known to those whom it may concern, that they may guard against the consequences, as the troops of the king my master have received orders to warn off and not to admit such English ships as may endeavour to enter these ports and rivers, and as all necessary and proper measures will be adopted to prevent the introduction and transit of British goods.

(Signed) The comte de  
SCHULENBERG KEHNERT,  
his Prussian majesty's general of cavalry, and commander in chief of the corps d'armée in Hanover.

## No. VI.

*Proclamation of his Prussian majesty  
for taking definitive Possession of  
Hanover.*

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:

The wish to secure our faithful subjects and the neighbouring states of the north of Germany during the war, and to preserve and confirm the duration of the blessings of peace, was at all times the intention of our indefatigable endeavours. These wholesome measures were made known, upon some recent occasions, as the object of our late patent, dated January 27, 1806, according to which the electoral states of Brunswick Lunenburg in Germany were taken possession of by our troops, when the administration of the same passed into our hands. But in consequence of the exchange of the electorate of Hanover, in consideration of the cession of three of the provinces of our monarchy, and for the permanent tranquillity of our subjects and the neighbouring states, we have found it indispensably necessary to enter into and conclude a convention with his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and as the electoral states of the house of Brunswick, situated in Germany, were obtained by the emperor Napoleon by *right of conquest*, we hereby declare, that the *rightful possession* of the territory of that house has passed over to us, in consideration of the cession of three of our provinces, and is now subject to our power only: conse-

quently, from the present time, the government and the administration of these countries will be administered simply in our name alone, and under our supreme authority.

We therefore call upon all persons, whatever may have been the functions assigned them, to execute those functions only in our name, and under our authority.

Count Schulenberg Kehnert, and the commissioners who are attached to him, expect no less than that all the prelates, the burghers, and the inhabitants in general, will obediently conform themselves to the order of things, which a new æra has rendered necessary for their tranquillity and well-being; and in so doing, they will afford his majesty a proof of their devotion to their country.

So, on our part, nothing shall be neglected to confirm them in the persuasion of our paternal affection, and our sincere wish to render them happy.

(Signed)

FREDERIC WILLIAM,  
SCHULENBERG.  
HAUGWITZ.

Aug. 1, 1806.

*Declaration.*

George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. &c.

The court of Prussia has avowed those hostile designs, which she thought to conceal by her friendly professions.

The

The Note Verbale\*, delivered on the 4th of April by the Prussian envoy, baron Jacobi Kloeft, to the British ministry, announces that the electorate of Hanover has been taken possession of, and that the ports of the German Sea, and of Lubeck, have been closed against the British flag.

This declaration gives the lie to all those assurances by which the cabinet of Berlin has hitherto endeavoured to cloak its proceedings: to which it moreover adds the pretension that his Prussian majesty has acquired, by his system of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the northern powers.

Thus actually dispossessed of the ancient inheritance of my family, and insulted in my rights as a sovereign, I have ordered those measures to be taken which the honour of my crown require: but I still owe it to myself, to Europe, and to my subjects, to make a public declaration of my sentiments, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, upon the unjust usurpation of my German possessions.

It is not necessary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations, or to the laws of the German empire. Their infraction is too evident to be required to be proved. It is the most sacred principles of good faith, of honour, and in fact of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal safety of different states amongst themselves, and of each civil society in itself, repose, which are trodden under foot in such a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cause the facts to be laid

before them, which are authenticated in the narrative which I have ordered to be prepared.

The proceedings of the court of Berlin, when the electorate was occupied by its troops, in 1801—its conduct, far from being friendly during the negociation for the indemnities which followed the peace of Luneville—the declaration which it made, when France prepared to invade the electorate—and, lastly, the burthensome conditions under which it endeavoured to cause it to be evacuated, to substitute her own troops instead of those of France, had given too many proofs to the government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all sort of intervention on the part of this power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a dispute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, gave the Prussian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the electorate.

This step was accompanied by the most friendly protestations on the part of Prussia. She invited the Hanoverian government to resume its functions in my name, and to collect the wreck of the army.

The country, already so unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requisitions extorted by the Prussian corps, without the least regard to the situation in which the French left it.

After the unfortunate result of the campaign of the allies in the south of the empire, an attack in

\* See No. IV. in the preceding Article.

the north was to be expected. His imperial majesty of Russia, to obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the convention of Potsdam, his troops under Count de Tolstoy, and the corps of general Benningfen, under the orders of his Prussian majesty, and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect. This, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The secret treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by count Haugwitz and the French general Duroc, the 15th of December, 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which count Haugwitz was to make to her in consequence of the convention of Potsdam.

Seven days after, Dec. 22, the cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador, the arrangements to be taken in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the allied armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, lieutenant-colonel baron de Krusemark, with a letter to the Hanoverian government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hameln.

It was necessary to concur in this arrangement, (which was only provisionally terminated the 4th of January) because it was to prevent

the French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negotiation.

Was the court of Berlin then ignorant in what manner count Haugwitz had concluded this negotiation? Did it not know, before the signature of the treaty, what would be the end of it? or, did that minister dispose as he pleased of the good faith of his master?

It was on the 27th of Jan. that the cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian government, "That, in consequence of a treaty signed and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops; that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian majesty, and to his exclusive administration." The Hanoverian government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian commissioners of administration, excluding all *foreign reference*.

The dispatch addressed the 25th of January to the Prussian minister and intended to justify his proceedings, was signed with the king of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words: "I think it unnecessary to observe how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness

happiness of the country and its inhabitants; and by that means *satisfactory to his Britannic majesty*, to whom I desire nothing more than to give in this instance, as in all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power."

The experience of the past, and a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my electoral government was instructed not to enter into any negotiation, the object of which might have been to avoid a new French invasion, by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.

The protest made upon this occasion by my electoral minister of state, was ineffectual. The king of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked; and his measures were executed without the least regard.

It was too easy to foresee that count Haugwitz would find means at Paris to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, *announced here as ratified by the contracting parties*, to its original intention.

This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation according to the treaty of December 15, the very day that the marquis de Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the articles agreed upon at Vienna.

The answer returned by the British cabinet to the communication of January 25, did not arrive at

Berlin until after the minister of state, Baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British envoy the hostile measures which have compelled me to suspend my relations with a court which could so far forget itself.

The Prussian note of April 4, can furnish no good arguments, to establish an unjustifiable measure.

It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia. This disposition is no further sincere than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The note delivered by the cabinet of Berlin to the French minister on the 14th of October, at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges that the conduct which she had followed to that time had proved of advantage to France.

Her actions had much less pretensions to the character of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops, who seized on the electorate of Hanover, a passage through the Prussian territory; she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies.

France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.

She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia would terminate, which in fact appeared to be stifled when his imperial majesty of Russia engaged in a personal communication with the king.

Prussia then demanded subsidies

of Great Britain, which were promised to her, and she signed the convention of Potzdam, *the conditions of which she would doubtless have been more disposed to fulfil, if I could have so far forgotten my duty, as to consent to the proposition of ceding the electorate of Hanover for some Prussian province.*

Prussia affirms, that from the events of the war, she has not had the choice of means to secure the safety of its monarchy, and of the states of the north. She wishes to make it appear, that she has been compelled to aggrandize herself, and to become the instrument rather than the object of the vengeance of my enemies.

Such an avowal does not become a great power. All Europe knows that it depended on Prussia, before the battle of Austerlitz, to give repose to Europe, if she had taken the part which her real interests, and the outraged honour of her monarchy, dictated to her. She can no longer be excused, after having missed such an opportunity; and even since the event of the 2d of December, did she not command an army of 250,000 men, who still remember the victories it obtained under the great Frederick, which was in the best dispositions, and supported by the whole Russian army, two corps of which were actually under the command of the king of Prussia?

She would, without doubt, have been subject to certain risks; but she found herself in a situation, when every danger must be encountered, to save the honour of the state. The prince who hesitates in making a choice, destroys the principle which serves as the

basis of a military monarchy; and Prussia ought already to begin to feel the sacrifice she has made of her independence.

The note of April 4, affirms, "that France had considered the electorate as its conquest, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive disposal of it."

The electorate of Hanover as an integral part of the Germanic empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheless, it has been unjustly invaded by that power, which has, notwithstanding, frequently indicated the object for which she was disposed to restore it.

France was at length compelled to abandon the country, and forty thousand of my troops, and those of my allies, were established there, when the count de Haugwitz signed the treaty which disposes of my states. It is true that the Russian corps was then at the disposal of his Prussian majesty; but its chief, with the genuine spirit of an honourable man, was not the less determined to fight, if the allies of his master were attacked; we shall not speak of the French garrison which remained at Hameln, insufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being besieged, when the promises of Prussia caused the plan to be abandoned.

The intention of France to dispose definitively of the electorate, would have been contrary to the assertions she has so often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the usage of war, since even a conquest is not definitively disposed of before a peace; and particularly

particularly at a moment when a wish might exist to manifest a pacific disposition.

Prussia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of opposing the return of my enemies to the electorate. Her power furnishes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the interests she defends; but it is difficult to conceive in what light Prussia pretends that her measures removed troops that are *strangers* to the electorate, and ensure the repose of the north. Her troops, in consequence of the treacherous conduct of her cabinet, will remain as much strangers to the electorate as the French troops.

Prussia should not speak of her sacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandise herself, unless she feels the loss of her independence to be such, and how much she has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldest possessions of her house, and of subjects who implored, in vain, her assistance.—Besides, her sacrifices have no connexion with my system of policy, and confer no right on her to usurp the government of my German subjects, whose fidelity nothing has hitherto shaken, and which they will retain towards my person, and a family of princes who for many ages have only sought their happiness.

It is evident that the conduct of the court of Berlin is not the free expression of the will of its sovereign, but the consequence of the influence exercised by my enemies in the cabinet of that prince. All the courts, and all the states, however, who can judge of circumstances, and all that they owe

to the system adopted by the court of Berlin, will agree that the act committed against a sovereign united to his Prussian majesty by the ties of blood, and until now by those of friendship, places the safety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hostility on the part of a power with which one might be at open war.

Convinced of the justice of my cause, I make my appeal to all the powers of Europe, who are interested in resisting the consolidation of a system, which, by threatening the political existence of an integral part of the German empire, brings into question the security of the whole. I demand, most earnestly, the constitutional aid which is due to me as elector, from the empire, its august head, as well as Russia and Sweden, the powers who have guaranteed its constitution, and who have already manifested, and still continue to manifest, the most honourable disposition for the preservation of my states.

Lastly, I protest, in the most solemn manner, for myself and my heirs, against every encroachment on my rights in the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in quality of elector, the declaration made by the minister of my crown at the court of Berlin, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements, much less any offer whatever of an indemnity, or equivalent, shall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian subjects, so as to yield my consent to the alienation of my electorate.

Given at the Palace of Windsor,  
the 20th day of April, 1806, in  
the 46th year of my reign.

(L. S.)

GEORGE R.

E. Count de Munster.

*Declaration in Council of his Majesty  
the King of Prussia to the assem-  
bled Deputies of the Hanoverian  
Provinces.*

Gentlemen,

By your appointment, your deputy, count Von Hardenberg, has laid before me your representation of the 3d instant; and I have observed from it, with satisfaction, that you have acknowledged with gratitude my regulations in regard to the Hanoverian states. The additional sentiments therein contained are to me a security, that you will henceforth be devoted to me and my house with the same loyalty which you discovered for your former sovereigns. I therefore made no delay in more closely learning from your delegates those concerns that were intrusted to them by you, and now communicate to you the following answer to the declaration given in by them:

1. With regard to the secularization of the abbey of Marienrode, and the representation relative thereto, that not only the constitution of the states thereby suffered an alteration, but that one of the securities thereby appropriated to the payment of the public revenue, and the discharge of the public debt, would be withdrawn, should the revenues of the said abbey be inseparably united

with the possession of the domains, contrary to the legal agreement between the impropiators and the states, whereby the revenues accruing from secularized spiritual foundations should be distinctly and separately applied to charitable purposes: it should be observed, that this abbey legally belongs to Hildesheim, and thus my particular regulation respecting the same can in no way prejudice the said constitution. Besides, I have expressly established in the act of secularization, that in the mean time no change shall take place in respect to the contribution chargeable upon this abbey, towards the national revenue and the redemption of the public debt. For the rest, as it is far from being my intention to alter the destination of the effects of the abbey to charitable purposes, I feel satisfaction in assuring you, that the special administration of such parts as have been separated from the domains, and the application thereof to such beneficent and laudable purposes, shall be scrupulously continued, and the utmost care shall be taken both to augment these revenues by good management, and to ameliorate the mode of applying them, by the removal of all existing abuses.

2. The *ad interim* prohibition of home-trade salt is to be considered solely as an inevitable regulation of police for securing an equal supply of that article of primary necessity, and cannot have the apprehended pernicious consequences, since the supply of salt will not thereby be diminished, but will only receive another direction.

3. The continuance of the hitherto



therto existing constitution of the country in general, and

4. The continuance of the provincial constitutions, in particular, presupposes that a new and more intimate acquaintance with them may be more necessary than the commission of organization has been able to procure, in so short a period, and under such difficult circumstances.—But they will incessantly continue their labours in this respect, and I will not hereafter introduce any arbitrary changes, but such only as may be necessary to unite as intimately as possible the Hanoverian territory with my monarchy, of which it now constitutes a part, and to govern it by such laws as have been found, by long experience, the fundamental pillars of the power, the security, and prosperity of the Prussian states; wherefrom the established constitution will be so little excluded, that it will much rather be built up and strengthened, as you may learn from the example of the neighbouring provinces, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt.

5. The petition, with regard to any new modifications, upon which the states, together with other privileged orders, who may perhaps have particular knowledge of the subject, should be consulted, before that introduction, on account of any injurious consequences apprehended therefrom, is wholly conformable to the spirit of the maxims of the Prussian government, and will be pursued by the commission of organization in all doubtful cases whatsoever, and without particular instructions.

Finally, the military regula-

tions, as soon as it can be done with safety, shall be so modified, that the grievances of the country, connected with the present extraordinary measures, shall wholly cease.

From this answer you will infer, and I give you with pleasure the strongest assurances on this head, that my whole endeavours are exclusively directed to heal the wounds, which the hitherto unhappy wars have produced, and to render your country completely happy. Neither ambition nor the lust of territory, but solely a conviction founded on experience, that the incorporation of the Hanoverian states with the Prussian monarchy is obviously necessary for the welfare and security of both, have determined me to this union, and to the sacrifices connected with it. The past has taught you that England cannot protect you, and that you can be protected by Prussia alone. Prussia has now taken upon herself this protection, from which you have to expect greater security of person and of property, as well as the abolition of all oppressive abuses which the distance of your rulers produced. But you must also closely unite with a government which has wrought you all these blessings, and support with counsel and action a constitution which has been decided upon for your benefit. On the other hand, I will always approve myself your gracious sovereign,

(Signed)

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Charlottenburgh, June 24, 1806.  
\* F f 4 *Papers*

*Papers relative to the Negotiation with France, presented by His Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, 22d Dec. 1806.*

No. I.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street. 20th Feb. 1806.*

(Translation.\*)

Downing-street, 20th Feb. 1806.

Sir,

I think it my duty as an honest man to communicate to you, as soon as possible, a very extraordinary circumstance which is come to my knowledge. The shortest way will be to relate to you the fact simply as it happened.

A few days ago, a person informed me, that he was just arrived at Gravesend without a passport, requesting me at the same time to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate to me which would give me satisfaction. I sent for him—he came to my house the following day—I received him alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the ruler of France; and that for this purpose, a house had been hired at Passy, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. I did not perfectly understand if it was to be done by a common mus-

ket, or by fire arms upon a new principle.

I am not ashamed to confess to you, sir, *who know me*, that my confusion was extreme, in thus finding myself † *led into* a conversation with an avowed assassin; I instantly ordered him to leave me, giving, at the same time, orders to the police officer who accompanied him, to send him out of the kingdom as soon as possible.

After having more attentively reflected upon what I had done, I saw my error in having suffered him to depart without having previously informed you of the circumstance, and I ordered him to be detained.

It is probable that all this is unfounded, and that the wretch had nothing more in view than to make himself of consequence, by promising what, according to his ideas, would afford me satisfaction.

At all events, I thought it right to acquaint you with what had happened, before I sent him away. Our laws do not permit us to detain him long; but he shall not be sent away till after you shall have had full time to take precautions against his attempts, supposing him still to entertain bad designs; and when he goes, I shall take care to have him landed at a seaport as remote as possible from France.

He calls himself here, Guillet de la Gevilliere, but I think it is a false name which he has assumed.

At his first entrance, I did him the honour to believe him to be a spy.

\* The originals of Mr. Fox's Letters were written by him in French,  
† The original is *dans le cas de converser*, in the act of conversing.

I have

I have the honour to be, with  
the most perfect attachment,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. II.

*Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr.  
Secretary Fox, dated Paris, Mar.  
5, 1806.—Received Mar. 19.*

(Translation.)

Paris, 5th March, 1806.

Sir,

I have laid your excellency's letter before his majesty. His first words, after having read it were, "I recognize here the principles of honour and of virtue, by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated. Thank him on my part." I will not allow myself, sir, to add any thing to the expressions of his imperial and royal majesty. I only request you to accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND,

No. III.

*Extract from a Letter from M. Tal-  
leyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox,  
dated Paris, March 5, 1806.—  
Received Mar. 19.*

(Translation.)

Paris, 5th March, 1806.

It may be agreeable to you to receive news from this country.

I send you the emperor's speech to the legislative body. You will therein see that our wishes are still for peace. I do not ask what is the prevailing inclination with

you; but if the advantages of peace are duly appreciated, you know upon what basis it may be discussed.

No. IV.

*Extract from a Speech delivered by  
the Chief of the French Govern-  
ment to the Legislative Body on  
the 2d of March, 1806.*

(Translation.)

"I desire peace with England. On my part, I shall never delay it a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

No. V.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to  
M. Talleyrand, dated Down-  
ing-street, March 26, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Downing-street, March 26, 1806.

Sir,

The information which your excellency has given me of the pacific disposition that prevails (in your councils), and of the basis upon which peace may be discussed, has induced me to lay that part of your private letter before the king.

His majesty has repeatedly declared to his parliament his sincere desire to embrace the first opportunity of re-establishing peace upon a solid basis, such as may be compatible with the interests and permanent security of his people: his wishes are uniformly pacific; but it is a safe and lasting peace that his majesty has in view, not an uncertain truce, which, from its  
very

very uncertainty, would be the source of disquietude as well to the contracting parties as to the other powers of Europe.

With regard to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, which are proposed as the basis of the negotiation, it has been observed here that this phrase has been interpreted in three or four different ways, and consequently that further explanations would be necessary, which could not fail to produce great delay, even did no other objections exist.

The true basis of such a negotiation between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicanery, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle, viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe.

England cannot neglect the interests of any of her allies; and she is united to Russia by such close connections, that she would not treat, still less conclude upon any thing, but in concert with the emperor Alexander: but whilst awaiting the actual intervention of a Russian plenipotentiary, some of the principal points might however be discussed, and even provisionally arranged.

It might seem, that Russia, on account of her remote situation, should have fewer immediate interests to discuss with France than other powers; but that court, so respectable in every point of view, interests herself, like England, warmly in every thing that concerns the greater or less degree of

independence enjoyed by the different princes and states of Europe.

You see, sir, how inclined we are here to remove every difficulty that might retard the discussion in question. With the resources that we possess, it is most assuredly not on our own account that we need fear a continuance of the war. Of all the nations of Europe, England, perhaps, is that which suffers the least by its prolongation; but we do not the less commiserate the misfortunes of others.

Let us, then, do all in our power to terminate them, and let us endeavour, if it be possible, to reconcile the respective interests and the glory of the two countries, with the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of the human race.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. VI.

*Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, April 1st, 1806.—Received April 7.*

(Translation.)

Paris, April 1, 1806.

Sir,

The very instant I received your letter of the 26th March, I waited upon his majesty, and I am happy to inform you, that he has authorized me to send you, without delay, the following answer:—

The emperor covets nothing that England possesses. Peace with France is possible, and may be perpetual, provided there is no interference in her internal affairs, and that no attempt is made to restrain

strain her in the regulation of her custom duties; to cramp her commercial rights; or to offer any insult to her flag.

It is not you, sir, who have displayed in many public discussions, an exact knowledge of the general affairs of Europe and of France, who require to be convinced that France has nothing to desire except repose, and a situation such as may enable her, without obstruction, to give herself up entirely to the labours of her industry.

The emperor does not imagine, that any particular article of the treaty of Amiens produced the war. He is convinced, that the true cause was the refusal to make a treaty of commerce, which would necessarily have been prejudicial to the manufactures and the industry of his subjects. Your predecessors accused us of wishing universal conquest. In France, England has likewise her accusers. Very well! We only ask equality. We shall never require an account of what you do at home, provided that, on your side, you never require an account of what we do at home. This principle is reciprocally just, reasonable, and mutually advantageous.

You express a desire that the negotiation may not terminate in a short-lived peace. France is more interested than any other power that it should be permanent. It is not her interest to make a truce; since a truce would only pave the way for fresh losses. You know very well that nations, similar in this respect to individuals, accustom themselves to a state of war,

as well as to a state of peace. All the losses that France could sustain, she has sustained. This will ever be the case, in the first six months of war. At present, our commerce and our industry \* have taken the channel dictated by the circumstances of our country and are adapted to our state of war. Consequently a truce of two or three years would be the thing of all others the most opposite to our commercial interests, and to the emperor's policy.

As to the intervention of a foreign power, the emperor might accept the mediation of a power possessing a great naval force, because, in that case, the participation of such power in the peace would be regulated by the same interests that we have to discuss with you; but the mediation you speak of is not of this nature. You do not wish to deceive us: and you are well aware there is no equality betwixt us in the guaranty of a power which has three hundred thousand men on foot, and which has no naval force. For the rest, sir, your communication has a character of openness, and precision, which we have hitherto never seen in the communications between your court and us. I will make it my duty to employ the same openness, and the same precision, in my reply. We are ready to make peace with the whole world! We wish to dictate to no one! But we will not be dictated to; and no one possesses either the power or the means of doing it. It is in the power of none to make us relinquish treaties which are already carried into effect. The in-

\* Se font répliez sur eux mêmes.

tegrity and the complete and absolute independence of the Ottoman empire, form not only the sincerest desire of the emperor, but constitute also the undeviating object of his policy.

Two enlightened and neighbouring nations would be wanting in the opinion they ought to entertain of their power and wisdom, should they call for the intervention of foreign and distant powers in the discussions of the great interests which divide them: thus, sir, peace may be treated upon and concluded immediately, if your court really entertains the desire of attaining it.

Our interests are reconcileable, inasmuch as they are distinct. You are the rulers of the ocean: your naval forces are equal to those of all the sovereigns of the world united. We are a great continental power; but there are many who equal our power by land; and your maritime preponderance will always place our commerce at the mercy of your squadrons, immediately after your declaring war. Do you think it reasonable to expect that the emperor should ever consent to submit himself to your discretion in continental affairs also? If, masters of the sea through your own power, you propose being masters of the land likewise by a combined force, peace is impossible; for, in that case, you will be striving for an object which you can never attain.

The emperor, accustomed as he is to encounter every risk, which holds out the prospect of greatness and of glory, wishes for peace with England—he is a man—after so many fatigues he is desirous of

repose—the father of his subjects, he wishes, as far as it is compatible with their honour and with security for the future, to procure for them the blessings of peace, and the advantages of a successful and uninterrupted commerce.

If then, sir, his majesty the king of England, really wishes for peace with France, he will appoint a plenipotentiary to repair to Lisle. I have the honour of sending you passports for this purpose. As soon as the emperor shall be informed of the arrival of the minister from your court, he will appoint one and will send him without delay. The emperor is ready to make every concession, which, from the extent of your naval forces, and of your preponderance, you may desire to obtain. I do not think that you can refuse to adopt the same principle of making him proposals conformable to the honour of his crown and the commercial rights of his dominions. If you are just—if you desire only what is possible for you to obtain, peace will be soon made.

I conclude, by declaring that his majesty fully adopts the principle laid down in your dispatch, and offered as the basis of the negotiation, “that the peace proposed should be honourable for the two courts, and for the respective allies.”

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient,  
humble servant,

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.  
No.

## No. VII.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street, April 8, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Downing-street, 8th April, 1806.*

Sir,

I did not receive until yesterday evening your dispatch of the first instant. Before I reply to it, allow me to assure your excellency that the frankness and obliging tone which prevail in it have produced the greatest satisfaction here. A spirit of conciliation manifested on both sides is already a great advance towards peace.

If what your excellency says respecting domestic affairs relates to political affairs, an answer is scarcely requisite. We do not interfere in such concerns in time of war, much less shall we do so in time of peace; and nothing can be further from the ideas which prevail here than any wish either to interfere with respect to the internal regulations which you may judge proper for the management of your custom duties and for the support of your commercial rights, or to offer insult to your flag. As to a treaty of commerce, England supposes that she has no greater interest in desiring it than other nations. There are many who think that such a treaty between Great Britain and France would be equally beneficial to the two contracting parties; but this is a question upon which each government must decide according to its own ideas, and the party rejecting it

gives no offence, and is no way responsible to the party proposing it.

It is not my individual opinion alone, sir, but it must be acknowledged by every reasonable man, that the true interest of France is peace, and consequently that the true glory of her rulers ought to be placed in the preservation of it.

It is true that we have mutually accused each other, but it can answer no purpose at the present moment to discuss the arguments upon which those accusations were founded. Like you we desire to treat upon equal terms. Assuredly we are not accountable to each other for what we do at home; and the principle of reciprocity that your excellency has proposed on this point appears just and reasonable.

It cannot be denied that your arguments respecting the inconveniences to which France would be subject by a short-lived peace, are well-founded: but on the other hand, those which we should suffer would likewise be very considerable. It is perhaps natural, that in such cases each nation exaggerates its own dangers, or at least that she examines them more minutely, and with a more penetrating eye than those of others.

With respect to the interposition of a foreign power, one cannot refrain from observing, that in whatever relates to peace and war between England and France, Russia can never be considered a foreign power, inasmuch as she is in actual alliance with England, and at war with France. For which reason the interposition of the emperor Alexander was proposed in my letter,

letter, not as a mediator, but as a party. Your excellency, in the last paragraph of your dispatch, acknowledges, that the peace "ought to be honourable, not only for England and France, but also for their respective allies." This being the case, it appears to us impossible, considering the close alliance subsisting between the two governments, that that of England can commence any other than a provisional negotiation, without the concurrence, or, at the very least, the previous consent of her ally.

As to what relates to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, no difficulty can present itself, those objects being equally dear to all the parties interested in the present discussion.

It is perhaps true, that the power of France on land, compared with that of the rest of Europe, is not equal to the superiority that we possess at sea, considered in the same point of view: But it can no longer be concealed, that the project of combining the whole of Europe against France, is to the last degree chimerical; besides, it is in truth carrying the apprehension of what may happen hereafter rather too far, to consider the alliance between England and Russia, (the two powers of Europe the least calculated to attack France by land) as tending to produce such a consequence.

Nor can the intervention of Russia in the negotiation be considered as the formation of a congress, either in appearance or in reality, inasmuch as there will be only two parties, England and Russia on one side, and France on the other. A congress might be desirable in many

respects, after the signature of preliminaries, in case all the contracting parties should be of that opinion; but this is a proposition that may be freely and amicably discussed, after the principal points shall have been arranged.

Thus, sir, I have laid before you, with all the clearness in my power, the sentiments of the British ministry upon the ideas which you have suggested. I entertain the gratifying persuasion that there remains only one essential point upon which we are not agreed.

As soon as you consent that we shall treat provisionally until Russia can take a part in the negotiation, and from that moment, conjointly with her, we are ready to begin without the delay of a single day, at whatever place, and in whatever form, the two parties may judge best adapted to bring to an happy issue the object of our labours, as expeditiously as possible.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

#### No. VIII.

*Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, April 16, 1806.—Received April 19.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, April 16, 1806.*

Sir,

I HAVE taken the pleasure of his majesty the emperor and king, before whom I lost no time in laying the dispatch which your excellency did me the honour of writing to me, under date of the 8th instant.

It appeared to his majesty, that, admitting as you do the principle of equality, you nevertheless still per-



first in requiring a form of negotiation which cannot accord with that principle. When in a discussion between two equal powers, one of them calls for the interference of a third, it is evident that she seeks to destroy that equilibrium so favourable to a fair and free discussion of their interests. It is manifest that she is not willing to content herself with the advantages and the rights of equality. I am ready to believe, sir, that in entering for the last time upon this discussion, I shall succeed in persuading your excellency, that, under no plea and on no account, should Russia be called upon to take part in the proposed negotiation between England and France.

When the war broke out between the two countries, Russia was at peace with France. This war has produced no alteration in the relations which existed between her and us. She first proposed her mediation; and afterwards, in consequence of circumstances foreign to the war which divides us, a coolness arose between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and the Tuilleries; the emperor Alexander thought proper to suspend his political relations with France; but at the same time declared in the most positive manner, that it was his intention to take no part in the existing disputes between us and England.

We do not think that the conduct which Russia has since held has in the smallest degree altered this determination. She has, it is true, concluded a treaty of alliance with you; but it is easy to see from what has been made public of this treaty, from the object it had in view, and still more from the con-

sequences of it, that it had no connection with the war which had been carrying on nearly two years between us and England.

This treaty was an agreement to take a part in a war of a different nature, more extensive and more general than the first. From this war the third coalition sprung, in which Austria was a principal and Russia an auxiliary power. It was only in intention that England participated in this war. We have never had to oppose her forces in conjunction with those of her allies. Russia acted only a secondary part in it. No declaration addressed to France informed us that she was at war with us; and it is only upon the field of battle where the third coalition was destroyed, that we have been officially informed that Russia was a party to it.

When his Britannic majesty declared war against France, he had an end in view which he made known by his manifestoes. This object directed the nature of the war; when, eighteen months afterwards, his Britannic majesty formed an alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, he had other objects in view. This was a new war, the motives of which must be sought for in the official papers which have been published by the different powers; amongst these motives the direct interests of England are never mentioned. These two wars therefore have no common connection: England in reality never participated in that which is terminated. Russia never took any part directly or indirectly in that which still exists. There is, therefore, no reason why England should not singly terminate a war, which she singly has waged against us. If his ma-

jesty

jesty the emperor were now to adopt the principle of negotiating with England jointly with her new allies, he would implicitly admit the actual existence of the third coalition, the continuance of the German war, and the identity of this war with that which France sustains against England. He would implicitly accept for the basis of the negotiation the conditions of monsieur Novosiltzoff, which excited the astonishment of Europe, and were revolting to the character of the French people; and the conqueror of the coalition, the emperor, would voluntarily place himself in the situation of the conquered,

At present, the emperor has nothing to discuss with the coalition. He is entitled to refuse his recognition of the relations which you have had with it; and in treating with you there can be no other question, than the object and the interests of the war which was entered into previous to your alliances, and which has survived them.

Notwithstanding only six months have elapsed since the veil which concealed the secret combinations of the last war has been removed, it is nevertheless true that the continent is at peace. Your principal ally, Austria, has made a separate peace. Prussia, whose armies were for some time on the war establishment, has concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with us. Sweden is not worthy a remark. As to Russia, there exist between her and us direct proposals of negotiation. Powerful as she is, she requires the protection of no one, and she cannot call for the intervention of any court to ter-

minate the disputes between us. Her remote position places her so entirely out of our reach, and deprives her so completely of all means of annoying us, that the alteration in our respective connections, occasioned by a state of war or a state of peace, is purely of a diplomatic nature. If in such a situation, the emperor were to accept the condition of negotiating jointly with England and Russia would he not resign all his advantages? Would he not admit the existence of a war which he has gloriously terminated? Would he not, in fine, abandon, in favour of England, the principle of equality already agreed upon between us? If, sir, you will only examine with the discernment which belongs to you the considerations which I have the honour to lay before you, you will agree that such a negotiation would be far more prejudicial to us than war, and even than a congress.

In fact, in a congress, if England, Sweden, and Russia contended in support of the principles which formed the basis of the third coalition, Prussia, Denmark, the Porte, Persia, and America, would protest against those principles, and would require equal laws for navigation and a just division of the empire of the seas. Doubtless in this discussion, the diminution of the power of France would be frequently voted; but as frequently would the diminution of the power of England also be voted. The balance of power in the south of Europe would be demanded by some, but others would demand the balance of power in the North. Many would bring forward the balance of power for Asia; all would feel

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an interest in the balance of power on the seas; and if it were possible to hope that any result could be formed in the midst of such complicated and turbulent discussions, that result would be just because it would be complete; and certainly his majesty has declared, under every circumstance, that he would have no repugnance to make sacrifices for the public tranquillity, whenever England, Russia, and all the great powers shall be disposed to recognize established rights, to protect the weaker states, and to adopt the principles of justice, moderation and equality; but the emperor knows mankind too well to allow himself to be led away by chimerical ideas, and he feels that it would be in vain to seek for peace in a labyrinth of ten years of discussions, which during that period would perpetuate war, and would only have the effect of rendering its termination still more difficult and uncertain. It would then become necessary to change the system, and, as was done at Utrecht, leaving the allies to perplex themselves in vain and endless disputes, to enter into a separate negotiation; to discuss, as was then done, the interests of the two powers and of their respective allies; at last to make peace for ourselves, and to make it so equitable and so honourable as to be immediately agreed to by all the powers concerned. This is the mode in which it becomes two such nations as England and France to terminate, not at the distance of ten years, but immediately, the differences which divide them, and at the same time to establish the regulation of their rights and of the interests of their allies.

To resume, sir; I see in the proposed negotiation, only three possible forms of discussion:

Negotiation with England and the allies which she acquired at the time of the formation of the third coalition:

Negotiation with all the powers of Europe, with the addition of America:

Negotiation with England alone.

The first of these forms is inadmissible, because it would subject the emperor to the influence of the third coalition, which no longer exists. The emperor would have negotiated in this manner if he had been vanquished. The second form of negotiation would eternalize the war, if the unavoidable occurrences to which it would at every instant give rise, and the passions which it would let loose without controul, did not cause the discussions to be broken off with violence a few years after they should have been entered into. The third therefore is the only one which can be desired by those who really wish for peace. His majesty is confident, that the just and moderate dispositions which he has the satisfaction of observing in the tone and the language of the ministers of his Britannic majesty, seconding, in conformity to his desires, the pacific sentiments of which he is more than ever determined to afford proofs to his allies, and even to his enemies, the nations exhausted by the efforts of a war, the interest of which it is as difficult to perceive as its real object is difficult to discover, will thus see a peace, which is called for by all their wants and all their wishes, result from the proposed negotiation.

I request, sir, you will accept the assurance of my high consideration: (Signed).

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. IX.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street, April 20, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Downing-street, April 20, 1806.*

Sir,

I received the day before yesterday, your excellency's dispatch of the 16th instant.

After having repeatedly read it with all possible attention, I do not find in it any argument sufficient to induce our government to change the opinion which it has already declared, namely, that any negotiation in which Russia is not included as a party, is absolutely inadmissible.

We wish for peace: but we cannot wish for any thing which may be injurious either to the dignity of our sovereign, or to the honour and the interests of the nation. But if we negotiate without Russia, considering the intimate ties by which we are united with that power, we should conceive ourselves open to the reproach of having failed in that scrupulous fidelity to our engagements on which we pride ourselves; whilst, on the other hand, by persisting in our demand that Russia be admitted, we do not conceive that we do any thing contrary to that principle of equality to which both of us lay claim. When the three plenipotentiaries are assembled, how can it be thought that any question could be carried by the majority

of voices; or even that such an assembly could have any thing in common with a general congress? There would be in fact but two parties in it; on one side, France, on the other, the two allied powers. Moreover, if it is thought so advantageous in an affair of this nature, to have two against one, no objection would be made to your introducing whichever of your allies you may judge most expedient.

Sincerely desirous of avoiding useless disputes, I do not allow myself to enter into a discussion of the consequences which your excellency draws from the events of the last campaign.

I will only remark, that I do not see any reason why an alliance should be considered as null with regard to the powers who adhere to it, because a power who formerly belonged to it has been detached from it by the misfortunes of war.

With regard to the overture which Russia has made you, we have no knowledge of it; but, whatever may be the nature of it, we are persuaded that that court will never conduct itself so as to commit the acknowledged honour of its character, or to weaken the ties of friendship and of confidence which subsist between England and Russia.

To return to the point; your excellency mentions that, in the proposed negotiation, you know but of three possible forms of discussion.

The first appears to you inadmissible.

According to what I have had the honour to write to you, you must be convinced, sir, that the  
third

third is incompatible, both with our fundamental ideas of justice and honour, and with our conception of the interests of our country. The second is not perhaps bad, so far as regards its principle; but besides the delays which it would occasion, it would scarcely be practicable in the present conjuncture.

It is therefore with much regret, that I am obliged to declare frankly to your excellency, that I see no hope of peace at this moment, if you should not be disposed to negotiate in the manner which we have proposed.

I think myself obliged to add, that this form is essential to us, not only for the reasons which I have had the honour to explain to your excellency, but in so much as any other form might create suspicions that you really entertain the chimerical project with which you are charged (wrongfully as I willingly believe) of excluding us from any connection with the continental powers of Europe; and even, that such an idea is less revolting to us than it ought to be, and than it in reality is.

It is not necessary to declare to a minister, so enlightened as your excellency, that England can never consent to an exclusion which would degrade her from the rank which she has hitherto held, and which she believes that she may ever hold, among the nations of the world.

The affair, in fine, is reduced to one single point. Will you negotiate conjointly with Russia? We answer, Yes: But if you require us to negotiate separately, we answer, No.

Although we have not succeeded

in the great object which we proposed to ourselves, the two governments may well pride themselves on the candour and frankness which have characterised the discussion of their differences; and I owe to you, on my own account, sir, thanks for the obliging manner in which your excellency expresses yourself with regard to me.

I am, &c.

C. J. Fox.

No. X.

*Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, 2d June, 1806.—Received June 4th.*

(Translation.)

Paris, June 2d, 1806.

Sir,

I have laid before the emperor the last letter which your excellency did me the honour to write to me. I can only, by his orders, repeat to you, that to require of France that she should treat with you upon the principle of your alliance with Russia, is wishing to reduce us to a constrained form of discussion, and supposing us in a state of humiliation, into which we have never fallen. The enemies of France must not hope to dictate to her either the conditions of peace, or a mode of negotiation contrary to the established usages. Such an attempt with respect to either of these points, would equally affect the French character; and I do not hesitate to say, that to overcome all our repugnance on this point, it would at least require that an English army should have invaded Belgium, and should be

at the point of entering Picardy, by the mouth of the Somme.

I must, sir, again repeat to you, that his majesty is truly desirous of peace; and why should not I add, what we might have said, what we really have said at the rupture of every negotiation for peace, that the continuance of the war has never been prejudicial to the grandeur of France, and that, in time of peace, a great nation can use its power only to maintain itself, and preserve in their present state its relations with the neighbouring countries.

France, sir, does not object to your right of chusing and preserving your allies. In war she has not the choice of her enemies, and she must fight them separately or united, as it may suit their convenience to concert among themselves, for the accomplishment of their views of aggression and resistance, and for the formation of alliances so little conformable to the real interests of their respective countries, that the first clause of them has always been a condition of secrecy.

Because we wish, in this case, to follow the form of negotiation which has been customary at all times and in all countries, you conclude that we desire that you should have no connection with the continent. I do not conceive that we ever gave you any reason for drawing such an inference. We cannot hinder any government from forming an alliance with you, and we cannot wish either what is unjust, or what is absurd. It is one thing, that you should form alliances according to your own choice, but it is another that we should concur in them, and aid you in

contracting them. But to consent to treat upon the principle of your alliances, and to introduce them into the discussion of the direct and immediate interests that divide us, is doing much more than suffering and acknowledging them; it is in a manner consecrating, cementing, and guarantying them. I have already, sir, observed to you, that we cannot yield upon this point, because the principle is in our favour.

To leave, however, from henceforward, no room for any misunderstanding, I think it my duty to propose to you, 1st, To negotiate in the same preliminary forms which were adopted during the administration of the marquis of Rockingham, in 1782; forms which were not renewed with so much advantage in the negotiations of Lisle, but which were perfectly successful in the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Amiens; 2dly, To establish as a basis, two fundamental principles, the first, which I take from your letter of the 26th of March, namely, "*That the two states should have for their object that the peace be honourable for them and their respective allies, and at the same time of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe.*" The second principle shall be, an acknowledgment on the part of the two powers of their mutual right of intervention and guarantee in continental and maritime affairs. His majesty, far from being unwilling to make this avowal, delights in raising it to a principle; and, in thus explaining his real intentions, I think I have given you a decisive proof of his pacific dispositions. His majesty is

at the same time persuaded, that, in preventing for ever all subject of complaint, uneasiness, and remonstrance on this point, he has, in a case which is of essential interest to the good of human nature, done his duty as a man and as a sovereign.

I should sincerely regret, sir, that a discussion, began under such favourable auspices, should terminate without the attainment of its object. Should the hopes which I cherish vanish, I shall, at all events, have the consolation of thinking, that the fault cannot be imputed to France, who demands and wishes nothing but what is just and reasonable.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. XI.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street, June 14, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Downing-street, June 14, 1806.*

Sir,

I received a few days ago your excellency's dispatch of the 2d inst.

I cannot understand how, in treating conjointly with England and Russia, you will acknowledge the *principle* of the alliance subsisting between the two courts; at most you will only acknowledge the *fact*; much less can I conceive how you can consider yourselves in any degree lowered by this mode of treating. We do not by any means pretend to dictate to France, either the conditions of peace, or a mode of negotiation contrary to the established usages.

In 1782, the epoch which your excellency alludes to in your dispatch, we did not think ourselves in a state of degradation, yet when M. de Vergennes informed us that it was necessary for the honour of his court, that we should treat conjointly with France, Holland and Spain, we did not think ourselves in any degree lowered by adopting the mode of negotiation to which that minister appeared to attach so much consequence. Your government is sincerely desirous of peace. In this country the same sentiment prevails; and yet I could very well say of England what your excellency says of France; namely, that the continuance of the war has never been prejudicial either to its glory or to its grandeur; perhaps indeed, it has been so to its real and permanent interests, but it has been equally so to those of France.

With respect to the secret conditions of our alliance with Russia, your excellency is too enlightened not to allow, that in what concerned the war and the propositions to be made to Prussia and Austria, secrecy was absolutely necessary. All that is now at an end; to act in concert for the establishment of the repose of Europe, and for its subsequent preservation, is the principal, and I may even say the only object of our present communications.

After the open disavowal which you have made of the intention falsely imputed to you with respect to our continental connections, no doubt can exist upon that essential point, and it would be the more distressing that difficulty, in *form* rather than in *substance*, should prolong a war which the two go-

vernments equally desire to terminate.

Let us now come to what your excellency proposes.

The form of negotiation which took place during lord Rockingham's administration is more particularly present to my memory, as I then held the same office with which his majesty has lately been pleased to honour me. Let France and England change situations, and the form you mention is exactly similar to that which I have proposed.

We then treated with France and her allies; let France now treat with us and our allies. The basis offered in your second proposition is exactly conformable to the views of our government, provided it be well understood that, whilst we mutually acknowledge our respective rights of intervention and guaranty with regard to the affairs of Europe, we also mutually agree to abstain from all encroachment upon the greater or lesser states which compose it.

I should regret equally with your excellency that this discussion should break off. If we can only act so as not to incur the reproach of a breach of faith towards an ally, who for so many reasons deserves our entire confidence, we shall be content, and the more so as we know that an honourable peace would be no less conformable to the wishes of Russia, than to those of France and England.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. XII.

*Communication made by the Earl of*

*Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox,  
dated June 13, 1806.*

A few days after my arrival at Paris from the dépôt at Verdun, Mons. Talleyrand desired me to call upon him; having done so, he told me that the French government had been looking out for some means by which a secret and confidential communication might be made, explanatory of the sentiments and views of France, as well as the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries.

Having mentioned the extreme desire of making this communication in such a manner that no publicity might in any case ensue, should the object of it not be obtained, Mons. Talleyrand proceeded to state, in a long argument, which it is useless to repeat, as it forms the substance of several of the French government's dispatches, the reasons which prevent their treating for a general peace jointly with Russia.

He said, that in a dispatch sent some weeks before to Mr. Fox he had been ordered to name Lisle rather than Amiens for the negotiation of a definitive treaty, in order to remove all former discussions, and to facilitate to England the possession of Malta.

I then took the liberty of interrupting M. Talleyrand, to say that, however flattering the confidence he was ordered to place in me might be, yet that, feeling as I did, the interests, and above all the honour of my country, it was impossible for me to be the bearer of a communication having peace for its object, against which I should



should feel obliged to vote in parliament; and viewing the restoration of Hanover in this light, I could not receive any further communication till I had explicit declaration with regard to his majesty's German dominions.

M. Talleyrand then broke off the conversation, desiring me to return the third day after. At the expiration of this time I waited upon him again, when he informed me that, considering the extreme stress which appeared to be laid upon this point, Hanover should make no difficulty.

Authorized by the concession of that in which the honour of the king, and that of the nation appeared most interested, I enquired whether the possession of Sicily would be demanded, it having been so said: “\* *Vous l'avez, nous ne vous la demandons pas; si nous la possédions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés.*” Considering this to be very positive both from the words and the manner of delivering them, I conceived it improper to make further questions. “† *Nous ne vous demandons rien*” amounting to an admission of *uti possidetis* as applicable to his majesty's conquests.

M. Talleyrand mentioned strongly the recognition of the emperor and the different branches of his family as absolutely expected. On this I took occasion to state the solidity which the recognition of

Great Britain would give to their establishment, and enquired whether the French government would guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman empire. The answer was, Yes, but it must be soon. “‡ *Beaucoup se prepare mais rien n'est fait.*” Reverting to the first conversation, I desired to know whether a middle term might not be found at the same time to obtain the object desired by the French government, and that desired by Great Britain, of not treating in a manner unconnected with Russia. To this he answered that they were entirely ready to give every facility to the arrangement of the respective interests of the two powers, or that a British minister should, being authorized by the emperor Alexander, stipulate for both.

The last words of M. Talleyrand were, § “*Les sentimens de la France sont entierement changés; l'aigreur qui caractérisoit le commencement de cette guerre n'existe plus, et ce que nous desirons le plus c'est de pouvoir vivre en bonne intelligence avec une aussi grande puissance que la Grande Bretagne.*”

(Signed) YARMOUTH,

No. XIII.

Is a note from Mr. secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, June 14, 1806, approving of lord Yarmouth's conduct, &c.

\* You are in possession of it, we do not ask it of you; if we possessed it, it might very much augment our difficulties.

† We ask nothing from you.

‡ A great deal is in preparation, but nothing is yet done.

§ The sentiments entertained in France are entirely different from what they were. The asperity which characterized the commencement of this war, no longer exists; and what we most desire is, to live in harmony with so great a power as Great Britain.

## No. XIV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, June 19, 1806.—Received June 21.*

*Paris, June 19, 1806.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, in obedience to your orders, I made all the haste in my power to arrive at Paris as soon as possible; calm at sea, however, prevented my getting here till the afternoon of the 16th.

I immediately waited upon M. Talleyrand to deliver to him the dispatches you entrusted to my care, and requested to put off any conversation on the subject of my journey till next day. I intended employing this interval to endeavour to see M. d'Oubril, if at Paris, and communicate with him previously to seeing again M. Talleyrand, or at any rate to obtain some knowledge of his motions.

Previous, however, to my leaving M. Talleyrand, he expressed to me that although the desire of peace was equally sincere now as it was when I quitted Paris, yet that some changes had taken place which he had hinted at the possibility of, when I last saw him, alluding to the readiness of Russia to treat separately; and further mentioned that the emperor had received reports from his brother and the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held without Sicily, and the pro-

bability they saw of gaining possession of that Island. I answered him, that, being ordered to require the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily as a necessary article of peace, there would be no question of their separation.

I conceive Sicily to be the great difficulty, though, perhaps, were there no other, it might be got over. M. Talleyrand often and seriously stated the absolute determination of the emperor not to consent to our demands of Naples, Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, or to alienate any part of his Italian states to form a provision for the king of Sardinia.

Against cessions in the West Indies or elsewhere I solemnly protested; nor do I think they care sufficiently about these objects to give any sufficient continental equivalent for them.

M. Talleyrand often repeated that the emperor had enquired whether I had any powers, adding, \* "qu' en politique on ne peut parler la même langue si on n'y est également autorisé;" and as frequently said that they considered that Hanover for the honour of the crown, Malta for the honour of the navy, and the Cape of Good Hope for the honour of British commerce, to be sufficient inducements to induce his majesty's ministers to make peace.

P. S. On Tuesday 17th June, I waited upon M. Talleyrand, and begun the conversation by alluding to the changes he had hinted at the night before, and desired leave to repeat the substance of what had passed at my former interviews

\* "That in politics it is impossible to hold the same language, unless both parties are equally authorized."

with him, and which I had by his desire communicated. He agreed that the statement was accurate.

## No. XV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, June 26, 1806.*

*Downing-street, June 26, 1806.*

My Lord,

I had the honour on Saturday evening to receive your lordship's letters of the 19th, and should sooner have answered them, if I had not been for these three days past totally incapable of attending to business.

I am very happy to learn that M. Talleyrand acknowledges your accounts of former conversations to be accurately correct; but when he does acknowledge this, I have no conception on what ground he can recede from what he said so distinctly to your lordship before, upon the subject of Sicily: "*\*Vous l'avez, nous ne vous demandons rien,*" are words that made the more impression on me, because, those contained in the latter clause of the sentence had been used by his excellency in one of his letters to me. It was on the faith of the *uti possidetis* being to be strictly observed as the basis, and particularly Sicily, on which satisfaction had been given to your lordship, that his majesty was induced to authorize your lordship to hold further conferences with M. Talleyrand. Any tergiversation or cavil therefore on that article, would be a

breach of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To say that Hanover is an exception to the principle is in vain, inasmuch as Hanover is to be yielded expressly in honour of the crown; while, on the other hand, the recognitions proposed with regard to the French empire and its dependents, are not only in honour of the crown of France, but tend substantially to establish the solidity of her power. With regard to the complaint of the want of full powers; to avoid all pretence of cavil on that account, I am commanded by his majesty to transmit to you the instrument accompanying this letter. But your lordship should fairly state to M. Talleyrand, that you are not authorized to make any use of them formally until M. Talleyrand returns to his former ground with respect to Sicily. Your lordship is directed further to acquaint that minister, that, if Russia offers to treat separately, it is only in the way in which we do; that is to say, separately in form, but in substance, in concert with each other. And here you will recollect that this very circumstance was canvassed in your former conversations with M. Talleyrand, when that minister expressed himself clearly that there would be no objection on the part of France to such preconcert.

The result of what I have stated to your lordship is this: 1st, That Sicily is a *sine qua non*; on which subject, if the French minister recedes from his former answer, it is in vain that any further discussion should take place. It is clearly within his first opinion delivered

\* You are in possession of it; we ask nothing from you.

to your lordship; it is clearly within his last description of places which are reciprocally possessed by the two countries, and cannot in all probability be recovered by war.

If, according to the hope conceived by your lordship, this matter should be arranged, you may open your full powers; stating at the same time the determination of this court not to come to any final agreement without the consent of Russia. You will of course again mention the questions of Naples and Istria. If we could attain either of them, it would be well; but if we cannot, your lordship will not state these points as conclusive reasons against agreeing on preliminary articles, provided such articles be considered as provisional and subject to the approbation of Russia.

With regard to the mode of provisional agreement, two suggest themselves to my mind: The one, to send the agreement we shall have entered into, either to Petersburg, or to some authorized agent of the emperor Alexander, at Vienna, Paris, or elsewhere, for his approbation; the other, to copy the precedent adopted by lord Lansdowne and doctor Franklin in the year 1782. At that time a provisional treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the united states of America, with the reservation that the said treaty should not have effect till a peace should be agreed upon between France and England. Of these two modes I should prefer the latter.

It does not appear that there has been any conversation between your lordship and M. Talleyrand on a

point which was mentioned to you, and which appears to be of considerable importance; I mean, the future admission of Russia and Sweden to become parties in a definitive treaty. I do not say that this is a point that must be determined upon previous to your settling the basis proposed; but it is one which should not be lost sight of, but, on the contrary, urged as far as possible.

### No. XVI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 1, 1806.—Received July 4.*

*Paris, July 1, 1806.*

Sir,

I had the honour to receive, on Saturday night, the full powers with which it has graciously pleased his majesty to entrust me, and your dispatch of the 26th of June.

I waited upon M. Talleyrand next morning, and stated to him in the strongest manner the impossibility of my conversing any further upon the general outlines of peace, until he should return to the former ground, and consider Sicily in its true and real situation, namely, a state not conquered by France, or likely to be so, and coming most strictly within the meaning of his own words; that it had been clearly expressed by him, and repeated to you in the first instance, that France did not intend to make Sicily an obstacle to peace. M. Talleyrand answered, that whilst the war continued, and till terms were actually agreed upon, change  
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of circumstances were always to be considered as reasons for a partial change of terms; that Bonaparte had been but lately convinced of the facility of taking Sicily at some future period of the war; but, that, above all, he felt more and more the absolute necessity to make Naples and the neighbouring territories tenable: that had any confidential overture been made three months ago, they would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the manner most satisfactory to Great Britain: the same a month later with regard to Holland. Those subjects were now arranged, and the emperor would consider any retrograde measure as equivalent to abdication. I observed to that minister, that however much good faith may be necessary in every transaction of the world, yet that being more peculiarly so, when a communication is made secretly and verbally, I had a right to be doubly surprised at any change of ground. He defended himself by his former argument about altered circumstances, and said, that when no change of disposition was manifested towards Great Britain herself, as to the restoration of Hanover, or the possession of Malta and the Cape, he thought we might suffer them to possess themselves of a part of the states of their enemy, necessary to the tenure of the rest, which no consideration would now induce France to restore.

M. Talleyrand then asked whether I had any powers, I told him that I must decline answering that question, until he should inform me that there would be no further discussion about Sicily; but that he might easily draw a conclusion that

I had, from the honourable manner in which Great Britain endeavoured to remove every obstacle not in its own nature insurmountable.

The minister then mentioned his being obliged to go to St. Cloud, and asked, what I said, I answered, "That I was ordered to continue no conversation till I should be informed that this new demand, changing entirely the proposed basis, should be urged no more." He appointed next morning for me to receive an answer.

I accordingly returned to the office yesterday morning, when M. Talleyrand repeated the same demand, offering to desist from the recognition by Great Britain of any or all the new states, waving this concession to the honour of the powers created by France, and setting Hanover against Sicily, and pleading that no such recognition being demanded, Hanover would then appear a fair equivalent for that island. He read the draft of an article to this effect: that Great Britain and France should not oppose each other's arms against such of the powers now at war, as should not be named in the preliminary articles.

To this I declined making any answer, repeating my orders not to converse further till he should abandon this proposition, and return to the former basis. I added that, unless he did so, I could expect nothing but your order to return to England.

M. Talleyrand wished to revert to the old topic, on which I repeated to him that it was impossible for me to converse on any part of the subject, till he should entirely relinquish every mode of seeking for the possession of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand

M. Talleyrand desired me to inform you, that on the 29th of June the French troops were to take possession of Cattaro.

## No. XVII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 1, 1806.—Received July 4.*

*Paris, July 1, 1806.—Midnight.*

Sir,

After closing the dispatch I had the honour to address to you this morning, I went for the passport M. Talleyrand had promised to have prepared for the messenger's return.

Instead of giving me the passport he made many excuses for its having escaped his memory, requesting me to wait till he should come back from St. Cloud.

When I returned, M. Talleyrand proposed to me to offer the Hans Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples, and that the British troops should occupy them the same day they retake possession of Hanover. On a little further conversation, I had little doubt that were England to provide in any other manner for his Sicilian majesty, the King might add the Hans Towns and their territories, in full sovereignty to his German dominions.

The proposition about the Hans Towns being entirely new, I promised to refer it without any comment to you for his majesty's consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) YARMOUTH.

## No. XVIII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 5, 1806.*

*Downing-street, July 5, 1806.*

My Lord,

Your lordship's dispatches of the 1st instant, were received here early yesterday morning, and I lose no time in apprizing you of his majesty's commands upon the present state of the discussion with the French government.

The abandonment of Sicily is a point on which it is impossible for his majesty to concede. Your lordship has already stated unanswerably to M. Talleyrand, that this demand is inconsistent with his express declarations, and with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests. It is, besides, a proposal in itself quite inadmissible. The king's troops occupy Sicily for its defence, but with no right to cede it to France. It is not easy to contend, that the possession of Sicily can be necessary to that of Naples; nor, if it were so, could that be assigned as a reason for his majesty's consenting to abandon that island, which he may justly hope his naval and military forces will be able to defend against all attacks. The Hans Towns could not, in the present circumstances, answer the purpose of an equivalent for Sicily, even if there were not other obvious objections to such a proposal. Nor would it be possible that any solid basis for the public tranquillity of Europe could be established

established on the idea thrown out to you by M. Talleyrand, of leaving Great Britain and France at liberty to prosecute the war against the allies of each other; a state of things in which their respective fleets and armies would in fact be as much opposed to each other, as they are now, and the peace between them would be merely nominal.

It is, therefore, to be hoped, that the French government will revert to its original proposals with which your lordship was charged by M. Talleyrand. To that basis of negotiation it must be your lordship's endeavour to recal him; and if, unfortunately, you should find this to be impracticable, nothing can remain but that you should state, in perfectly civil, but decided terms, that you are not at liberty to treat on any other ground, and must therefore desire your passports to return to England.

I have stated in my last letters the different ideas that had occurred here for combining our negotiation with that of Russia; providing, at the same time, for the safety of Sweden and Portugal.

Until we are informed what other proposal is made in this respect by M. Talleyrand, I can only desire that your lordship will keep this subject in view, so as not to admit of any thing inconsistent with the principle of good faith to which his majesty must in substance adhere; but in such form as may best facilitate the great work of peace.

I am, &c.

No. XIX.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the*

*Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 9, 1806.—Received July 12.*

*Paris, July 9, 1806.*

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 5th instant early yesterday morning, and as soon as possible after waited upon M. Talleyrand to communicate to him that the offer made by France was by no means admissible, and that I had no authority to listen to any proposals whatsoever for the restoration of peace till he should desist from all pretensions to the island of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand not being willing to make any such declaration, I asked him to give me a passport to return to London: he desired me to wait one day, till he should again have taken the emperor's orders.

I accordingly returned this morning, when he desired me to propose Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa as an indemnity for the loss of Sicily to his Sicilian majesty; to this I answered, that as a messenger was returning I should communicate this proposition, but that it by no means authorized me to expect an answer, and therefore I must beg leave to return to England.

Had M. d'Oubril not been here I should immediately have insisted on passports.

I must now inform you that on Monday, M. Talleyrand took me aside and told me that the telegraph announced the landing of Basilico, expressing at the same time a wish that the dispatches he would bring might lead to peace. I answered that I could expect no such result whilst

whilst France demanded Sicily ; and added, that if I might believe public report, the emperor, so far from shewing any pacific disposition, every day threw new obstacles in the way.

I then mentioned the changes in Germany. M. Talleyrand said that they were determined upon but *should not* be published if peace took place. He has since repeated this to M. d'Oubril and myself, saying if peace was made, Germany should remain in its present state.

M. d'Oubril writes both to you and to the comte de Strogonoff ; his letters will probably contain more than mine, as I conversed very little with M. Talleyrand. I felt on very delicate ground. Had I entered sufficiently into the question of indemnities for the king of Sicily, to obtain a precise idea to what extent they could be carried, monsieur de Talleyrand might have formed an opinion that I had some instruction, and was prepared to abandon Sicily whenever I was assured of sufficient compensation.

#### No. XX.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 18, 1806.*

*Downing-street, July 18, 1806.*

My Lord,

Your lordship's last dispatches have been received, and considered with all the attention which their importance naturally demanded.

It is unnecessary for me to recal to your lordship's recollection that

the demand of Sicily, in whatever shape it may be brought forward by France, is in express contradiction to the offers originally made to your lordship by M. Talleyrand. But it is material that this topic should never be lost sight of in the course of these discussions ; and that your lordship should observe to M. Talleyrand that whatever difficulty now obstructs the conclusion of the negociation, arises solely from the unexpected departure from the basis originally established.

An exchange is now offered for Sicily, and it is in that view, and not in that of an absolute and uncompensated cession, that the question is to be considered. In this shape of the business it is obvious that the value of that exchange must be to be judged of, not only by this country and by Russia, but also by his Sicilian majesty. As the king, whose troops were admitted into Sicily for its defence and protection, naturally feels insuperable objections to any proposal for abandoning that island, unless with the free and full consent of its sovereign, and in consequence of such an arrangement as should provide for his interests by a compensation really satisfactory both in point of value and of security.

The plan of creating for him a new kingdom, to consist of Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania, does not appear likely to answer this description. Albania, which forms so large a part of this proposed sovereignty, is now a province of the Turkish empire ; the dismemberment of which it is a principal object of the policy both of Great Britain and Russia to prevent. That province has indeed been frequently



quently involved in the same sort of confusion which prevails in many other parts of that empire. But this circumstance only increases the difficulty of giving any consistence to a state to be formed out of such materials. It does not lessen the other objections to such a plan.

There are in like manner many and strong objections to that part of the proposal which respects Ragusa, an independent state whose territory has never been ceded to France by any treaty, and of which she can consequently have no right to dispose, her occupation of it being indeed of very recent date.

But even with Albania and Ragusa, and much more without them, his majesty sees no hope that such a power could be formed in that quarter as would, either in extent of territory or in amount of revenue, afford the means of opposing any barrier for Austria, or Turkey, or even of maintaining its own independence.

What advantage then could be gained to the allies by creating a nominal kingdom, without any sufficient power either to reduce the countries of which it would be composed under any uniform system of government, or to defend itself against the first attack which may be made upon it from without.

If there could, with the consent of his Sicilian majesty, be any question of an exchange for Sicily, by the creation of a new state in that quarter, it is obvious that this could no otherwise be done than by annexing to Dalmatia not only the whole of Istria, but also a very large proportion, if not the whole of the Venetian states, including, if possible,

the city of Venice itself. In some such shape as this it is possible that the proposition might be rendered not wholly unacceptable to his Sicilian majesty. And although the interests of this country separately would be far less consulted by such a plan than by the continued occupation of Sicily, yet the sense which the Russian minister at Paris appears to entertain of the advantage which might result from it to Austria and to Russia from the recovery of Dalmatia, if it were well combined with future arrangements of defence, might induce his majesty to accede to proposals of this description; on the supposition above-mentioned of a *bona fide* consent on the part of his Sicilian majesty.

There appears, however, so little probability of inducing France so to extend her offer, that any further discussion of it might scarcely have been worth pursuing, had not M. d'Oubril so strongly expressed his wish, that this court might rather seek to temporize than abruptly to break off a negotiation now brought to a state which affords so little promise of success. It is only in compliance with that desire that his majesty has been pleased to direct your lordship to continue the conferences with M. Talleyrand, so as to ascertain whether any more practical shape can be given to the proposal of an exchange for Sicily. If this cannot be done, your lordship's attention will then, of course, be directed to the object of recalling the French government to the basis on which the negotiation was originally placed by themselves, and on which his majesty is still ready to conclude it.

M. d'Oubril has stated to count Strogonoff

Strogonoff the proposals which have been made to him for the conclusion of a separate peace, and the inducements which, he thinks, might lead his majesty to judge such an arrangement useful to the general interests of Europe. His majesty has undoubtedly been at all times ready to make great sacrifices for those interests; but very little expectation is entertained here, that Russia could, in such course, obtain any effectual security for them, at a time when so much new danger is to be apprehended, and in so many quarters, from the projects of France with respect to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, the Porte, Spain, and Portugal.

In the present circumstances of Europe, the last hope of averting these dangers is to be found in the union of the only two powers on whom France has yet made no impression, Great Britain and Russia.

And although the mutual good dispositions and confidence of those two powers should in fact remain, (as his majesty trusts they would) unimpaired by the difference of the situation in which a separate peace would place them, yet it is obvious that the enemy would build the most extensive hopes on that foundation, and would be more encouraged by that, than by any other circumstance that could be stated, to proceed in the execution of the plans already announced to your lordship and to M. d'Oubril.

His majesty, therefore, directs

that you should express to that minister how material it is in every case, that the two courts should continue to combine their measures both of peace and war, and that no expectation should be held out to the enemy of success in any endeavour to conclude a separate peace with either of the allies; a line to which, as your lordship will have informed M. d'Oubril, his majesty has on his part, strictly adhered.

### No. XXI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 19, 1806.—Received July 22.*

*Paris, July 19, 1806.*

Sir,

On the 10th general Clarke was named plenipotentiary to treat with monsieur d'Oubril: they have since had daily conferences of many hours; yesterday of fourteen. I hear every where that peace will be signed to-morrow between Russia and France. On the 17th M. d'Oubril admitted to me that he had produced his powers, and that if conditions, such as he should judge necessary to ensure the repose of the continent could be obtained, he should sign a truce of ten months; and this night, on pressing him, and remonstrating both upon his conduct, and the impropriety of disguising his intention, I drew from him these words, which I wrote down in his presence. “\**Que*

\* “That being aware of the immediate danger of Austria, if it was in his power to save it, he should think it his duty to do so, even by a separate peace.”

*voyant le danger immédiat de l'Autriche s'il pouvoit la sauver il croiroit de son devoir de la faire, même par une paix particulière.*" All he now appears to claim is the return of troops from Germany; and if he is willing to make peace on receiving an assurance that orders to that effect should be sent, nobody can doubt but that it will be signed, and probably not a battalion make a retrograde movement of fifty miles.

M. Talleyrand says, that M. d'Oubril is willing to abandon Sicily and Dalmatia, and even to engage to solicit the junction of the former to Naples, &c.

I have used every argument to dissuade M. d'Oubril from so unadvised and unwise a measure, I hope, more than I believe, with success. Indeed, I feared from the first hour I met him, that he was come determined to make a peace, good or bad, with or without Great Britain. I may, perhaps, gain a day, which may be a great deal, if that day should produce dispatches from M. de Strogonoff.

On the 17th at night, the new arrangements for Germany were finally determined upon. The princes and the ministers who signed were scarce allowed time to read the deed.

There is a considerable army forming at Bayonne: thirty thousand men are there already. This army is ostensibly destined against Portugal, but will take Spain likewise. M. Herman, one of the secretaries of the foreign office, set off for Lisbon with a mission on the 13th.

All the officers of the army now in Germany, received yesterday or-

ders to join their regiments instantly. The court say, this is to have troops to occupy the states seized by the new confederacy. The public ascribe this measure to a desire to frighten the emperor of Germany; and myself, to a wish to hurry M. d'Oubril, who has shewn so much anxiety for the evacuation of Germany.

M. d'Oubril and M. Talleyrand have, as I have learnt, fixed upon Majorca, Iviça, and Minorca, for his Sicilian majesty, if they can prevail upon us to evacuate Sicily.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.  
YARMOUTH.

No. XXII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 20, 1806.— Received July 24.*

*Paris, July 20, 1806, 11 at night.*

Sir,

At nine this morning, having had the honour to receive your letters by Mr. Longuinoff, and written a few lines to you in addition to my dispatches of last night, I went to M. d'Oubril, and as I am happy since to find, anticipated the contents of your dispatch of the 18th instant.

I used every argument and means to obtain delay; engaged to break off if he did: and, finally, authorized him to hold out hopes that I would listen to propositions of indemnity in lieu of Sicily for his Sicilian majesty, if proposed by him and accompanied by a joint negotiation.

I begged he would do nothing till after Basilico should have arrived, as I had learned by the telegraph, that he had landed last night.

I did not find him disposed to listen to me; and, not being willing to be too communicative towards him at that moment, I went away.

At twelve I waited upon M. Talleyrand: he was not to be seen.

At four I heard from good authority that peace was signed. At six Basilico arrived. I then went to M. d'Oubril. He was said not to be at home; but, seeing his carriage, I forced my way. He admitted the fact, *peace is signed*; the conditions, the evacuation *instantly* of Germany by the French troops; the integrity, &c. of the Ottoman empire; no attempt to be made upon Swedish Pomerania; and, by a secret article, Russia promises to obtain his Sicilian majesty's consent to an exchange of Sicily for Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça: Russia to use her good offices to restore peace between France and England.

I have not seen the treaty, but I believe it contains nothing else material.

M. d'Oubril sends a copy to count Strogonoff, and goes himself to St. Petersburg. I had no patience to listen to M. d'Oubril's defence of his conduct, so I did not claim his good offices. I must have asked him officially to stay, which I did not choose to do.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.  
YARMOUTH.

## No. XXIII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the*

*Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 21, 1806.—Received July 24.*

*Paris, July 21, 1806.*

I saw M. Talleyrand to-day. I can perceive that the terms of France are increased, but still not so much as the sudden defection of Russia had led me to apprehend. Hanover, Malta, the Cape, and India, remain pure and un sullied; and I took an opportunity in conversation to protest, that come what might, these were points I never would suffer to be mentioned, but as points agreed upon.

M. Talleyrand demanded my powers. I did not think myself authorized, in the present circumstances, to withhold them.

General Clarke is named to treat with me.

## No. XXIV.

*Full Powers given to the Earl of Yarmouth, which were communicated to M. Talleyrand on the 21st of July, 1806, and exchanged with General Clark, the French Plenipotentiary, on the 23d.*

## No. XXV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 24, 1806.—Received July 28.*

*Paris, July 24, 1806.*

Sir,

I had the honour to send, by M. de Longuinoff, dispatches, acquainting you, for his majesty's information,

tion, of the peace signed between the Russian and French plenipotentiaries, and with as accurate a statement of the terms as I was able to obtain. M, d'Oubril himself set out for Petersburg early on the morning of the 22d.

On the 22d I received the official notification of the appointment of general Clarke to treat on the part of France, (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, marked A.) preceded by a private communication from M. Talleyrand, saying, that the Russian peace being signed, and the season of the year favourable to the accomplishment of the ulterior views of France, no arrangement, which might remove for some weeks, or even months, a definitive treaty, could now take place.

I answered the official note (marked A.) with one, a copy of which I inclose (marked B.)

In the evening general Clarke proposed a conference for the following morning, at which we should mutually exchange our full powers. We accordingly did so, and I have the honour to inclose (marked C.) a copy of those of general Clarke.

This conference began by an historical recapitulation of what had previously passed, general Clarke saying, he had not yet received his final instructions on all the different points in discussion; it was therefore agreed to adjourn the conference to this day, when each should come prepared with a memorandum of the intentions of his government, founded on what had already passed; general Clarke at the same time declaring, that a separate peace with Russia was to be considered equal, or superior, in

the present circumstances of the world, to any great success in war, and consequently as entitling France to terms much more advantageous than those to which she would have subscribed some days ago. This was accompanied by some animadversions on the conduct of Russia, to which I could only answer, that I felt it my duty to abstain from any remark, and should, therefore, be entirely silent upon that subject: but that I could assure him, that if any intention existed of making any change in the great points upon which we had had such positive, though certainly not official, assurances, namely, his majesty's German dominions, Malta, and the Cape, I must consider the negotiation as stopped *in limine*, and that there would remain only for me to return to England, and acquaint the king, that no peace, consistent with his majesty's honour, or that of the country, could be made. General Clarke reverted to his want of full instructions, and promised to meet me, properly prepared, the next day.

At three o'clock this day I again met general Clarke, when I read a paper, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose (marked D.) containing the abstract of what I had always stated to be the basis and terms on which his majesty could alone consent to treat. I did not, however, deliver it to him, considering it merely as the heads of past conversations.

General Clarke then said, that as it was impossible I could be prepared with the assent of his majesty to the arrangement proposed by Russia for his Sicilian majesty, on which the terms might much de-

pend, I must consider the communication he made, as not strictly official in point of form, but as depending only on that circumstance to make it so.

General Clarke proceeded to state, that in the situation France was in at this moment, the emperor would feel authorized to withhold some of the great points; but that having repeatedly said the contrary, though not in an official manner, he would abide by it.

General Clarke first conversed about his majesty's German dominions. On this subject, by secret articles, any thing his majesty thinks right may be stipulated: by the public article, the promise not to object to some acquisition of territory to be made by Prussia. I stopped general Clarke here to say, that his majesty never could consent to the king of Prussia's obtaining the Hanse Towns. General Clarke said, that it was Fulda, Hoya, and some other trifling principalities, over which it was proposed to extend the sovereignty of his Prussian majesty, but that the independence and present state of the Hanse Towns should not be meddled with.

On the subject of Malta—Malta, Gozo, and Comino, in full sovereignty to his majesty, with a clause in the article declaratory of the dissolution of the order, and the two powers, “\* n'en connoissent plus l'existence.” Some pensions for the chevaliers and others, having “† des droits reels dans

l'isle.”—This not to extend to foreign commanderies of the order or to any claim not local.

The Cape in equal full sovereignty: as a condition it is desired, “‡ qu'il y soit établi un port franc” to all nations: either the port itself declared so, or a part appropriated to that purpose.

On the subject of the maintenance of the integrity of the territories and possessions of the Sublime Porte, general Clarke proposed an article, a copy of which I have the honour to send (marked E.) I told him the usual full clause would be sufficient: he persisted that I should send it for his majesty's consideration.

To the usual full clause of the integrity of the territories and possession of his most faithful majesty, general Clarke weighed upon a proposed addition of the word “§ partout,” and when asked for explanation, said, he thought his Britannic majesty might occupy some of his most faithful majesty's foreign possessions.

The integrity of his Swedish majesty's dominions in the usual manner.

Having dismissed these points, general Clarke stated the demands of France:

Pondicherry,

St. Lucie,

Tobago,

Surinam,

Goree,

Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo,

The recognition in the usual

\* No longer recognize the existence of it.

† Real rights in the island.

‡ That there should be established there a free port.

§ In every part of the world.

words, “\*est reconnu,” of the different branches of the reigning family; of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings; of the new dukes of Cleves, Baden, and Darmstadt.

In discussing for many hours these demands, I never for an instant admitted the possibility of his majesty consenting to the cessions required. I fought, however, to ascertain to what extent, and in what manner, they could be modified.

The Inclosures (A. B.) concern the appointment of general Clarke.

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of general Clarke's Full Powers, in French.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

*Extract from a Paper read to General Clarke by the Earl of Yarmouth.*

(Translation.)

The situation in which the two belligerent powers are now placed, by the course of the events of the war, leaving few points of immediate contact between them, or on which they may not, according to all appearance, come now to an understanding, his Britannic majesty, animated no less than the emperor of the French, with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, has authorized the undersigned (furnished with the full powers of his majesty) to discuss the basis, and to give full effect to this reciprocal desire.

The immense acquisitions made by France since the commencement of hostilities, and the direct and immediate influence which she has obtained, having entirely changed the political system of Europe, his Britannic majesty finds himself obliged to seek in the conquests he has made, and in the possession of Malta, a just and reasonable counterpoise. His majesty would consequently treat generally on the basis of the *uti possidetis*.

It is at the same time understood, that the German possessions of his Britannic majesty, of which he was deprived from motives foreign to the war between the two powers, shall be restored to him entire.

It is likewise understood, that the peace shall secure the integrity of the territories and possessions of the Sublime Porte, of his most faithful majesty, of his majesty the king of Sweden, and the present state of Switzerland.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)

*Copy of an Article proposed by General Clarke to the Earl of Yarmouth, for the Maintainance of the Integrity of the Ottoman Empire.*

(Translation.)

The two contracting powers reciprocally guarantee the entire and absolute integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire. They will mutually oppose the pretensions of any power to any thing contrary to the usages, the rights of sovereignty, and the possessions of the Sublime Porte.

\* Is recognised.

No. XXVI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 26, 1806.*

*Downing-street, July 26, 1806.*

My Lord,

Your lordship's dispatches conveying the mortifying intelligence of the signature of a separate treaty between Russia and France, were received here yesterday; and his majesty's ministers have since had the opportunity of being acquainted with the precise terms of that treaty, which it appears had not in all respects been accurately represented to your lordship.

The king was most particularly struck with the great difference which was perceived between the actual arrangement made respecting Sicily, and that which had been described to your lordship.

In writing to your lordship, it is not necessary to dwell on the humiliating conditions to which M. d'Oubril has thought proper to bind his sovereign. Of that minister's misconduct your lordship appears fully sensible; and I doubt not you exerted yourself to the utmost to prevent it. When this was found impracticable, your lordship was naturally placed in circumstances of considerable difficulty, and for which every allowance is to be made. But it is necessary for me to say, frankly, that it would on the whole have been more satisfactory to the king's servants, if your lordship had waited to know the impression which this new event might create here

before you had produced your full powers.

It was originally declared by your lordship to M. Talleyrand, that your full powers were not to be produced till the French government should have reverted to the basis of negociation originally proposed by themselves; that of the *uti possidetis* universally, with the single exception of Hanover. By subsequent instructions, your lordship had indeed been acquainted that, in compliance with the wish so strongly expressed by the Russian negociator at Paris, his majesty would not refuse to enter into the consideration of such proposals as might be made to him for a fair equivalent to be given to his Sicilian majesty in lieu of Sicily, with the full and free consent of that monarch. The proposal of such an equivalent, and its acceptance by his majesty's government, would have replaced the negociation on its original footing, that of a *uti possidetis*, to be departed from only by mutual consent, in those cases where any exchange for a reasonable equivalent might meet the ideas of both parties; and the case for the production of your lordship's full powers would thus have arisen clearly and unequivocally. Even as the matter now stands, it does not certainly preclude discussion. But this might have been continued unofficially. And it is apprehended that, by producing your powers on the very day after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression may have been created very unfavourable to the further progress of the negociation.

In the situation to which the business is now brought, his majesty



jesty thinks it necessary to lose no time in taking every proper step for replacing the discussions between the two countries on their original footing.

The first proposals made by France were, that a plenipotentiary should be sent from hence with full powers to treat, and to conclude a separate peace with France and her allies. This was declined here, not from any unwillingness to enter into discussions for peace on just and honourable terms, an object which his majesty has uniformly expressed himself desirous of accomplishing, but because the king was bound by engagements to Russia, which precluded him from treating otherwise than in concert with that power. Subsequently to this, a proposal was conveyed through your lordship for the conclusion of peace on the basis so often referred to; and the intermediate communications received from Russia, enabled his majesty, consistently with good faith, to entertain those proposals, and to express his disposition to accede to them, provided that, in the mode of treating and concluding, the most intimate concert should still be maintained with Russia.

The extraordinary step taken by M. d'Oubril has now removed all necessity of further reserve on this point.

His majesty, in this state of things, thinks it proper to combine together the two proposals which he has at different periods received from France; and, as the difficulty which before prevented the sending from this country a public minister, openly accredited, to treat for peace, now no longer subsists, and as an accepta-

ble basis of negotiation has been proposed to him by the enemy, his majesty directs, that your lordship should apply to M. Talleyrand for passports for a public minister so authorized and accredited, to whom, it is his majesty's gracious intention to join your lordship, in full powers to be granted by his majesty.

The great advantages which the king's service will derive from the employment of a person fully instructed as to the sentiments of his majesty's government on all the various points of discussion that may arise, cannot fail to strike your lordship in the same light in which they are seen here; and the king's servants entertain no doubt of your lordship's zealous and hearty co-operation in the execution of the joint instructions which such a person will bring with him. I have only, therefore, to add, that your lordship may assure M. Talleyrand, that as soon as the necessary passports are received, there shall not be an hour's delay in his setting out; and that his majesty's government continues ardently to wish for the conclusion of peace, provided it can be accomplished on the same grounds of national honour, which have never been lost sight of here.

No. XXVII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox, to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 28, 1806.*

*Downing-street, July 28, 1806.*

My Lord,  
Your lordship's dispatch of the  
\* H h 4

24th instant was received here this morning, and, as it is probable that, in the course of this day, or to-morrow at farthest, your lordship will receive mine of the 26th instant, I do not think it necessary to do more at present, than to request that your lordship will assure M. Talleyrand, that, immediately on the receipt of the passports which you have been instructed to demand, the earl of Lauderdale, who has been humbly recommended to his majesty for this important trust, will be prepared to set out; and that he will therefore of course be with your lordship in a very few days from this date. I need hardly to observe to your lordship, that it is of the utmost importance, that in the interim, your lordship should avoid taking any step, or even holding any language, which may tend in the smallest degree to commit the opinion of his majesty's government on any part of the matters now depending.

No. XXVIII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 30, 1806.—Received Aug. 1.*

*Paris, July 30, 1806.*

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 26th instant late at night on the 28th, and next morning lost no time in asking for blank passports for a person fully instructed with the sentiments of his majesty's government, whom

it was their intention to join with me in the important commission of treating for peace. M. Talleyrand told me he must take the emperor's orders. I accordingly returned this day, when that minister informed me, that the emperor could consider this demand in no other light but that of unnecessary delay, because his majesty's secretary of state was actually in possession of a blank passport, which would enable any person or persons to come to Paris without the loss of time occasioned by this demand, but that "*\* pour surcroit de facilités*" there could be no difficulty about giving more. I answered that I had no knowledge of this circumstance. M. Talleyrand said that it was certain, because he had sent two entirely in blank, and that one only had been used, namely, that with which I returned.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to what I have already said in my former dispatches, relative to the signature of the Russian treaty; any inaccuracy in the statement of its contents, such as I was enabled to transmit them, may easily be accounted for by the circumstance of my not having seen the treaty itself, and by the unwillingness M. d'Oubril naturally felt to open himself to me on that subject; he informed me, at the time, that he should send a copy to M. de Strogonoff, who would communicate it to his majesty's ministers.

It is with pain, sir, proportioned to my zeal for his majesty's service, and in the fair and honest conviction of my having done no-

\* For still greater facility.

thing which the peculiar and trying circumstances of the moment did not require from me, that I have learnt by the same dispatch the expression of a wish that I had delayed the production of my full powers till I could know the impression which this event of the Russian treaty might produce in his majesty's councils, and the apprehension that, by the producing them, so soon after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression might be created unfavourable to the further progress of the negotiation.

If the question regarded only my own personal feelings, I should not think myself at liberty to allot to it so large a portion of a public dispatch; but it may not, I conceive, be unuseful, with a view to the conduct of the negotiation, that you should be apprized of some details which I have hitherto omitted dwelling upon, partly from the urgency of more important subjects, and partly from my desire not to trespass upon your attention to so great an extent. I trust, sir, that his majesty will see in these details wherewithal to justify my conduct in the difficult situation in which I was placed.

The fate of Holland and Naples was settled before I was honoured with his majesty's confidence. My conversation here with M. Talleyrand soon convinced me that these were only preludes to still greater changes in the system of Europe. I saw at the same time a great desire of negotiation, before the final execution of some of the emperor's schemes should have removed any hope of its being attended with success.

This opinion, not preconceived

or lightly taken up, but gradually formed from a variety of circumstances, was confirmed by the nature of the offers held out, unofficially indeed, but in such clear and unequivocal terms, that it was impossible to entertain any doubt of the intention of this government to adhere to them.

The point which of all others was the most essential, and that on which satisfaction was due to the national honour, and to that of his majesty, Hanover, would, I was assured, be given up without restriction; for I did not then know we should be asked to allow the king of Prussia to obtain the sovereignty of some of the lesser principalities.

I received similar assurances about Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope; nor have I any reason to doubt but that, before Russia had made her peace separately, these terms might have been obtained, and the treaty have had solely for its basis the *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception in our favour of Hanover restored, and latterly, indeed, of some arrangements tolerable to all parties in exchange for Sicily.

M. Talleyrand held the same language to me with respect to Russia, which he had before held with regard to the affairs of Germany. "You have now been here a month; we have been willing to converse with you, to give you an insight into our views, and to communicate them to the British government. We told you, that if you had the powers, and would enter into negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement of Germany. A reasonable time was left for you to consult your government;

vernment: we had no answer. The arrangement was signed, \* *et nous n'en reviendrons jamais*. We now ask you whether you will treat before Russia has signed, which will not pass two days."

It cannot be necessary to state my answer to such a proposition. I will only add, that the treaty with Russia was signed within the time mentioned, and then commenced the difficulty of my situation.

"Switzerland, I was told by the same authority, is on the eve of undergoing a great change. This cannot be averted but by a peace with England; but still less can we alter for any other consideration our intention of invading Portugal. The army destined for that purpose is already assembling at Bayonne. This is for the determination of Great Britain."

But I confess the point of all others the most decisive in inducing me to produce my full powers, was the language held respecting Prussia.

"Prussia demands from us a declaration respecting Hanover; we cannot consent wantonly to lose the only ally France has had since the Revolution; the declaration once made \* *Nous n'en pouvons nous retracter*. Would you have us break entirely with Prussia when we cannot even say that Great Britain will negotiate with us? Are you here only with orders to delay our measures till the season of the year makes exertion impossible, or can you treat? If so, is not the assurance we give you that Hanover, Malta, and the Cape, shall not be contested, sufficient to induce you

to do so? Must we lay before the British government our exact terms, before they will even avow negotiation with so great a power as that of France? or shall we execute our other projects, as we did those in Holland and Naples?"

Undoubtedly, sir, conversations of this sort, confirmed even as they were by the events passing under my eyes, could never have induced me to commit his majesty's confidential servants upon any point upon which I had not received their instructions, and which left no time to receive them; but I did not think myself at liberty to shift from myself the responsibility thus thrown upon me, at the risk of seeing Portugal and Switzerland share the same fate which Germany has just experienced, and Hanover confirmed to Prussia, until such time as his majesty's arms should recover the possession of it.

The mode of proceeding of this government left me no alternative. Either to avow negotiation, or shut up every opening to it was my only option.

I felt that I pledged his majesty to nothing except the fact of negotiation, already privately known to every court in Europe.

I carefully forbore giving any written paper, or admitting even the possibility of any other basis than that of *uti possidetis*.

I have ascertained the real extent of the pretensions of France; and I did consider myself to have prevented a great evil at a small expence, by having given time to yourself and his majesty's other confidential servants, to provide, by the further instructions you

\* And we will never recede from it.

† We cannot retract.

might judge proper, for the interests of the powers—thus, for the moment at least, saved from the grasp of France.

I persuade myself that the motives here detailed, upon which I acted at the moment, will place in a stronger light the difficulties of my position, and will, on further consideration, obtain his majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct which I thought myself obliged to hold in consequence.

His majesty's ministers would have relieved me from much painful responsibility if they had commanded me to proceed no further, and wait the arrival of the person alluded to, and for whom I have the honour to enclose the necessary passport which I have this moment received.

Mr. Goddard, whom a long residence in France, independent of his abilities and correct information on what has passed here, renders entirely able to give his majesty's ministers every explanation they may wish for, is so good as to take this dispatch with him to England, where he is returning at the end of his long captivity in this country.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.  
YARMOUTH.

No. XXIX.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, August 2d, 1806.*

*Downing-street, August 2, 1806.*

My Lord,

Mr. Goddard arrived here yes-

terday evening with your lordship's dispatch of the 13th July.

His majesty's servants always did justice to the motives which induced your lordship to produce your full powers, though the step is one of which it is not possible for them to express approbation, thinking it, as they do, likely to have given so much more countenance than was desirable to the new and increasing demands of France.

The full powers which lord Lauderdale carries with him, are drawn jointly in his name and your lordship's. In the present disposition of the French government, there is, I fear, little probability, that peace can be concluded on such terms as are alone admissible. The trial should, however, be made with frankness and good faith; and it is with this view, that his majesty has been pleased to direct that the earl of Lauderdale should proceed to Paris, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of the negociation. His instructions your lordship will consider as equally addressed to yourself, and as the rule of your conduct in any conferences which, in conjunction with him, you may have with monsieur Talleyrand, or general Clarke; and, in any point of doubt that may occur, it is his majesty's pleasure that your lordship should be guided by lord Lauderdale's opinion, formed, as it will be, on the fullest knowledge of the sentiments and views of his majesty's government.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.  
No.

No. XXX.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 3d, 1806.*

*Downing-street, Aug. 3, 1806.*

My Lord,

I was unwilling to detain lord Lauderdale for the purpose of replying particularly to the unfounded allegations of M. Talleyrand, which you have recapitulated in your dispatch of the 30th ult. But some points are there mentioned, which cannot be left without an answer, such, indeed, as I trust, your lordship has already given to them.

It is true, as stated by that minister, that when the demand was made for lord Lauderdale's passport, there still remained here a blank passport, one of the two sent here some time before your lordship's arrival, when it had been proposed to us to treat separately from Russia. That proposal having fallen to the ground, the circumstance of our being still in possession of the passport was overlooked; but even if it had occurred, some doubt would probably have arisen, how far it might be proper, in so different a state of things, to make use of it for lord Lauderdale, without some previous communication of such an intention. This whole matter is, however, very immaterial. The principal point to which I feel it necessary to advert is that part of M.

Talleyrand's language which imputes to this country needless delays in the negociation, and attributes to that cause the unjustifiable measures pursued by France in Germany and elsewhere.

In the instructions given to lord Lauderdale, the repeated tergiversations of France, during the negociation, are detailed. It is from thence alone, that delay has arisen.

Your lordship truly states, that the offers made through yourself were so clearly and unequivocally expressed, that the intention of the French government could not be doubted. But they were no sooner made than departed from. In the first conference after your lordship's return to France, Sicily was demanded. In the former offers it had been distinctly disclaimed, " \* Vous l'avez—nous ne vous la demandons pas. Si nous la possédions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés." This demand, therefore, could not have been foreseen, being in contradiction to their own assurances; and your lordship could only take it *ad referendum*. This produced a delay attributable solely to France. Our answer was immediate and distinct. The new demand was declared to be a breach of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To obviate a cavil on the subject of full powers, they were sent to you; but with an express injunction not to use them, nor even to produce them formally, till the French government should return to its former ground respecting Sicily. Your

\* You are in possession of it. We do not demand it of you. If we possessed it, the difficulties might be much increased.

lordship

lordship stated this to M. Talleyrand, and you received in return, a proposal, of giving to his majesty, or to the king of Naples, the Hanse towns in lieu of Sicily. This being again a proposition entirely new, could only be referred for his majesty's consideration. On the very next day after it arrived, it was decidedly rejected here; and, so little were we disposed to delay, that the same dispatch conveyed to you his majesty's orders, if the demand of Sicily should still be persisted in, to desire your passports, and to return England.

Of this order your lordship informed M. Talleyrand, and its execution was delayed only by a fresh proposal of exchanges brought forward by France, and supported by the Russian minister, as affording the means by which his majesty might prevent, among other things, the changes meditated in Germany. M. Talleyrand, it appears, now represents this communication in the following terms: "We told you, that *if you had powers, and would enter into negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement in Germany.*" M. Talleyrand's real communication is to be found in your lordship's dispatch of the 9th July, in which he says, that those changes "*were determined upon, but should not be published if peace took place.*"

That dispatch was received here on the 12th; and on the 17th, in direct violation of these assurances, in which ever form they were conveyed, the German treaties were both signed and published.

They must of course have been prepared at least one day before. What M. Talleyrand therefore

calls a reasonable time allowed to your lordship to consult your government, was, at the most, twenty-four hours, even supposing the utmost possible expedition to be made by the messengers to and from England, and no accident or delay to occur by land or sea. These dates will undoubtedly not have escaped your lordship's attention, and will have enabled you to refute, in the most decisive manner, the unfounded pretences by which the French government seeks to attribute to delays on our part, the results of its own injustice, and repeated breach of promise.

The whole of our intercourse with France, bears indeed so different a character from that of delay, and the whole of the king's conduct in this, as in every other instance, is marked by so many striking proofs, of his desire to avert, even by the greatest sacrifices, such calamities as he is now accused of producing, that your lordship may, perhaps, have felt it less necessary to enter into a particular refutation of such a charge.

But after the experience which, in this negotiation, we have had of the conduct of the French government, it is of the highest consequence not to suffer such imputations to pass unnoticed, and, by disregard, to acquire strength and currency.

Of the subsequent proceedings, no explanation can be necessary.

It had not been decided here, that in the event of the signature of the Russian treaty, the negotiation on the part of this country should be pursued on any other basis but that of the strict *uti possidetis*, with the exception of Hanover.—The resolution of admitting  
even

even the possibility of equivalent for Sicily, had been adopted only in consequence of M. d'Oubril's desire, and in order to maintain, if it had been possible, the union of council and measures between Great Britain and Russia.

But by the production of your lordship's full powers, his majesty was in some sort pledged to continue the negociation. It was then judged proper, that a fresh negociator should be added to your lordship, and not an instant has been lost in giving effect to that determination; nor has any considerable delay occurred on this side the water, except in the single point respecting the passport, which I explained in the outset of this dispatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. XXXI.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 6, 1806.—Received August 13.*

*Paris, 6th Aug. 1806.—9 o'clock, A. M.*

Sir,

The desire expressed by commodore Owen, in the uncertain state of the weather, to get off the coast of France as soon as possible, prevented me from detaining the boat, for the purpose of announcing to you my arrival at Calais.

After a very quick passage in his majesty's frigate the Clyde, I was put on shore on Sunday morning the 3d, about eleven o'clock. At Calais I received every mark of attention and civility from the magistrates and the commanders of

the army, and of the marine, as well as from the inhabitants of the place, who were in crowds on the shore, expressing their wishes for peace.

I have now to inform you, that on Tuesday I got to Paris about twelve o'clock, when I immediately sent the enclosed note, (marked A.) to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs from whom I soon afterwards received the answer, (marked B.) which I also enclose. At the hour appointed, I waited upon his excellency, with whom I had a short conversation, in which his anxiety for your speedy recovery formed the principal topic. He informed me that general Clark was the person named by the emperor to negotiate with lord Yarmouth and myself, and appointed this day, at eleven o'clock, for the formal exhibition of our powers.

As the frequency of communication gives rise to false speculations in England, it is not my intention to send a messenger, until I shall have something more important to communicate.

I am, &c.

LAUDERDALE.

Inclosure (A) and (B) are copies of notes from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 5, 1806, and from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated August 5, 1806.

No. XXXII.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 7, 1806, received August 13, (of no importance.)

No.



## No. XXXIII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 7, 1806.— Received August 13.*

*Paris August 7, 1806.*

Sir,

I received in due time, and in their order, your several dispatches of the 28th ult. and the 2d and 3d inst. As no messenger has been dispatched from hence since the receipt of them, I have been obliged to defer till now replying to their contents.

It was with great satisfaction that I learnt by your dispatch of the 2d inst. the intelligence of lord Lauderdale's departure from England; as, independently of the advantages I must derive from communicating with a person charged with the latest and fullest instructions from his majesty, his arrival here afforded me the opportunity of evincing, in the clearest manner, that I had in no instance thought myself at liberty to depart from the basis, originally laid down as the only one on which his majesty's ministers could consent to treat with the French government.

It must be evident, that whatever delays have occurred in the negociation, are imputable to France, and to the perpetual variation of the terms proposed by her; and I had not failed, before the receipt of your dispatch of the 3d instant, repeatedly to do justice to the conduct of his majesty's government in that respect.

As in the line of conduct which I thought it my duty to observe

previous to the earl of Lauderdale's arrival, I had no other object in view than the fulfilling, to the best of my abilities, the mission with which his majesty has been graciously pleased to charge me, I can, under the present circumstances, have no other ambition than that of co-operating with my best endeavours in the negociation entrusted to us jointly, upon the same basis on which I had originally placed it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) YARMOUTH.

## No. XXXIV.

*Full Powers given to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, which were communicated to M. Talleyrand on the 6th of August, 1806.*

(Translation.)

George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-treasurer, and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting!

The flames of war having already raged too long in the different quarters of the world, it is the more incumbent upon us to re-establish the public tranquillity, by putting an end to so many quarrels and controversies, we have therefore judged it expedient to invest certain fit persons with full powers, on our part, for the better carrying on this great undertaking.

Know, therefore, that we, reposing especial trust in the fidelity, diligence, judgment, perspicuity, and

and experience of our right trusty and well-beloved James, earl of Lauderdale, and of our trusty and well-beloved Francis Seymour, esquire, commonly called earl of Yarmouth, have nominated, constituted, and appointed them, as by these presents we do nominate, constitute, and appoint them, our true, certain, and undoubted procurators, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries; giving to them, jointly or separately, all and all manner of power, faculty, and authority, together with general as well as special orders, (so that the general do not derogate from the special, nor on the contrary,) for us, and in our name, to meet and confer with the ministers, commissioners, plenipotentiaries of any other princes or states whatsoever, who may be interested therein, whether our enemies or our allies, furnished with sufficient powers for that purpose, as well singly and separately, as aggregately and jointly, and to consult and agree with them for the speedy restoration of a sincere friendship and amity, and of a firm and lasting peace; and for us, and in our name, to sign all such matters and things as shall be agreed upon and concluded on the premises, and to form such treaty or treaties, or any other instruments as shall be necessary, and mutually to deliver and receive the same in exchange, and to do and perform all such acts, matters, and things, as may be in any way proper and conducive to the purposes above-mentioned, in as full and ample a manner and form, and with the like validity and effect, as we ourself, if we were present, could do and perform; engaging and promising, on our royal word, that we

will accept, ratify, and confirm, in the most effectual manner, all such acts, matters, and things, as shall be so transacted and concluded by our said plenipotentiaries, conjointly or separately, and that we will never suffer any person to violate the same, in whole, or in part, or to act contrary thereto.

In testimony and confirmation of all which we have caused our great seal, of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these presents, signed with our royal hand.

Given at our court at St. James's, this first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, and of our reign the forty-sixth.

No. XXXV.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 9, 1806.—Received August 13.*

*Paris, August 9th, 1806.*

Sir,

Thinking it unnecessary to send a courier to England with the details of the mere matters of form which necessarily took place after lord Lauderdale's arrival, we have delayed writing till there appeared something of importance to communicate to you.

We have now to inform you, that lord Lauderdale, having exhibited his powers, and delivered a copy in the customary form, our first meeting with general Clarke, the plenipotentiary of the French government, took place at his house, on Thursday, 7th August, at noon.

Our

Our conversation commenced by general Clarke's observing that as lord Lauderdale had just arrived from London, with full instructions from his majesty, he had probably something new to communicate.

Lord Lauderdale in substance replied, that it was his wish before intermeddling with the negotiation now pending, distinctly to recal to the recollection of general Clarke what had already passed between his majesty and the government of France, and at once precisely to state the only footing on which his majesty could consent to treat. To effect this object, he informed general Clarke, that he had prepared a note (marked A.) which he begged to deliver to him as official.

General Clarke read the note twice with great attention, and afterwards placed it in his portfolio, saying that he must take it *ad referendum*.

Very little passed at this meeting sufficiently interesting to merit being detailed; the general objected to the practice he apprehended lord Lauderdale meant to introduce of conducting the negotiation by writing; and said he was afraid the emperor would regard it as a means of endless delay, if a note was to be delivered upon every insignificant question which it might be necessary to discuss. The reply consisted in merely stating the distinction betwixt delivering a written note for the purpose of at once bringing to a point the basis on which the negotiation was to be conducted, and resorting on every trivial occasion to that practice. The first, it was con-

tended, must accelerate; the latter, it was admitted, would delay the negotiation; and it would be therefore carefully avoided, as it was his majesty's wish that no delay should take place.

General Clarke, with something like an insinuation that an unfair advantage was taken by the government of Great Britain, announced that as there had been two plenipotentiaries appointed by his majesty, it was the emperor's intention to do the same, and that the name of the person selected would be communicated to us.

It is proper to state, that in the course of this conversation, lord Yarmouth recalled to general Clarke's recollection, that in all the interviews he had had with him, he uniformly stated the *uti possidetis* as the only basis upon which he could possibly treat. General Clarke in reply said, that he could make no answer to what lord Yarmouth stated, without alluding to conversations which he affected to consider as loose, calling them "des romans politiques;" at the same time by his silence he clearly admitted what lord Yarmouth most distinctly stated.

Our first interview terminated with an appointment to meet at lord Lauderdale's apartments on Friday, the 8th, at twelve o'clock, the general observing that it might be perhaps necessary to put off the appointment, as he wished to have full time to consider the note which had been delivered, and as the new plenipotentiary might wish to have an opportunity carefully to read the correspondence that hitherto had taken place. He pro-

\* Political Romances.

mised at the same time if this was the case, to give us notice by writing in the morning.

On Friday the eighth, at eleven o'clock, the inclosures (marked B. and C.) were left at lord Lauderdale's apartments, and an answer was sent to general Clarke, stating that an appointment had been made by lords Lauderdale and Yarmouth to receive the Turkish ambassador at four o'clock, and requesting that the meeting should take place on Saturday, the 9th, at noon.

General Clarke and monsieur Champagny, minister of the interior, the newly appointed plenipotentiary, afterwards put off this meeting till four o'clock to day, as the latter was obliged to attend the emperor's privy council at St. Cloud.

Late on Friday night lord Yarmouth received the answer to the note delivered by lord Lauderdale, a copy of which (marked D.) is inclosed, to which lord Lauderdale and lord Yarmouth immediately returned the answer, also inclosed, (marked E.)

General Clarke and M. Champagny came to the meeting appointed at four o'clock, and a conversation took place which lasted for upwards of two hours. Into the details of this it is impossible now to enter. The general object of it was to engage lord Lauderdale to depart from the basis which he had insisted should be recognized, to prevail upon him to consult his government, or to take ten or fifteen days for consideration, but it terminated by lord Lauderdale's declaring that the last note was to be considered as a prelude to his demanding passports, for which he

should apply to M. Talleyrand in the course of the evening.

The letter, a copy of which (marked F.) is inclosed, was dispatched to M. Talleyrand half an hour after the departure of the plenipotentiaries, and it appears highly improbable that any proposition should be made which can alter our resolution of leaving France, the moment the passports arrive.

We have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) LAUDERDALE.  
YARMOUTH.

#### First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note delivered by the Earl of Lauderdale to General Clarke, on the 7th of August, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, August 7, 1806.*

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, previous to entering upon the negotiation actually pending between his sovereign and the court of France, thinks it necessary briefly to retrace the circumstances in which it originated. At the same time, he conceives it consistent with that character of openness and sincerity, which, as his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, he is determined invariably to support, to declare the only basis upon which France herself originally laid down; and to define the nature of the discussion into which he is about to enter.

The strong and energetic language in which the French government a few months since, expressed its desire for peace, whilst it inspired his majesty with the confidence in the real sincerity of the wishes of the court of France, left him only

to regret that the proposal of treating with his majesty separately from his allies, appeared to prevent both France and England from profiting by that happy disposition of their respective governments; it being at that time impossible for his majesty, conformably with the good faith which he has ever evinced, to treat otherwise than conjointly with his ally the emperor of Russia.

Since that time, his majesty having found that circumstances which it is unnecessary to detail here, permitted his majesty to negotiate separately, he received with great pleasure, the proposal of treating generally, upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his majesty with all its dependencies.

It is true, that this proposal was not made either directly, or through the channel of an accredited minister: of its authenticity, however, no one could entertain the smallest doubt.

Independently of the authority which it derived from the character of the person employed to communicate it, it seemed to agree completely with what had been previously announced. For "the emperor desires nothing that England possesses," (an avowal made at the commencement of the correspondence between the two courts) was a natural prelude to such a proposal.

His majesty regarded the cession of Hanover as a proof of the spirit of justice in which the proposal was conceived, because this electorate, although occupied on account of a supposed identity of interests

and of measures, in fact had no relation whatever with the disputes which produced the present war; and his majesty saw in the principle hitherto acknowledged as the general basis of negotiation, a basis peculiarly adapted to the relative situations of the two parties, which he considered a proof that France was as sincerely disposed as Great Britain to put an end to an order of things, equally prejudicial to the interests of both countries.

In fact, it appeared to his majesty to be the only principle upon which it was probable that a negotiation could be brought to a successful issue. From the nature of the interests of the parties engaged in it, there was but little hope that any satisfactory arrangement could be made on the ground of reciprocal restitutions, by giving up their respective acquisitions; whilst on the other hand, the principle of *uti possidetis* naturally presented itself, as the mode of terminating the unfortunate hostilities between the two nations, both of whom were in possession of conquests extensive and important in point both of territory and of influence; France on the continent of Europe, and Great Britain in other parts of the world.

This truth appeared still more striking to his majesty, upon reflecting that the state of possession in which the two nations held their respective acquisitions could scarcely suffer any important change by the continuance of the war; the superiority of the naval force of Great Britain being, according to all appearance, not less firmly established on the seas, than that of the armies of France on the continent of Europe.

It was under the impression which these ideas naturally produced, that his majesty accepted, without hesitation, the proposal of treating upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, with the reservation due to the connection and the concert that subsisted with the emperor of Russia; and as a proof of his sincerity, his majesty fixed upon the person by whom the communication had been made, to announce the readiness with which he had acceded to the basis proposed for the conclusion of a treaty.

The undersigned is by no means disposed to conceal the satisfaction his majesty derived from these happy prospects of speedily restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace, upon just and equitable principles, such as were conformable to the honour of his crown; nor the regret which his majesty felt, when, almost at the very moment of his declaring his acceptance of the proposal that had been made to him, it was signified that this principle was suddenly abandoned by the demand of the evacuation and cession of Sicily; a demand which has hitherto been modified merely by projects of indemnity for his Sicilian majesty, which appear to be totally inadequate and inadmissible.

This demand, so incompatible with the avowed principles upon which the two powers were treating, was in itself sufficient to put an end to the negotiation, but the anxiety of his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland to concur with his ally the emperor of Russia, and to secure to his subjects the blessings of peace, induced him to receive any new proposal for obtaining for his Sicilian majesty, in

exchange for Sicily, a real and satisfactory equivalent, such as that sovereign should consent to accept.

No satisfactory proposal of this nature having yet been made, the undersigned must declare that he cannot consent to treat upon any other principle than that of the *uti possidetis*, as originally proposed to his sovereign by the court of France; at the same time he is desirous it should be well understood, that the adoption of this principle will not prevent him either from listening to any just and adequate indemnification to his Sicilian majesty for the cession of Sicily, or from accepting any proposition for the exchange of territory between the two contracting parties, upon just and equal principles, such as may tend to the reciprocal advantage of the two countries.

The undersigned is well aware that since the *uti possidetis* was proposed by the court of France, peace has been concluded between France and the emperor of Russia, and that, in consequence, the relative situation of the two countries is no longer the same; but, on the other hand, he must also observe, that since that time France has acquired fresh advantages in consequence of the extensive changes which she has made in the constitution of the German empire: an arrangement, the preventing of which was represented by France to the court of Great Britain as a powerful motive for the immediate conclusion of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*. If then this principle formerly appeared just to France, it cannot fail at present, according to her own views of the subject, to be more favourable to her interests

rests than to those of the British empire.

The undersigned thinks it, at the same time, necessary to observe, that although France may have other important views upon the continent of Europe, his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland may very fairly form views in other parts of the world of infinite importance to the commerce and to the power of his empire, and consequently that he cannot, conformably with either the interests of his people or the honour of his crown, negotiate upon any principle of inferiority, either avowed or supposed. He can treat upon no other footing than the supposition, that the continuation of hostilities is equally disadvantageous to both parties. There can be no reason to suppose that the conquests which his majesty proposes to retain by the peace can be wrested from him by war; and the undersigned is persuaded that the best proof of the equity of the conditions, upon which he proposes to treat, is to be found in the fact, that they were proposed by France herself at the first opening of the communications between the two governments, which have led to the mission with which his sovereign has been pleased to entrust him conjointly with the earl of Yarmouth.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

Second Inclosure (B.) is a copy of a note from general Clarke to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806, unimportant.

Third Inclosure (C.) is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the

earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806, stating the appointment of M. de Champagny.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

*Copy of a Note from General Clarke to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, August 8th, 1806.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, has laid before his government the note transmitted yesterday by his excellency lord Lauderdale, plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, could not see without pain, that a negotiation which has already been the subject of so much discussion, which has occasioned the dispatching of so many messengers by both parties, which was in a word brought to maturity, should have suddenly taken a retrograde direction, so as to present obstacles founded, not in the nature of the stipulations, but on the very ground on which that negotiation was commenced.

The court of France has constantly refused to admit in the same negotiation, the courts of England and Russia, and whatever desire his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, may have to see a general peace shortly re-established, no consideration could induce him to violate that principle of his policy. The negotiations which France had commenced at Petersburg, had moreover convinced his majesty the emperor of the French, king of

Italy, that the English cabinet deceived itself with respect to the nature of its relations with Russia.

After several months of discussion, the cabinet of London yielded this point, and his excellency the earl of Yarmouth arrived publicly at Calais, and afterwards at Paris, for the purpose of treating for peace. He had conferences with his excellency the minister for foreign affairs immediately after his arrival in this capital, having previously made known to him that he was duly authorized by his government.

Since that period Russia has concluded her peace with France. The undersigned has been appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate with the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and the first step was an exchange of his powers with those of his excellency the earl of Yarmouth, whom he was bound to believe, as it is expressed in his excellency's full powers, authorized to negotiate, conclude, and sign a definitive treaty between France and the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Very frequent conferences, most of them of several hours, have since taken place between the two plenipotentiaries, who, with good faith on both sides, endeavoured to do away the difficulties, and put aside every thing that could have tended to irritate their minds, or to embarrass and unnecessarily retard the progress of negotiation.

Instead of transmitting to each other notes, more or less ingenious, but which rather remove than approximate the object which it is wished to attain; instead of be-

ginning those written controversies, which are not less injurious to humanity than open hostilities, and which prolong the miseries of nations; instead, above all things, of negotiating peace in the same manner in which war is carried on, the plenipotentiaries had free conferences, in which his majesty the emperor and king granted all which he could grant, without losing sight of the dignity of his crown, his love for his people, and the interest of his allies.

His majesty will never be reduced to make further sacrifices.

Does not the method taken by his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, the new plenipotentiary, on the part of his Britannic majesty, appear to announce that a multitude of notes will not be sufficient even to bring the governments to an understanding? And is not a risk evidently incurred, by adopting such a method, the abuse of which has been so manifest in our recollection, of being still further from a good understanding than we have hitherto been? If, on the contrary, it is only wished to form documents which may hereafter be presented to the parliament of Great Britain, his majesty the emperor and king has no similar inducement, it is peace that he desires; a peace equally honourable for France, for Great Britain, and for their allies, which the mutual and assiduous labour of the respective plenipotentiaries shall have rendered acceptable to both governments.

Nevertheless, that his love of justice, and the sincerity of his pacific sentiments may be manifest to every one, and that it may be truly known to whom all hindrance



drance to the progress of the negotiation ought to be attributed, his majesty the emperor of the French has deigned to permit the undersigned to discuss here the vain question relative to the basis of this negotiation, which was already advanced and on the point of being terminated.

In the letter written to his excellency Mr. Fox, on the 1st of April, by his excellency the French minister for foreign affairs, that minister declared that his majesty the emperor of the French entirely adopted the principle set forth in the dispatch of his excellency Mr. Fox, of the 26th of March, and offered as the basis of the negotiation:—"That the proposed peace ought to be honourable for the two courts, and for their respective allies."

In his letter of the 2nd of June to his Excellency Mr. Fox, his excellency the minister for foreign affairs went still further; he proposed, in the name of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to establish as a basis two fundamental principles, the first of them taken from Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of March, namely; "That the object of the two powers should be a peace honourable to themselves, and to their respective allies, at the same time that this peace should be of a nature to insure, as far as should lie in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."

The second principle was, "An acknowledgment in favour of both powers of the right of interference, and of guarantee with regard to continental affairs, and with regard to maritime affairs."

Such was the basis adopted by

the British government, and agreed upon with it. It could never have entered into the mind of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to take the "*uti possidetis*" as the basis of the negotiation. If such had been his intention, he would have kept Moravia, a part of Hungary, Styria, Carniola, Croatia, the whole of Austria, as well as its capital—Trieste, and Fiume, and the surrounding coast would still be in his power, as well as Genoa and Venice; Hanover, Osnaburgh, and all the mouths of the great rivers of the north of Germany would be subject to his dominion; and, doubtless, his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, might then, without difficulty, have left his Britannic majesty in possession of the Cape, Surinam, Tobago, St. Lucia, Pondicherry, &c.

As to Sicily, in this very supposition his majesty the emperor and king would not have left it to his enemies; but his majesty would only have thought that the conquest of this island should have preceded the opening of the negotiations; and while Prussia and Russia have either guaranteed or recognised the changes which have taken place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, is it to be supposed that England could have prevented the conquest of Sicily, which is separated from the continent only by a channel of less than two thousand toises?

And even supposing that the Cape, Surinam, and other Dutch possessions could have been finally detached from the kingdom of Holland, is it not certain that its existence as a nation would become from that very cause impossible;

and that its incorporation with the French empire would have been the necessary consequence of a refusal given by England, to restore to it its colonies; what, in fact, could be the means of maintaining a nation which would have nothing but debts, and from which the total deprivation of all commerce would take away the possibility of paying them? Whatever their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty may allege, it is impossible that they should not be convinced, that it is a very different thing, for Great Britain, to see the Texel and the mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse in the power of the French revenue officers, or to see them in the power of the Dutch. Thus, therefore, Holland, without the restitution of its colonies, would necessarily become a province of the French empire; for on accepting the crown of Holland, prince Louis formally declared his intention of renouncing it, if the Dutch colonies were not restored at the general peace.

Let Hanover become a province of France; let Trieste, Fiume, and their territory likewise become provinces of the kingdom of Italy, and let Great Britain keep as a compensation, the Cape, Surinam, Malta, and Pondicherry, &c.—France will consent to it, and the great principle *uti possidetis* will be applied in its full extent, both as to the present and as to the future.

Let the new minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, point out in the history of the world, a negotiation terminated upon the principle of the *uti possidetis* between two great nations; let him examine whether this principle

does not belong rather to an armistice than to a treaty of peace? It is impossible not to say, that, in proposing to France the *uti possidetis*, particularly under the present circumstance, a strange idea must have been formed of the character of the emperor Napoleon, and it must have been believed that he was reduced to a singular state of humiliation and distress.

But, in demanding the *uti possidetis*, his excellency, the earl of Lauderdale, plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, without regard to the principle which he advances, wishes to change entirely the destiny of a continental state, which gave 25,000 men to England, and furnished her with a part of the means which she afforded in the seven years' war, and even in the war of the French revolution, to the armies of the north. Thus, therefore, it is wished to maintain the principle of the *uti possidetis*, in order to deprive France of all her commerce, and of all her establishments, and to ruin her allies; but it is wished to violate the principle of the *uti possidetis*, in order to oblige France to renounce her engagements, to break her treaties; in a word, to dissolve her whole continental system; is not this to propose a peace a thousand times more disastrous than the longest war, and conditions calculated to excite the indignation of every Frenchman? What! shall France have conquered all the powers subsidized by England, during three coalitions, to see imposed upon her conditions as unjust as they are dishonourable, notwithstanding the moderation and generosity which she has shewn?

His excellency Mr. Fox himself proposed,

proposed, "that the peace should be honourable to both courts, and to their respective allies."

His majesty, the emperor of the French, king of Italy, could not consider the peace as honourable, if, by one of its conditions, he was to lose a single subject, and of however little importance the colony of Tobago may be, it suffices, that it made part of the French empire at the time his majesty took the reins of the government, to prevent his ever signing a treaty in which the alienation of that colony, or of any other which belongs to him in the same manner shall be comprized. No reasonable Englishman can have flattered himself with the contrary; and his majesty, in the position in which he stands, would, by consenting to it, lose the esteem of every brave and generous person even among his enemies.

The undersigned is directed to declare, that his majesty the emperor and king considers as a disgrace the very idea of a negotiation, founded on the *uti possidetis*. It is the more contrary to his principles, inasmuch as his majesty has restored his conquests, and that he should be now reigning over a population the double of that which he in fact governs, if, at the conclusion of the treaties of peace which he made at the expiration of the several coalitions, he had taken the *uti possidetis* for his only principle.

The undersigned is also directed to declare, that the only conditions of negotiation which his majesty the emperor and king is willing to adopt, are those proposed in part by his excellency Mr. Fox, contained in the letter which was

addressed to him on the 2d of June by the minister for foreign affairs, and repeated in the twelfth paragraph of the present note.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, requires nothing of Great Britain which can be contrary to the interests of her allies. He is entitled to expect that nothing will be exacted of him, which can be contrary to the interests of his own allies.

The undersigned is directed to add, that he refers to what had been prepared by the mutual efforts of his excellency the earl of Yarmouth, and the undersigned.

If peace shall not be re-established, it is not France who can be accused of having changed, but England; although peace between France and Russia, and other events unfavourable to Great Britain have taken place since the negotiation was entered upon and nearly brought to a conclusion, in concert with his excellency the earl of Yarmouth.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to assure their excellencies the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CLARKE.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)

Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, to General Clarke, dated August 9, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 9, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty cannot allow themselves to enter into a detailed consideration of the official note, dated the 5th of August, which

which has just been delivered to them on the part of his excellency general Clarke. From the manner in which the different points which form the subject of this note are treated, it would be impossible for them to discuss them with that calmness and that regard to propriety, which the character with which their sovereign has invested them, demands. But the subject of this note is of a nature, so general and so foreign to the object under discussion, that it would be perfectly useless to take it into consideration at the present moment.

The undersigned, the earl of Lauderdale, far from thinking that the manner of discussing in writing the fundamental points of a negotiation can in any shape encrease the difficulty of coming to an understanding, is on the contrary of opinion that he already perceives evident proofs of its utility, inasmuch as the official note presented by him since his arrival has brought the negotiation to an unequivocal issue, and has put an end to those misunderstandings, without doubt real, which have taken place, and which never could have occurred if the same method had been adopted at the commencement of the negotiation.

The undersigned, the earl of Yarmouth, finds himself compelled to recur to the manner in which it has been stated to him, that he landed at Calais invested with a public character to treat for peace. He only came to give in person and *viva voce* the answer to a communication that he had been requested to make to the English government, founded upon the basis of the

*uti possidetis*, in conformity with the following words of his excellency M. Talleyrand: "We ask nothing from you;" accompanied with positive assurances that the restitution of the possessions of his majesty in Germany would meet with no opposition. The same sentiment also recurs in the letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Fox of the first of April in these terms: "The emperor covets nothing that England possesses."

The earl of Yarmouth feels himself under an equal necessity of not passing over in silence the remarks made by his excellency general Clarke, on the subject of the delays of the negotiation, and of the frequent communication by messengers. The answers of his Britannic majesty have ever been frank and prompt; and if the number of messengers has been considerable, it can only be attributed to motives foreign to the wishes of his majesty.

The undersigned the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, can by no means subscribe to the opinion held out by his excellency general Clarke in the said note, that the negotiation "had been begun and nearly brought to a conclusion," in the interval which elapsed between the time when lord Yarmouth officially communicated his full powers, and the arrival of lord Lauderdale; on the contrary, they consider the negotiation as having scarcely commenced. The conversations to which allusion has been made, consisted, on the part of the French plenipotentiaries, in making demands which the undersigned, the earl of Yarmouth, has uniformly declared to be inadmissible;

ble; and on the part of lord Yarmouth in keeping strictly within the bounds of the *uti possidetis*, not having any instructions on the part of his government to admit any other conditions of negotiation; conditions suggested by France in the communication made by the earl of Yarmouth, and previously announced in M. Talleyrand's letter of the first of April.

The undersigned earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth think it unnecessary, in this place, to repeat the motives set forth in the official note presented by lord Lauderdale, and which induced his majesty to consider the basis of the *uti possidetis* proposed by France peculiarly applicable to the respective situation of the two countries. It is to them a subject of deep regret that, by so absolute and decided a departure from that basis on the part of the French government, the hopes and expectations of the two nations must be entirely frustrated.

It only remains for the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to declare, that his majesty, ever ready to listen to just and honourable conditions of peace, relies with confidence upon the means which he derives from the loyalty and affection of his subjects. He will never listen to any proposals of negotiation whatsoever, upon terms incompatible with the honour of his crown and the real interests of his subjects.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.  
YARMOUTH.

Sixth Inclosure (F.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 9, 1806.  
—Demanding their passports.

## No. XXXVI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 11th, 1806.—Received August 13th.*

Paris, August 11, 1806.

In our last dispatch of the 9th instant, we had the honour of informing you, that on that evening we had applied for passports to return to England, and also for a passport for a courier we intended to have dispatched immediately.

We have only now to mention that, on Sunday at eleven o'clock, we sent the inclosure (marked A.) renewing our demand; and that this morning, having received no answer to either application, the inclosure (marked B.) was sent to M. Talleyrand's house, Ruë d'Anjou. The courier Basilico, who carried the note, returned soon after to inform us, that he was directed at M. Talleyrand's house to go to the foreign-office, where he accordingly went, but was told that no communication would be received there till between twelve and one.

We then begged of Mr. Goddard to go himself to the foreign-office, and deliver the letter; he found that the clerks had only just arrived, and that M. Talleyrand was gone to St. Cloud, not to return till four o'clock.

At half after five we received from Messrs. Clarke and Champagny an official note (marked C.) Immediately upon the receipt of this note, we wrote the inclosure (marked D.) to M. Talleyrand, and received from him at nine o'clock an answer (marked E.) which is also enclosed.

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The inclosure marked F.) is the reply to the official note which we intend to send the moment it can be copied.

Addition by the earl of Yarmouth.

As the French government has in every instance admitted the exactness of the communications made by me, I beg leave, in addition to this dispatch, to remark that the intention expressed to me by the French government, as that which made them prefer communicating through my channel, rather than on paper, was the expressing to his majesty's government their readiness to restore his majesty's German dominions *in toto*, but that for obvious reasons this could not be expressed on paper till every other condition of the treaty should be settled.

First Inclosure (A.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 10, 1806, demanding passports.

Second Inclosure (B.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 11, 1806.—Stating that passports were demanded for themselves on two several days, and no answer received, and renewing the demand.

Third Inclosure (C.)

*Copy of a Note from Messrs. Champany and Clarke to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, August 11, 1806.

The undersigned ministers ple-

nipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, have read with attention the note dated the 9th of August, addressed to them by their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, in which they again propose the *uti possidetis* as the basis of the negotiation.

The French plenipotentiaries know not, whether, by the adoption of this principle, England would obtain the right of exacting from the French government for herself and her allies, every restitution which may suit her convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France and her allies of the conquests which she has made. This demand would be so extraordinary, that it would be equivalent to saying that France should sign all the conditions which it may please the English plenipotentiaries to commit to writing. One cannot suppose that such is really the intention of the English ministry. They have not sent over plenipotentiaries for the sole purpose of requiring the admission of an indefinite basis, which would render them masters of all the conditions of the treaty. In a state of things so obscure, the French plenipotentiaries demand such explanations as may enable them to understand, and to proceed in the negotiation. These consist in making known what are the conquests which England wishes to keep, what are those which she will restore to France and her allies, and what conquests of France she requires to be restored. This will unfold a system of compensation, which may give a clear idea of

of the principles and intentions of the British cabinet. The French plenipotentiaries will then know what engagements they contract in adopting the basis which is proposed to them; for they can certainly never consent to this adoption without knowing what is demanded of them.

In laying down the principle of *uti possidetis*, have the English plenipotentiaries had it in view to propose a means of exchange and of compensation? If this is their meaning the emperor adopts it, because it appears to him conformable to the two principles already agreed upon by both parties; in the letters of the French minister for foreign affairs, and of the English secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, viz.

1st, To the principle laid down by Mr. Fox in his letter of the 26th of March last, "that the object of both parties ought to be that the peace should be honourable for both, and their respective allies; and at the same time of a nature to insure, as far as should be in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."

2d, To the principle subjoined to the preceding by the minister for foreign affairs, in his letter of the 2d of June following, which consists of *an acknowledgment, in favour of the two parties, of the full right of intervention and of guaranty in continental and in maritime affairs.*

The undersigned take this opportunity of renewing to their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and

Ireland, the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed)

CHAMPAGNY.

CLARKE.

#### Fourth Inclosure (D.)

This letter declines answering the note, and mentions the delay of passports.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand, to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806, apologizing for the delay of passports.

#### Sixth Inclosure (F.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated August 11, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, August 11, 1806.  
11 o'clock, P. M.*

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty would not have delayed their answer to the note of this day's date, addressed to them by their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the French government; but as their reiterated demands to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs for passports even for their messenger remained unanswered, they thought it right first to ascertain whether they were still to enjoy an open and uninterrupted communication with their government, such as, in similar cases, has always been permitted by every government in Europe.

The explanations which the undersigned have received from his excellency

excellency the minister for foreign affairs, induces them to hope that a like delay will, on no occasion whatever, again take place.

After having maturely considered the note of their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the French government, the undersigned have to remark, that the British government, far from pretending to "exact from the French government every restitution which may suit their convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France," never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to them by France herself; as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. "to treat generally upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty with all its dependencies."

They must also observe, that if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on the 9th instant, between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

The undersigned have therefore only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation.

As soon as this principle shall

be agreed to, the undersigned will be ready to proceed to the discussion of the other points mentioned in the note of lord Lauderdale.

It only remains for the undersigned to add, that if the French government expresses a disposition to adhere to the proposal, such as his Britannic majesty understands it to have been made by them, they shall congratulate themselves as on a most fortunate event; an event which promises, (according to the expression of Mr. Fox, quoted by their excellencies,) "a peace honourable for the two nations, and at the same time of a nature to insure the future tranquillity of Europe."

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.  
YARMOUTH.

#### No. XXXVII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 14, 1806.*

*Downing-street, August 14, 1806.*

My Lords,

The messenger, Basilico, arrived here early this morning, with the dispatches with which your lordships had charged him; and, although it appears most probable, that, before he can again reach Paris, your lordships will be no longer there, yet, as there is still a possibility, from the last note from the French plenipotentiaries, that the negotiation may proceed on the basis pointed out for it by your instructions, it has been judged proper that no time should be lost in re-dispatching him, in order that you may be apprised of his majesty's full approbation of  
the



the tenour of the different notes which have been delivered on your part since the earl of Lauderdale's arrival at Paris. As no other point but that of the general basis of negotiation has yet been brought into discussion, nothing need be added to the former instructions, by which the course of any further discussions that may take place is still to be entirely guided.

## No. XXXVIII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, August 14, 1806.*

*Downing-street, August 14, 1806.*

My lords,

His majesty's servants have observed, from the dispatches received this day, that some insinuation has been thrown out by the French government, of a disposition on the part of this country to gain some unfair advantage by the employment of two plenipotentiaries in the present discussions. That government has since taken the obvious mode of counteracting this advantage (if any such there was) by naming, on their part also, a second plenipotentiary. But, the king's government is desirous, while it adheres steadily to the substance of those points which are thought fit to be insisted on for the honour and interest of his majesty's crown, to leave no pretence for cavils as to the form in which these discussions are carried on. The advantage which was to be looked to

from the personal share which the earl of Yarmouth originally had in these transactions, as the bearer of the overtures made by France, has now ceased; and, while his lordship has, on the one hand, properly recorded his decisive testimony as to the reality of these overtures, and as to the exact terms of peace so offered, the French government has, on the other hand, not only refused to adhere to those offers, but has expressly declared, that they never can even have entered into their thoughts. “\* *Jamais il n'a pu venir dans la pensée de sa majesté l'empereur des François, roi d'Italie, de pendre pour base de la négociation l'uti possidetis.*”

In this state of things, the king's servants are not aware of any benefits that would be likely to result to his majesty's service from imposing on lord Yarmouth any further duty in this respect; nor do they wish that any such ground for cavil as I have before alluded to, however unfounded it would be, should be left to the enemy.

They have, therefore, submitted it as their humble advice to his majesty, that, in case of the continuance of the negotiations, the French minister should be informed, that they will henceforth be conducted by the earl of Lauderdale alone, the earl of Yarmouth having obtained his majesty's gracious permission to return to England; but that, his majesty does not, on his part, make any objection to lord Lauderdale's treating with both the persons who have been named by the French government for that trust:—A proof perfectly de-

\* It never could have entered into the thoughts of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to take for basis of the negotiation, the *uti possidetis*.

cifive, in all its parts, that no unfair advantage, such as the French government appears to apprehend, can have been in the king's contemplation.

I am, &c.

C. J. Fox.

No. XXXIX.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 16, 1806.—Received August 19.*

Paris, 16 August, 1806.

Sir,

The note to the plenipotentiaries of the French government, dated the 11th, of which a copy marked (F) was sent in my dispatch of the 11th instant, was delivered early in the morning of the 12th, as you will see from the inclosed receipt (marked A.)

No answer having been received, it was thought proper, on the 14th, to send to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, a letter, of which a copy is also inclosed (marked B.)

No answer to the official note transmitted to the plenipotentiaries of the French government on the morning of the 12th, has yet been given; and general Clarke, upon whom lord Yarmouth and I waited this morning merely for the purpose of shewing him a mark of attention, informed us, that it was in the possession of the emperor, who had not as yet signified his pleasure on the subject.

At one o'clock we received a note from M. Talleyrand (marked C.), and nearly at the same time another (marked D.); from general Clarke.

Copies of both these are here with transmitted.

I think it evident from what general Clarke says, that no communication will be made for two days.

There is perhaps nothing sufficiently important to authorize my sending a courier. Indeed, my principal motive for doing so is to quiet the anxiety which you naturally feel from receiving no information for so many days, concerning the state of a transaction so important in its consequences.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.)—Is a copy of a receipt, dated August 12, 1806. Unimportant.

Second Inclosure (B.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 14, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, August 14, 1806.  
2 o'clock, P. M.

Sir,

We think it our duty to acquaint your excellency, that early in the morning of the 12th instant, we transmitted to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, a note in answer to that of their excellencies received on the 11th instant. In this answer, we endeavoured again to set forth the points which appeared to us to require, in some form or other, a previous explanation, to authorize us, in conformity to our instructions, to pursue the present negotiation.

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The silence of their excellencies the plenipotentiaries in this respect, gives us reason to presume that we must not, at the present moment, expect such an explanation on their part.

Impressed with this idea, we desire to put an end to the general expectation of both nations, considering the slight appearance there is of seeing it realized. We feel that the demand which we make, under such circumstances, of passports for our return, may be susceptible of interpretations of a nature to retard the happy moment when the views of the French government shall approach nearer to those which it had been supposed to entertain. It is in order to prevent the possibility of such a misrepresentation, that we think it incumbent on us to assure your excellency, that a step which would have the effect of causing any obstacle to the renewal of the negociation, would be very far from our intention, though, from the reasons which we have detailed, we find ourselves obliged to put an end to our mission.

It only remains for us to assure your excellency, that if, fortunately for both nations, it should happen that we have been mistaken in the inference which we have drawn from the silence of the French plenipotentiaries, we will wait during a reasonable time for the explanations which their excellencies may have to communicate to us. In order, however, to prevent the repetition of a demand, as painful for us to make, as it would be for your excellency to receive, in case the negociations should not have a favourable issue, we request you to furnish us with the necessary passports for us and

our suite, to be made use of according to circumstances.

We have the honour to renew to your excellency the assurances of our high consideration.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.  
YARMOUTH.

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 10, 1806. Unimportant.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a copy of a note from general Clarke to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 16, 1806. Unimportant.

No. XL.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 17, 1806.—Received August 22.*

*Paris, August 17, 1806.*

Sir,

I take the opportunity of lord Yarmouth's return to England, to inform you that in consequence of his majesty's pleasure signified in your dispatch of the 14th instant, I this morning wrote to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, stating to him, that lord Yarmouth had his majesty's permission to return to England; and that his majesty had been graciously pleased, in the event of the negociation proceeding, to confide the future management of it solely to me.

About eleven o'clock, M. de Champagny and general Clarke paid me a visit of ceremony; lord Yarmouth happened to be with me at the time; and we mentioned to them

them the change that had taken place, and shewed them the note which I was just about to dispatch, and a copy of which is enclosed.

The object of the visit was merely to ask the plenipotentiaries, and the gentlemen attached to the mission to dine with M. de Champagne to-morrow.

Nothing whatever was said that related to the negociation, and I believe no answer will be given either to the note of the 11th, or to the note sent to the minister for foreign affairs on the 14th, till the emperor's return from Rambouillet, which, they informed me to-day, was uncertain. The mode in which I have mentioned to the minister for foreign affairs his majesty's permission to lord Yarmouth to return to England seemed to me calculated to afford as little opportunity as possible to the French government to cavil about a change of form in the mission.

I think it proper to add, that in doing this, every facility was afforded by lord Yarmouth, who in the handsomest manner desired me on this, as on other occasions, to consider only what I thought most advantageous for the public service.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

LAUDERDALE.

Inclosure in No. 40.—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 17, 1806, announces lord Yarmouth's intention to return to England with his majesty's assent, and lord Lauderdale's remaining.

No. XLI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of*

*Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, August 23, 1806.*

*Downing-street, August 23, 1806.*

My lord,

The contents of your last dispatches do not appear to require any particular answer, and this messenger is sent back only that you may be enabled to keep us regularly informed (so long as you shall still continue at Paris) of the state of the negociation there.

If, on the arrival of any intelligence of the decision of Russia not to ratify without the consent of this court, the French government should increase their offers in order to separate his majesty from the emperor of Russia, your lordship is on all such occasions to observe, that it is M. d'Oubril's treaty alone that has released his majesty from the obligation not to separate in substance his treaty from that of Russia; an obligation to which his majesty had determined scrupulously to adhere, and from which even in point of form, he had departed no farther than he had learnt to be the wish of Russia herself. Should, therefore, M. d'Oubril's treaty not be ratified, the two courts would revert to their former situation, with the additional bond of union, which would result from the mutual proofs they would thus have afforded to each other of their resolution to adhere invariably to the spirit and principles of their alliance.

No. XLII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 25, 1806.—Received September 3.*

*Paris,*

Paris, August 25, 1806.

Sir,

In my dispatch of the 16th instant, I had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of a letter sent by lord Yarmouth and myself, on the 14th instant, to the minister of foreign affairs.

I have now to inform you that my desire to combine with firmness the utmost degree of forbearance that appeared to me consistent with the character with which his majesty has been pleased to invest me, induced me patiently to suffer the silence of the French government, without remark, from the 14th till the 22d, when I transmitted to the minister for foreign affairs a note, of which I have the honour to inclose you a copy, marked (A.)

No notice having been taken of this note by his excellency, I have this morning sent a second note, of which I have also the honour to inclose a copy, marked (B.)

I have the honour to be, &c,

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

The right hon. C. J. Fox.

First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 22, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, August 22, 1806.

Sir,

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, finds himself under the necessity of recalling to the attention of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs,

1st, That in the morning of the 12th instant, a note, signed by the

undersigned, and the earl of Yarmouth, and dated the 11th, was transmitted to his excellency general Clarke, in which the undersigned observed, "The British government, far from pretending to exact from the French government every restitution which may suit their convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France, never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to her by France herself; as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. to treat generally upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty, with all its dependencies. They must also observe, that if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on the 9th instant, between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

"The undersigned have, therefore, only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation."

2ndly, That on the 14th instant, the undersigned, together with the earl of Yarmouth, had again the honour to state in writing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, "The silence of their excellencies,

cellencies, the plenipotentiaries, in this respect, gives us reason to presume that we must not, at the present moment, expect such an explanation on their part.

“ Impressed with this idea, we desire to put an end to the general expectation of both nations, considering the slight appearance there is of seeing it realized. We feel that the demand which we make, under such circumstances, of passports for our return, may be susceptible of interpretations of a nature to retard the happy moment when the views of the French government shall approach nearer to those which it had been supposed to entertain. It is in order to prevent the possibility of such a misinterpretation, that we think it incumbent on us to assure your excellency, that a step which would have the effect of causing any obstacle to the renewal of the negotiation, would be very far from our intention, though, from the reasons which we have detailed, we find ourselves obliged to put an end to our mission.”

The undersigned, on finding that no answer was made to these communications, persuaded himself that this delay might proceed from dispositions favourable to the progress of the negotiation, and that he should be at length rewarded by an answer conformable to this expectation; even when he found that no answer arrived, he still persevered in a conduct, which must have incontestibly proved the sincerity of the desire he had evinced to receive explanations which might enable him to follow up the objects of his mission. But if so early as the 14th instant, the undersigned, together with the earl

of Yarmouth, found himself obliged to observe to his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, that he feared, (from the silence of their excellencies, the French plenipotentiaries) that no answer would be given on the subject; and if, at that period, they thought it incumbent on them to declare the necessity they were under, in pursuance of their sovereign's orders, of demanding passports for their departure, the undersigned has no occasion to remark to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, how imperiously the fresh delays that have taken place since that date, prescribed to the undersigned the pressing renewal of this demand.

The undersigned must at the same time add, that, not being able to persuade himself, that in case an unfavourable answer had been intended, his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, would have so long deferred the adoption of the only alternative, namely, the sending passports, he does not even now give up the hope of a renewal of the proposal, such as the ministers of his Britannic majesty understood it to have been made on the part of the French government, since it is thus alone that the expectation of both nations can at last be realized. Even if these hopes should not be well founded, the undersigned will never regret a delay which has afforded him the opportunity of manifesting, in an unequivocal manner, the sincere desire of a solid and honourable peace, which his majesty has never ceased to entertain, and of which his majesty has given the most convincing proof, in authorizing the undersigned to negotiate

on

on the basis proposed, in the first instance, by France. It is with this view that the undersigned has borne so long a state of uncertainty, without making the least observation on the unaccountable delay.

The undersigned, in now requesting his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, to transmit to him provisionally, and for the purpose of being made use of in the cases already pointed out, passports for himself and his suite, conceives that he has adopted the only means for preventing the necessity he might otherwise find himself under (if he was forced to repeat this demand) of accompanying it by representations, such as would be authorized by the law of nations, and by the dignity of his sovereign.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

Second Inclosure (B.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 25, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, August 25, 1806.*

The silence still maintained by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, as well as by his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, after the official note delivered by the undersigned and the earl of Yarmouth on the 11th instant after the letter addressed to his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, on the 14th instant; and after the official note of the undersigned, dated the 22d instant, appears clearly to announce that the French government has

abandoned every wish for peace on the conditions which they themselves had, in the first instance, proposed; and which the undersigned has uniformly declared to be the sole basis on which he was authorized to negotiate with that government.

In this state of affairs, the undersigned cannot flatter himself with the possibility of any advantage resulting from the prolongation of his stay at Paris; he feels, too, that farther delay would necessarily give to both nations, and to all Europe, reason to believe, that peace, the object of their desires, is on the point of being concluded, at the very moment when all reasonable hope of attaining it, appears to be completely at an end.

The undersigned, strongly impressed with this idea, finds himself obliged to terminate his mission, by making to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, the formal demand of passports for his return into the presence of his sovereign.

At the same time, and in conformity with the spirit of conciliation, which has constantly characterized his whole conduct since his arrival at Paris, the undersigned, at the moment when he feels himself obliged by his instructions to demand his passports, cannot resolve to prevent the possibility of a communication on the part of the French government, of a nature to enable him to carry on the negociation, although from the continued silence of that government, he can scarcely retain hopes of so favourable an issue.

It will not, therefore, be until the morning of Wednesday the

27th instant, that the undersigned will have the honour of calling on his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, for the purpose of making a formal and definitive demand of the necessary passports for himself and suite. He has only to add, that the passports which he proposes to demand, will be for his immediate return and not to be made use of according to circumstances, as he lately demanded them.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. XLIII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated August 29, 1806.—Received September 3.*

*Paris, August 29, 1806.*

Sir,

In my last dispatch, dated August 25th, I had the honour of stating to you the detail of the negociation till the afternoon of that day. At eleven o'clock at night, I received from the plenipotentiaries of France a note, intimating their desire of having a conference on the subject of the note written by lord Yarmouth and myself, on the 11th of the month. Of this, as well as of the answer agreeing to the proposal, I have the honour to inclose copies, (marked A. and B.)

On the 26th, at the hour appointed, I went to the office of the minister of the interior, where I found M. de Champagny and general Clarke, the two plenipotentiaries of the French government. The general result of what passed, impressed me with the conviction, that the French

plenipotentiaries no longer thought of making peace, upon the grounds on which France was understood to desire it, at the time of lord Yarmouth's communication; and I am confident, that the part I bore in the discussion, thoroughly satisfied them, that I was resolved firmly to adhere to the ground which I had taken in the note of the 11th, on which I was invited to hear their remarks.

The hour of dinner terminated our conference, a renewal of which on any day I should name, was, after dinner, anxiously solicited by M. de Champagny. I objected to it, as apparently unnecessary, and only calculated to protract my stay in this country to no purpose; but, before I left him, expressed my willingness to comply once more with the wishes of the French plenipotentiaries, as a farther mark of my anxiety to do any thing which even they could think had a tendency to produce that peace, which his majesty was so anxious to accomplish on equitable terms: and another meeting was fixed, to take place on Friday the 29th at three o'clock.

Late on the evening of the 26th, I waited on the minister for foreign affairs, for the purpose of informing him, that, at the request of the plenipotentiaries of France, I had agreed to a renewal of the conference. He had gone to St. Cloud, and, as by the minister's absence, I had no opportunity of explaining my reasons for not waiting on him, for the purpose of asking passports, as announced in my note of the 25th, I thought it right, early next morning, to send a letter, of which a copy is inclosed, (marked C.)



On the 27th, after dinner, I had a very long conference with the minister for foreign affairs, the substance of which confirmed me in the opinion I had antecedently formed, in consequence of what passed at the meeting with the plenipotentiaries of France, that there is at present no disposition to make peace on the terms tendered for his majesty's acceptance; and I am convinced you will have the same impression, when I state to you that M. Talleyrand, in the course of our conversation repeatedly made use of the following marked expression: "Jamais l'Empereur ne cederá un grain de poussière du territoire François."

In the course of this conference, the minister frequently alluded to the situation of Hanover, and stated that, within eight and forty hours, its fate must be determined for ever. He seemed much surprised that nothing appeared to make any impression on me, frequently repeating, that in getting the Cape, Malta, and his majesty's Hanoverian dominions, I should make a glorious peace; and assuring me, that if this opportunity should be lost, he did not foresee any means by which peace could be ever attained, as the emperor was determined to make war all his life, rather than yield any part of the territory of France, the integrity of which he had sworn to maintain.

Our conversation ended, by my assuring him, at the time I was about to retire, that while these sentiments continued to prevail in this country, it was impossible peace should be made, and that,

with the knowledge I now possessed of the opinions entertained by the French government, I could not acquit myself of trifling, if I should remain any longer to carry on what I must consider as a farce.

After a full consideration of all that has taken place, I have, therefore, this morning, resolved to bring things to a point, by delivering to the plenipotentiaries of France, the detailed note, of which I inclose a copy (marked D.)

I am, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note from Messrs. Champagne and Clarke to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated August 25th, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, 25th August, 1806.

The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, wishing to confer with his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, upon the subject of the last note\* his excellency addressed to them, request his lordship will call at the office of the minister of the interior to-morrow, about three o'clock in the afternoon, where they will meet, provided the hour is convenient to his excellency.

M. de Champagne has the honour of inviting the earl of Lauderdale to dine with him after the conference, and hopes that his excellency will bring with him to

\* Lord Lauderdale's note of the 11th inst. vide p. 491.

dinner, Messrs. Goddard, Stewart, and Maddison.

The French plenipotentiaries have the honour of repeating, to his excellency lord Lauderdale, the assurances of their high confidence.

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.  
CLARKE.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated August 25, 1806.—Unimportant.

Third Inclosure (C.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris, 27th August, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Sir, Paris, Aug. 27, 1806.

I called yesterday evening at your excellency's house, that I might have the honour of seeing you, and informing you that, in consequence of the request which was yesterday made to me by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, of another conference on Friday next, the 29th inst. I have postponed my demand for passports, which I intended to make this day to your excellency. Their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries appeared to attach so much importance to my consenting to another interview, that I gave with pleasure this new pledge of the pacific and conciliatory spirit by which I have ever been guided; and if I cannot flatter myself that there will result from this demand the prospect of a happy issue to the negotiation, I shall at least have the

satisfaction of having again manifested, in the most unequivocal manner, how much my personal sentiments agree in this respect with those of my government, and with what eagerness I avail myself of every opportunity of giving to the persons, with whom this negotiation has procured me the advantage of being acquainted, fresh marks of the distinguished sentiments which I shall never cease, under any circumstances, to entertain towards them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

(Fourth Inclosure (D.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated August 29, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, 29th August, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, being on the point of renewing with their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries the conference of the 26th inst. thinks himself obliged to lay before their excellencies the state of the negotiation, such as it stood after the note transmitted on the part of the undersigned and of the earl of Yarmouth, on the 12th instant. Their excellencies, the French plenipotentiaries, will perceive from this statement, that the discussion is come to a point which will no longer permit the undersigned to continue it, unless, by the admission of the only basis on which he is authorised to negotiate, their excellencies should afford him fresh motives to justify such a determination.

In the official note transmitted to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, on the 12th of August, it was observed to them, "That the British government, far from pretending to 'exact from the French government, every restitution which may suit their convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France,' never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to her by France herself: as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. to treat generally on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty, with all its dependencies.

"That even if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on the 9th inst. between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

"The undersigned have, therefore, only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation."

This note remained without answer till the 25th of that month, when their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries informed the undersigned by a letter, that, "The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of

Italy, wishing to confer with his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, upon the subject of the last note his excellency addressed to them, request his lordship will call at the office of the minister of the interior to-morrow, about three o'clock in the afternoon, where they will meet, provided the hour is convenient to his excellency."

The undersigned forbears making any observation on the length of the interval which elapsed between the sending the note of the 11th, and the period when it was answered: as well as on the manner in which their excellencies avoided entering into discussion in writing on the contents of that note, according to the usage of all times, and of all countries, whenever affairs of such importance are in question. He confines himself to remark that, when after so long a delay, and the undersigned accepted an invitation from their excellencies to renew the discussions, in the hope of receiving at length the decision of the French government, on the contents of the official note of the 11th, the conference appeared to tend on the part of their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, solely to engage the undersigned to present the detailed project of a treaty.

The undersigned, jointly with the earl of Yarmouth, had already, in the note of the 11th inst. formally declared, that, until France had adopted the basis, such as the British government understood it to have been originally proposed by her, he could not enter into a detailed negotiation. If, indeed, the undersigned could have forgot himself so far, as to accede to the proposition made at the last conference

by

by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, it would not only have been necessary, for that purpose, that he should have abandoned the only conditions which his instructions authorized him to admit as the basis of the negociation, but moreover that he should expose himself to a manifest contradiction, in presenting at first an entire project of a treaty, the details of which were to result from the negociation itself; a negociation which the undersigned had declared that he could not enter upon, till after a previous acknowledgment of the basis in question.

In this state of things the undersigned, after having attended, conformably to the desire of their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, at the conferences which they proposed to him; after having maturely reflected on all the communications which he has received from their excellencies, and thus fully convinced himself, that the present views of the French government are far different from those which his Britannic majesty had a right to expect from them; in a word, that the continuance of the present negociation can henceforth have no other effect than that of keeping up, in both nations, a hope which cannot be realized, the undersigned thinks it his duty formally to declare to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, the resolution which he has taken, in conformity to the instructions of his sovereign, to put an end to his mission. The admission, in writing, of the basis so often brought forward by the undersigned, can alone occasion a change in this determination.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. XLIV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 30th, 1806.—Received Sept. 3.*

Sir, *Paris, Aug. 30th, 1806.*

When I reflect on the contents of the dispatch I had the honour of making up for you yesterday, I cannot help anticipating the surprize with which you must receive the intelligence, that I am now under an engagement to renew the conference with the plenipotentiaries of France on Thursday, the 4th of September.

On going yesterday, at three o'clock, to the office of the minister of the interior, I confess I did not foresee the possibility of any thing occurring that could prevent my executing the resolution I had formed, of demanding passports this morning, and of returning immediately to England. I trust I need scarcely assure you, that I have as strong an impression as any man can have, of the bad consequences that may attend exhibiting any thing which looks like versatility of conduct; and yet, under the circumstances in which I found myself placed, I am satisfied I had no choice, and that I could not refuse, with propriety, the solicitations of the French plenipotentiaries to renew the conference.

At the commencement of our interview, I perceived a disposition to greater cordiality than I had hitherto experienced. To M. de Champagny's enquiry, whether they had been fortunate enough, by what they had said, to induce me to deliver the project of a treaty, I answered, by recalling to his

his recollection the reasons I had formerly stated, for declining such a proceeding, till the basis that had originally been proposed, was again formally recognised; and I informed him, that, in order to give them an accurate view of my conception of the subject, I had prepared a note which I wished to submit to them, delivering to them the note, a copy of which I had the honour of inclosing in my dispatch of August 29th.

After reading this note, and observing in general that they did not know whether, if we should come to a particular explanation, we might not arrive at a conclusion coincident in its effect with the object I had in view, when I insisted on the general principle, they entered into a detail with respect to the necessity of some immediate determination on the subject of Hanover, and afterwards stated their views as to the French possessions in the East Indies, the Dutch colonies, St. Lucie, and Tobago; on all of which they talked in a style so perfectly different from any thing I had before heard, that I should not be more surprised if, at our next conference, they were to give them up, than I was at the change of tone manifested on this occasion.

A great deal more passed in the way of general conversation; all of which tended to shew me, that, although they were still at a wide distance from such terms as I could accede to, they had wonderfully relaxed from the tone they had antecedently assumed.

M. de Champagny then invited me to name a day for resuming our conference. To this I decidedly objected, admitting, at the same

time, that they had made concessions in the course of our discussion; but adding, that they were still so far from agreeing to admit what the English government uniformly conceived the original proposition to have conveyed, that I could not yet indulge any hopes of our coming to an agreement, and should, therefore, feel it necessary to terminate my mission.

M. de Champagny asked me with some warmth, whether I wished for peace on the terms which I myself had stated? whether I thought myself authorized, after the concessions they had just made, to refuse them time to consider how much further they might go? and whether I might not reasonably entertain hopes, that, with a little time, the differences which appeared now to separate us might vanish?

On receiving such a remonstrance, I thought it impossible not to agree to a renewal of the conference; and, after some conversation, Thursday was fixed for the day of our meeting.

## No. XLV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Earl Spencer to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, Sept. 4th, 1806.*

*Downing-street, Sept. 4, 1806.*

My lord,

I am commanded by his majesty to inform your lordship, that he is pleased to approve entirely the conduct you have held, in the circumstances detailed in your last dispatches, and to express his majesty's satisfaction in the good effect which appears to have resulted from it.

It is proper, however, to remark, that as the French plenipotentiaries have

have not bound themselves as yet by any written note, nor have, even in conversation, agreed to replace the negociation on its true basis; the present appearances of greater facility on their part, may probably arise only from their desire of keeping your lordship at Paris, till the answer from St. Petersburg shall be received; an object which your lordship's last note had shewn them they could no longer accomplish without some departure from the ground on which they have hitherto stood.

If the Russian treaty shall not be ratified, his majesty is then, (as I have already observed to your lordship) replaced, with respect to the emperor of Russia, in the same situation as before the signature of M. d'Oubril's treaty; but with the additional tie, which the two courts would in that case feel from the fresh proofs each will have given to the other, of a steady adherence to the system of alliance; and it will then be necessary that our peace shall be so far made dependent on that of Russia, as is pointed out in the instructions originally given to Lord Yarmouth.

Since the above was written, we have received the important intelligence contained in the indorsed papers \*, copies of which I have thought it necessary to forward to you, without a moment's delay, for your information; the case is already provided for in this dispatch, and in the present state of our information on the subject, I have nothing to add to what is above stated. A few days will now probably put us in possession of the further views and intentions of

Russia, to which reference must of course be had in every succeeding stage of the negociation; and as I shall lose no time in transmitting to your lordship such fresh instructions as these may give rise to, so we shall be anxious to hear as soon as possible from you, what effect this event may produce on the disposition of the French government.

No. XLVI.

*Extract of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, Sept. 4th, 1806.—Received Sept. 7th.*

Sir, Paris, Sept. 4th, 1806.

In my last dispatch I informed you, that in consequence of the solicitations of the plenipotentiaries of France, urged in the manner I there stated to you, I had consented to a renewal of the conference this day at three o'clock.

About half past two I received from M. Talleyrand a note, a copy of which (marked A.) as well as of my answer, (marked B.) I now inclose.

On going to M. Talleyrand's office, I found him just returned from St. Cloud. He began by informing me, that till yesterday they had received no certain information from Petersburg; but that the courier who arrived last night, had brought intelligence that the emperor had positively refused to ratify the treaty. He stated that he had the emperor's orders to say, that this change of circumstances would certainly induce him to make peace with England on more favourable terms than he would otherwise have

\* Intelligence of the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify M. d'Oubril's Treaty.

at present consented to; and further to declare, that as he would find it necessary to give to his plenipotentiaries new instructions, so he thought it proper to communicate this to me, that I might write to my court, to receive also such further instructions as they might think proper to give.

In answer to a question which I asked, whether there was any reason to expect the arrival of any minister to renew the negociation on the part of Russia, he said that no information on that subject had been received. On taking leave, I assured M. Talleyrand that I should report to you the apparent openness with which the communication had been made, and that I should dispatch a courier this evening with the information.

First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 4th, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, 4th Sept. 1806.*

The minister for foreign affairs has received the orders of his majesty the emperor and king, to hold a conference this day with his excellency lord Lauderdale. He has, therefore, the honour to propose to his excellency to call at the office for foreign affairs, at half past two. He begs him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Second Inclosure (B.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 4th, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, 4th September, 1806.—  
Half past two P. M.*

Lord Lauderdale has this instant received the note, dated the 4th of September, by which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, proposes to lord Lauderdale a conference, at his excellency's office this day, at half past two o'clock.

This invitation was not delivered at lord Lauderdale's hotel, till half past two, the time specified for the conference; but lord Lauderdale will have great pleasure in waiting upon his excellency in a quarter of an hour at farthest.

No. XLVII.—Is an extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, September 7, 1806. Received September 11th, proposing to delay the renewal of the conferences.

No. XLVIII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Windham to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, September 10, 1806.*

*Downing-street, Sept. 10, 1806.*

My lord,

Your lordship's dispatch of Sept. 4th has not failed to engage his majesty's most serious attention. The language held by M. Talleyrand appears directed to the object of engaging his majesty in a separate negociation, to the exclusion of Russia; but the interests both of this country and of Europe have always been considered here as essentially connected with the maintenance

nance of the strictest union of councils and measures between his majesty and the emperor of Russia. It was with deep regret that his majesty saw the apparent violation of this principle in the separate treaty signed by M. d'Oubril; and he cannot but consider the steady and upright conduct of the emperor of Russia on that trying occasion, as imposing on his majesty a fresh obligation not to separate his interests from those of so honourable and faithful an ally.

Your lordship must therefore, in the first place, represent to the French government, that the refusal to ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty, has replaced the two courts in their former state of close and intimate alliance; and that any attempt on the part of France to separate them, must henceforth be considered as hopeless. She can now form no expectation that she can conclude peace with either of them, until the negociation with the other shall be brought to the same conclusion.

In reverting to this resolution, his majesty does not however desire to carry the operation of this principle at all farther than before. He has no objection to its being understood, as was expressed to lord Yarmouth in Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of June, that the two courts shall treat separately in form, but in substance in concert with each other. In this mode of treating, the separate interests of Great Britain and France may, as before, be separately discussed between them. But his majesty is determined, as is expressed in the same dispatch, that he will not come to any final agreement without the consent of Russia, and that any arrangement of the points depending between him and

France, is to be considered as provisional, and subject to the case of a like arrangement to be made by his ally.

With respect to the separate interests of Great Britain, his majesty adheres to the basis originally proposed to him by France, and on which your lordship has so often had occasion to insist, that of the *uti possidetis* for the two powers and their allies in all parts of the world, with the single exception of the restitution of Hanover, as having been originally attacked on grounds which cannot be defended. This is the offer of France as originally made to his majesty; it is the demand on which his majesty still thought fit to insist, when apparently abandoned by Russia; and his majesty has no desire of increasing it under circumstances, which, according to the avowal of France herself, entitle his majesty to expect more favourable conditions than France has lately been inclined to accede to. The *uti possidetis* thus described, must however now of necessity include the kingdom of Sicily.

Every endeavour was made in the onset of the negociation to obtain the restitution of Naples to his Sicilian majesty; and the grounds on which it was thought fit finally to desist from that claim on the part of his majesty are detailed in the correspondence of this office with lord Yarmouth and your lordship.

But the case of Sicily was always deemed to be widely different from that of Naples. Our actual occupation of that island brings it fully within the benefit of the *uti possidetis*. And recent events have shewn how very distant are the hopes of conquest in that quarter, which

were



were so much relied upon in one of the notes presented to your lordship by the French plenipotentiaries.

Lord Yarmouth had been uniformly instructed to insist on this demand as a *sine qua non* condition of all arrangements for peace. On the refusal of France to accede to this claim, his lordship had actually, in pursuance of those instructions, demanded his passports, and it was not in the smallest degree departed from or relaxed until a desire was expressed to him by M. d'Oubril, that this government would listen to proposals for an equivalent to be given for Sicily. In compliance with the supposed wishes of his ally, and on that ground alone, his majesty consented to entertain the consideration of such an equivalent, but none has ever been suggested that appeared at all likely to meet the just expectations which his Sicilian majesty would have been entitled to form on that head. And his majesty has now the satisfaction of learning, that the sentiments of his ally have in fact never been different from his own on this point; and that the preservation of Sicily is considered in Russia, as well as in England, as a just condition of any peace with France. On both these grounds, therefore, both on the principle adopted for his own negotiation, and on the ground of his determination not to separate himself from Russia, his majesty thinks it absolutely necessary to maintain this point with the same firmness which he had originally manifested respecting it.

This includes all that it is necessary to say on any point respecting the immediate interests of this country, or of any possession hitherto known to be occupied by his majesty's arms.

No. XLIX.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 18th, 1806.—  
Received September 22d.*

Paris, Sept. 18, 1806.

My lord,

I had the honour of receiving the dispatch, signed by Mr. secretary Windham, dated September 10, late in the evening of Friday last.

Unfortunately I had had a slight degree of fever for four days preceding, and I never was more unfit than on Saturday morning to attend to business of such a magnitude.

On considering the instructions contained in the dispatch with all the attention I could, they appeared to me to relate to two distinct subjects; first, to the form and manner in which his majesty thought proper that I should conduct the negotiation; secondly, to the terms which, under the present circumstances of the two countries, it is proper to ask.

To this distinction I conceived it to be the more necessary for me to attend, because I thought it regular and proper to address what I had to say on the first point to the minister of foreign affairs, whereas the plenipotentiaries of France, should the government authorize them to proceed, seemed the proper channel of communication on the second.

In pursuance of this idea, I immediately wrote a note, a copy of which (marked A.) I inclose, addressed to M. Talleyrand, which I sent by Mr. Goddard in the evening, as I was myself confined to bed.

On

On Monday, about five o'clock, M. Talleyrand called, and though I was very ill at the time, I resolved to admit him. He sat upwards of half an hour. The outline of his conversation consisted in his expressing a desire to have a full communication with me, in his assuring me that if the difficulties, in respect of form, could be got over, he did not think the objections to the terms would be material, and that, where peace was seriously in view, as it was with them, it figured as an object of such importance as to give a disposition to accommodate about conditions: In a word, that he had little doubt that he and I would arrange the business.

On my part, I stated, that I was afraid he proceeded on the supposition that I might give way in some of the points in question, which I thought it fair to assure him at once was impossible. I stated to him generally the demands I was to make on the part of England, which would no way vary from the terms we had originally understood to have been proposed; and that he must expect I would be as positive in relation to the conditions for Russia, with which he was acquainted, as I should be with respect to any point more peculiarly of British interest. I then thought it right to introduce the subject of my having no powers from Russia, observing that, although there might be some irregularity in this mode of proceeding, yet that, under all the circumstances of the present case, it seemed unavoidable, because the principle and feelings of his majesty would never permit him to think of treating, but in such a manner as might insure to the court of Petersburg an honourable peace, at the moment that

peace should be concluded between England and France; and that unless I could be allowed to state the objects of Russia, this could be hardly effected.

He assured me that they would wave all objections with regard to form, and that they would be perfectly ready to hear me on the subject of a treaty of peace with Russia; his objection to my proposal being founded, not on the circumstance of my wanting powers from Russia, but on the very unusual proposal of concluding a treaty, which, when signed, was only to take place in a certain event. I mentioned to him that the same thing had been done at Paris in 1782, when Mr. Oswald concluded a treaty of peace with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adam.

During the whole of this conversation, I had gone even out of my way to repeat to him the necessity of his laying his account with my adhering rigidly to the terms I had detailed; and yet he left me with such expressions as could not fail to create a belief, that he intended to accede to my propositions.

At the moment he quitted me I was much better than I had been for some days, and was in such hopes that I was about to get well, that I undertook to write to him next morning, Tuesday the 16th, to say whether I could appoint a meeting in the course of that day. Unfortunately I had a miserably bad night, and finding myself in the morning totally disqualified for exertion, I wrote to him a note of which I now enclose a copy (marked B.)

Your lordship will perceive, that in this note I pressed for an answer in writing, in a manner as strong and as inoffensive as I could devise.

On

On the morning of the 17th, I wrote to M. Talleyrand a short note (marked C.) expressing my desire that he would come to me any time after three o'clock, which was hardly dispatched before I received a letter from his excellency, announcing the arrival of a courier at Boulogne, and the melancholy account of Mr. Fox's death. A copy of this, together with my answer, a copy of which (marked D. and E.) I have the honour of inclosing.

In the evening I received the inclosure (marked F.) from which your lordship will perceive that I shall at last have a meeting with M. Talleyrand to-morrow at one o'clock.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 13, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, Sept. 13, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, lost no time in transmitting to his court the communication which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs made to him on Thursday the 4th instant; and he now hastens to reply to that communication, by informing his excellency of the line of conduct his majesty has thought proper to direct him to pursue under the present circumstances.

His Britannic majesty, ever anxious to maintain the intimate con-

nection and alliance which subsist between his majesty and the emperor of all the Russias, naturally finds, in the recent conduct of his illustrious ally, and in the proofs which he has lately afforded of the interest which he takes in the welfare of Great Britain and in the general happiness of Europe, additional motives not to separate, in any case, his interests from those of the court of St. Petersburg.

It is not, however, the intention of his majesty to carry this principle further than the earl of Yarmouth was instructed to carry it by Mr. Fox, in his lordship's communication with the French government. There is nothing to prevent the interests of Great Britain and of France from being treated separately: only his majesty does not authorise the undersigned to sign any treaty except provisionally; such treaty not to have its full effect until peace should have been concluded between that faithful ally of Great Britain, and France. It is upon these conditions alone that the undersigned is at present authorised to negotiate.

The undersigned has orders to add, that his Britannic majesty, fully acquainted with the desire entertained by the court of St. Petersburg for peace upon conditions reciprocally honourable and advantageous, and at the same time compatible with the interests of Europe, has authorized him to impart to the French plenipotentiaries the conditions upon which Russia (according to the full and perfect knowledge his Britannic majesty has of the intentions of that court) would be willing to negotiate with the French government; to re-

duce them into the form of a treaty in the event of their being agreed to on both sides; and to insert an article in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and France, by which his Britannic majesty should engage to employ his mediation, for the purpose of obtaining the accession of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the said treaty.

The undersigned is aware that he ought to make the official communication of the conditions to the French plenipotentiaries: in the mean time, and for the satisfaction of his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, he has no difficulty in telling him that they will be in substance the same as those which have already been communicated to his excellency by his excellency baron de Budberg.

The undersigned expects with great impatience the answer to this communication, which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs will have the goodness to send in writing. It is the more necessary for him to receive it in that form, as his court has marked that the communications the undersigned has already made, have frequently remained without a written answer.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 16th, 1806. Excusing his delays on account of illness,

and requesting a written answer to his note.

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 17th, 1806, appointing a meeting.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 17th, 1806. Immaterial.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 17, 1806. Immaterial.

Sixth Inclosure (F.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 17, 1806. Puts off an appointed meeting.

No. L.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 19, 1806.—Received September 22d.*

*Paris, September 19, 1806.*

My Lord,

At one o'clock this day, Monsieur Talleyrand called on me according to the appointment which I announced to your lordship in my last dispatch. I immediately perceived, that his plan was to exhibit extreme civility, which no one knows better how to execute.

After some time spent in compliments,

pliments, and in condolence on the great loss the world had sustained, he told me, that as I insisted on an answer in writing, one was prepared, which contained a declaration consonant to what he supposed me to wish on the two most material points. First, that the emperor was willing to admit of an article being introduced to answer the objects I had in view in relation to Russia, and to instruct his plenipotentiaries to hear me with respect to the interests of that power. Secondly, that France would be ready to make great concessions for the purpose of obtaining peace.

After some conversation, all tending to impress me with the idea that peace was their main object, and that they were even ready to make any sacrifice to secure it, he produced the paper to which he had alluded (marked A.); and which I had at first understood he meant to transmit to me when he should go home.

Before he opened it, he looked at me, and said, that there was a mixture in it of what, perhaps, I should not like, but that I must take the evil with the good. He begged that I would allow him to read it through without interrupting him. When he had finished, I said that I should of course send such an answer as I thought becoming and proper. I told him, and, I trust, with perfect temper and seeming indifference, that the most important thing for me to know was, whether these concessions would be to the extent of allowing us to retain what they had originally proposed? He answered that the emperor would leave every thing open to the plenipotentiaries.

On his going away I felt myself so extremely fatigued, in consequence of the weak state in which my late illness has left me, that I was obliged to lie down and recruit my strength before I could turn my mind to the formation of what I conceived to be a proper answer to his note. I trust your lordship will approve of the answer I have sent, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing, (marked B.). My object in framing it, was to facilitate as much as possible the immediate progress of the negociation, and, at the same time, to let the government of France feel that I was alive to what, in point of dignity, belonged to the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.)

*Copy of a Note delivered by M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 18, 1806.*

(Translation.)

*Paris, September 18, 1806.*

The undersigned, the minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty the emperor, king of Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 13th of this month.

His majesty the emperor and king sees with regret that the negociation seems to take every day a retrograde course, and he is

at a loss to discover what point the English government wish to attain.

In the first instance, obsolete forms were brought forward and urged for our acceptance, the text and the substance of which had never been admitted, nor even discussed, by the French government, and when this difficulty appeared to be removed, and the French plenipotentiaries held out a prospect of sacrifices which proved more and more the desire of their government for peace, points antecedent to the negotiation were recurred to, and a question was started again which had been three times decided; first, by the powers given to M. d'Oubrik, with which his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiaries were acquainted, afterwards by the powers given to the earl of Yarmouth, and lastly, for the third time, by those of the earl of Lauderdale. One might have supposed that a discussion, terminated before the first conference of the respective negotiators, and decided even by the very fact of their negotiation, would not again be brought forward.

His majesty the emperor wishing however to give a fresh proof of his uniform desire for the re-establishment of peace, adheres to the following proposal: That the negotiation between France and England shall continue; that the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain shall be at liberty to introduce into the treaty, either as a public or a secret article, or in any other form which would answer the same end, whatever he may conceive would tend to reconcile the existing differen-

ces between France and Russia, and would procure from the latter a participation in the benefits of peace, it being well understood, that no proposal shall be admitted except such as are respectively honourable, and are not injurious to the real power and dignity of the two empires; and that we shall not see again brought forward the extraordinary proposals which M. de Novosiltzoff was charged to make on the part of Russia, and which, having marked the origin of a coalition conquered and destroyed in its birth, ought equally to be forgotten with the coalition itself. There are proposals which, being only the result of blind confidence, and of a species of infatuation, and being founded neither on the real force of the parties, nor on their geographical situation, are deprived of their pacific character, and carry with them their own condemnation.

France ought neither to abandon the interests of the Ottoman empire, nor a position which enables her to sustain that empire against the aggressions with which she is openly menaced by Russia; but as all the objects destined to enter into the arrangements of the treaty, must be reserved for discussion, the undersigned will not seek to anticipate the result which it may produce.

If, after the changes which have taken place in the cabinet of his Britannic majesty, peace is still wished for in England, peace may be made, and that without delay. The emperor will not hesitate to make some sacrifices in order to accelerate it, and to render it durable; but if the dispositions for peace should have changed in London,

don, if the wise and liberal views manifested in the first communications which took place with the illustrious minister, whom both nations lament, should no longer prevail, a vague discussion, immoderate pretensions, and ambiguous proposals, wide of that tone of frankness and dignity necessary to conduce to a real reconciliation, would only have the effect of producing more irritation, and would be unworthy of both nations. France does not pretend to dictate either to Russia or to England, but she will be dictated to by neither of these powers. Let the conditions be equal, just, and moderate, and the peace is concluded; but if an imperious and exaggerating disposition is evinced, if pre-eminence is affected, if, in a word, it is meant to *dictate* peace, the emperor and the French people will not even notice these proposals. Confiding in themselves, they will say, as a nation of antiquity answered its enemies, "*you demand our arms, come and take them.*"

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has the honour to renew to his excellency the earl of Lauderdale the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND,  
PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.

Second Inclosure (B.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 19, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, September 19. 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary

of his majesty the king of Great Britain, in answering the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, dated the 18th instant, which has been received to-day, begins by remarking, that he purposely abstains as much as possible from all observation upon those points contained in it, which are foreign to the immediate object in question. By this means, he will avoid discussions of a nature to lead him to forget that tone of moderation which it is his duty to observe in the whole course of his mission. He will thus maintain the line of conduct which is conformable to that love of peace, which characterizes all the proceedings of the king his master.

When the undersigned reflects, that he came to Paris, authorized to conclude peace upon terms understood to have been proposed by France; that notwithstanding the refusal of his imperial majesty of all the Russias to ratify the treaty signed by M. d'Oubril, and the splendid success obtained by his majesty's arms in Spanish America, he was authorized to give assurances (as he had the honour of doing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs) that the demands of his court, in its own favour, would not in consequence of these successes, be materially increased; the undersigned had reason to be surpris'd at finding his government charged with manifesting an "imperious and exaggerating disposition." He is not less astonished, that his excellency, in replying to a note in which lord Lauderdale had the honour of explaining distinctly to him, that the conditions pointed out by his excellency baron de Budberg, were in substance what

would be insisted upon by Great Britain in favour of Russia, should have thought it necessary to reprobate so strongly conditions proposed by M. de Novosiltzoff under totally different circumstances, and of the nature of which, the undersigned is entirely ignorant.

Nevertheless, after the explanations given by the undersigned to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, and the declaration made by him to his excellency, that the undersigned is not authorized to negotiate otherwise than so as to ensure the conclusion of a peace with Great Britain and with Russia at the same moment; and, after having received, in the official note of yesterday's date, assurances that the French government does not refuse the admission of an article, the design of which shall be to provide for this indispensable object, the undersigned will make no difficulty in resuming the conferences with their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, as soon as their excellencies shall be duly authorized for this purpose.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.  
(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. LI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 26, 1806.—Received September 28.*

Nothing material happened after the conference with M. Talleyrand, which I detailed in my dispatch of the 19th instant, till the 22d, when I received from him a communication, informing me that

the emperor having thought general Clarke's services near his person necessary in a journey he was about to undertake immediately, M. de Champagny would be instructed to conduct singly, on the part of France, the business of the negociation in future.

This communication was made in a letter which I enclose (marked A.) together with a copy of my answer (marked B.)

On the 23d, being anxious that the negotiation should proceed as soon as possible, I took the opportunity of M. de Champagny's sending to enquire after my health, to urge him, in writing, to renew the conference without farther loss of time. Your lordship will find a copy of my letter (marked C.) together with his answer (marked D.) enclosed.

On the 24th, I received from M. Talleyrand an answer to the demand I had made for an explanation on the subject of passports, in my letter of the 22d. This communication (marked E.) I think it proper also to transmit to your lordship.

On the 25th, at one o'clock, M. de Champagny called on me, as had been previously agreed, for the purpose of renewing the conferences.

After the usual interchange of civilities, he proceeded to say, that, to secure peace, the emperor had determined to make great sacrifices.

1st, That Hanover with its dependencies should be restored to his majesty.

2d, That the possession of Malta should be confirmed to Great Britain.

3d, That France would interfere



tere with Holland to confirm to his majesty the absolute possession of the Cape.

4th, That the emperor would confirm to his majesty the possession of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahee, and the other dependent comptoirs.

5th, That as Tobago was originally settled by the English, it was meant also to give that island to the crown of Great Britain.

To all this he added, that what he had now said, proceeded on the supposition, that Sicily was to be ceded, and that the French government proposed that his Sicilian majesty should have, as indemnity, not only the Balearic Islands, but should also receive an annuity from the court of Spain to enable him to support his dignity.

I here interrupted him, expressing my surprize, after the full explanation I had with M. Talleyrand on that very point, that the possibility of our giving up Sicily should be mentioned again; that the guarantee of it to the king of the Two Sicilies was as much an object with England as M. Talleyrand knew it to be with Russia; and that I was happy to take that opportunity of stating to him fairly, that I felt myself bound to consider the obtaining for Russia the arrangement which she desired, as an object more interesting if possible to England, than those points which might be considered as peculiarly connected with her own interests.

He informed me, that there was no clause in his instructions empowering him to hear me on the part of Russia: but that he had seen M. Talleyrand's note to me, and,

being satisfied that this was an accidental omission, which would be forthwith remedied, he had no objection to proceed, as if such a clause had been inserted.

It was agreed that I should go to him to-day at two o'clock, to renew the conference.

First Inclosure (A.)—Is a copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 22d, 1806, announcing the intention of General Clarke and himself to follow the Emperor, and proposes to correspond with Lord L.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 22, 1806, requesting to be furnished with passports, &c. for messengers in the absence of M. Talleyrand.

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated September 23, 1806, requesting the appointment of a meeting.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a Copy of a Note from M. de Champagny to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 23, 1806. Appoints Thursday next as the first day M. Champagny would have leisure.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a Copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 24, 1806. Formal, containing passports, &c.

\* L 14

No.

## No. LII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated September 26, 1806,—Received September 28.*

*Paris, September 26, 1806.*

My Lord,

In conformity with my engagement made yesterday, which I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship in my former dispatch of this date, I waited on M. Champagne this afternoon at two o'clock.

He informed me, that the accidental omission in his instructions had been remedied, and that he had now powers to talk with me on the interests of Russia, with a view to arrange the conditions on which France would make peace with that country: but he, at the same time, proposed, that we should, in the first instance, talk over the terms of peace between France and England.

I observed, that as the greatest difficulties in our last conference seemed to arise from the conditions that I had proposed as necessary to be granted to Russia; and, as England was resolved not to make peace without obtaining for Russia all the objects on which she insisted, I thought the more natural order would be, to resume our conversation on these last topics.

A long discussion accordingly ensued, which ended in his informing me, that on the subject of concession to Russia, he was authorized to communicate to me, that the government of France was willing, in

addition to the treaty made by M. d'Oubril, to cede to that power the full sovereignty of the island of Corfu, but that he had no authority to go any farther.

I then informed him, that I was sorry to learn that the negotiation was at an end, for that my instructions were precise, and that I should feel it my duty, the moment I left him, to state to M. Talleyrand, that all hopes having vanished of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, I had only now to request passports for my return to England.

After strong expressions of mutual regard, he attended me to the outer room, where he again proposed a renewal of our conferences, in case his government should give him new instructions.

My answer was, that I had no choice in immediately applying for passports; but that, as long as I remained in this country, I never would refuse to see him; and that if, before my departure, he should come with powers to grant all the objects on which I had explained myself, I should feel the greatest satisfaction, though at that moment, I thought any appointment perfectly unnecessary.

On my return home I sent to M. Talleyrand a letter demanding my passports, a copy of which (marked A.) I enclose; and I understand from the courier Basilico, that he received it ten minutes before he got into his carriage to go to Mentz.

About six o'clock, I received from M. de Champagne a note, of which, as well as of my answer, I enclose copies to your lordship, (marked B. and C.)

Whilst

Whilst I am writing, I have received the note, which I enclose, (marked D.)

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

I open this dispatch to enclose a note, (marked E.) I have this moment received from M. de Champagny.

First Inclosure (A.) Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 26, 1806. Demands passports to return, as the conference with M. Champagny, "unfortunately leaves me no hope of being able to bring the negociations, on the part of Great Britain and of Russia, to a favourable issue."

Second Inclosure (B.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26, 1806. "He thinks it may tend to advance that very desirable object, peace, to converse again on the subject with his excellency, and he has the honour to propose to his excellency to receive him at his house on Monday next."

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated September 26, 1806. Accepts the appointment.

Fourth Inclosure (D.) Copy of a note from M. d'Hauterive to

the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806. Immaterial.

Fifth Inclosure (E.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806. Appoints two o'clock on Monday next to meet.

### No. LIII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Viscount Howick to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, October 1, 1806.*

*Downing-street, October 1, 1806.*

My Lord,

Your dispatches of the 26th ult. brought by the messenger Johnson, have been laid before the king.

His majesty has seen, with great regret, that after more than six months spent in negociation, the French government still hesitates upon the admission of points constantly urged by his majesty, as the only grounds on which he could consent to peace, and that in so unsatisfactory a state of things, the chief of that government, together with his principal minister, has suddenly left Paris,\* creating thereby new obstacles to the progress of the negociation.

Whatever views the French government may have, in keeping up this state of suspense and uncertainty, his majesty feels that it is equally prejudicial to the interests

\* The chief of the French government left Paris on the night of the 24th September, and was followed by M. Talleyrand on the 26th.

of his subjects, and to those of Europe. If the professions of France are sincere, there can be no reason why she should not give a plain and decisive answer to demands which have been so long under consideration; and the time is now come, when such an answer must be required, as indispensable to your continuance at Paris.

No. LIV. Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to viscount Howick, dated Paris, October 4th, 1806.—Received October 6th. Immaterial.

No. LV.

*Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Viscount Howick, dated Paris, October 6, 1806.—Received October 8.*

My Lord,

Late last night M. de Champagny's principal secretary called upon me with a letter from him, inclosing a letter from M. Talleyrand, both of which I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship, (marked A. and B.)

From these your lordship will perceive, that the negociation is now at an end, and that M. de Champagny has been authorised to give me the passports I required.

I have this day accordingly renewed my demand to him in a letter, a copy of which I enclose (marked C.)

On considering M. Talleyrand's note, it seemed to me necessary that I should not take the step of asking my passports from M. de Champagny, without accompanying my demand with a reply to some of the observations made by

the minister for foreign affairs. Your lordship will accordingly find inclosed a copy (marked D.) of an official note addressed by me to that minister.

I have sent the courier Lyell, for the purpose of conveying this information, and I have given him a letter to admiral Holloway, desiring him instantly to announce by the telegraph, that I shall leave Paris on Thursday morning.

I have taken this step, because it occurred to me that government being thus in possession of the intelligence, that the negociation is at an end, ten hours before it can reach London, they may have it in their power to take the most prudent means to make the fact public.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated October 5th, 1806. Formal.

Second Inclosure (B.)

*Copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Mentz, October 1, 1806.*

(Translation.)

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty, the emperor, king of Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 26th of this month.

His majesty, after having, from a desire

a desire of peace, listened to every proposition which could have rendered it durable, and of reciprocal advantage to the two contracting powers, and to their allies, will see with pain the rupture of a negotiation, to which his own disposition had led him to hope a more favourable conclusion. If the English cabinet is resolved to forego the prospect of a peace, and, if his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary must depart from France, his majesty still flatters himself, that the English cabinet, and lord Lauderdale will, when they shall measure the extent of the sacrifices which he was disposed to make, in order to facilitate the return of a sincere reconciliation, be convinced that his majesty, in order to promote the happiness of the world, would not hesitate between any advantages, in comparison with those to be expected from peace, and that the desire to insure its benefits to his people, could alone have determined his paternal heart to make sacrifices, not only of self love but of power, more considerable than even the opinion of the English nation could have pointed out in the midst of a war, in which he had obtained constant advantages, without any mixture of reverse. If, however, it is the destiny of the emperor, and of the French nation, still to live in the midst of the wars and tumults, which the policy and influence of England have raised, his majesty, having done every thing to put a stop to the calamities of war, finding himself deceived in his dearest hopes, relies on the justice of his cause, on the courage, the affection, the power of his people. At the same time calling to mind the dis-

positions which he has expressed throughout the negotiation, his majesty cannot see but with regret, that England, who might have strengthened and confirmed her vast power by the blessings of peace, the want of which is felt by the present generation, and by the English people, as well as all others, willingly suffers the most favourable opportunity of concluding it to pass by:—The event will disclose whether a new coalition will be more disadvantageous to France than those which have preceded it. The event will also disclose, whether those who complain of the grandeur and ambition of France, should not impute to their own hatred and injustice, this very grandeur and ambition of which they accuse her. The power of France has only been increased by the reiterated efforts to oppress her. Nevertheless, whatever inferences for the future may be drawn from the examples of the past, his majesty will be ready, should the negotiations with England be broken off, to renew them in the midst of any events. He will be ready to replace them on the basis laid in concert with the illustrious minister whom England has lost, who, having nothing to add to his glory, except the reconciliation of the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world in the midst of his work.

The undersigned has the honour to inform his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, that M. de Champagny has been authorised to deliver to him the passports which he has demanded.

The undersigned is desirous of renewing to his excellency the earl

of Lauderdale, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND,  
PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated October 6, 1806. A formal demand of passports,

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated October 6, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Paris, October 6, 1806.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty received late last night the note which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, did him the honour to address to him on the first of this month.

The undersigned, learning that his excellency M. de Champagny is authorised to grant him the passports which he has demanded, and which he is on the point of receiving, cannot refrain from observing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, in answer to his note, that he has some difficulty in imagining from what circumstances his excellency has been able to infer, "that the British government have resolved to forego the prospect of peace."

The undersigned was sent to France to negotiate a peace, at a time when the illustrious minister, to whom his excellency has paid so just a tribute of praise, presided

over the department for foreign affairs. This great man then acted under the full conviction, that he had received from France an offer of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception of Hanover and of its dependencies, in favour of his Britannic majesty. And, notwithstanding the success of the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well in Italy as on the continent of South America; and the refusal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to ratify that treaty, which in the eyes of the French government, was equivalent to the most splendid victory; not one new proposition has been advanced on the part of his majesty, incompatible with the principle which was at first proposed by the French government, through the channel of the earl of Yarmouth, as the basis of the negotiation. It is not, surely, from such conduct that the inference can be drawn, "that the British government have resolved to forego the prospect of a peace."

Are the conditions which the undersigned was ordered to propose as the basis of a peace between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and the French government more of a nature to have given rise to this suspicion? Quite the reverse. If a solid and durable peace was the object of the two powers, these were such conditions as justice and expediency demanded. *Justice*; because certainly nothing could be more equitable than to grant to his Sicilian majesty and to the king of Sardinia a compensation for their immense losses on the continent. *Expediency*; because in order to insure the duration of peace, such an arrangement

ment of boundaries as may prevent disputes must always be preferable to that which furnishes to one of the parties the means and advantages of attack. It was on this principle that the proposed evacuation of Dalmatia and Albania by the French troops, naturally suggested itself.

If, therefore, the undersigned has received orders to demand his passports, and to depart from France, it is certainly not because his sovereign *wishes* to renounce peace, but because his majesty finds himself *obliged to do so*; the French government not having consented to all the conditions which were comprised in the proposals originally made by them to his Britannic majesty, and having moreover rejected, as the basis for the treaty with Russia, the just and reasonable conditions which the undersigned was authorized to propose.

The undersigned has received with real satisfaction the general assurances of the disposition of the French government to renew the negotiation at a future period, as expressed in the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. He has seen with no less pleasure, that the tone and the moderation observed in this communication correspond with the sentiments which accompany them. On this subject his excellency may rest assured, that the French government, could not in any way express a stronger desire to see an end put to the calamities of war, than that which his Britannic majesty will invariably feel, whenever peace can be concluded on conditions compatible with the honour

of his crown and the interests of his subjects.

The undersigned ought here to conclude the official answer which he has thought necessary to make to the note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. But he cannot pass over in silence one part of this note, where his excellency wishes to convey the idea that the British government seems no longer disposed to act on the same principles which directed the conduct of the great man whom England has lately lost. The undersigned, without being authorized to mention this subject, nor even to introduce it in an official paper, trusts in the known goodness and indulgence of his sovereign, when he allows himself to make the following observations on this subject.

During twenty-six years of intimate and uninterrupted connection with Mr. Fox, the undersigned as much as any one, has had an opportunity of confidentially learning the sentiments of that celebrated man. From his knowledge of them, he is impressed with the strongest conviction, that no minister could give to the instructions of which he was to be the organ, a more perfect assent, or concur more effectually in their execution, than Mr. Fox would have done, in giving to the undersigned on the part of his Britannic majesty, such orders as the undersigned has in fact received, under circumstances in which peace (on the just and equitable conditions which had been proposed to that minister) would have appeared to him impracticable.

How much would this opinion have

have been strengthened in the mind of that minister, on perceiving the French government refuse the just demands of that illustrious ally, who, by his fidelity to his Britannic majesty, has deserved, on the part of the king, that his interests should be as dear to him as his own.

The undersigned has the honour to acquaint his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, that he this morning applied to his excellency M. de Champagne for his passports. At the same time, he requests him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. LVI.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Buyukdéré, August 25, 1806.—Received September 29.*

It was yesterday settled at the Porte, that the present hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia should be recalled, and that prince Charles Callimaki, the first dragoman of the Porte, should be named to the government of Moldavia, and prince Alexander Suzzo to that of Wallachia; at the same time Mr. Bano Hanchyry was appointed dragoman in the room of prince Callimaki.

To give you a perfect idea of the disrespect with which Russia has been treated in this instance, it is necessary that I should transmit to you an extract from the regulations respecting Moldavia and Wallachia, which were published in the year 1802.

As no accusation whatever has been brought against either of the Hospodars who are now removed, there can be no excuse for breaking the convention; by which it was stipulated with Russia, that seven years should be the period of each prince's government.

You will, probably, expect to hear that this measure has originated with the French ambassador; in effect, there are proofs sufficient that it is his work.

(Inclosure.)

*Extract of a Regulation respecting the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, dated September 24th, 1802.*

(Translation.)

Sept. 24th, 1802.

The term of the continuance of the hospodars in their governments shall from henceforth be fixed at seven complete and entire years, to date from the day of their nomination, and if they are not guilty of any open offence, they shall not be displaced before that term is expired; if they do commit an offence, during that time, the Sublime Porte will inform the minister of Russia of the circumstance; and if, after due examination is made into the affair on both sides, it shall appear that the hospodar has really committed an offence, in that case only his deposition shall be allowed.

No.



No. LVII.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Buyukdéré, Sept. 29th, 1806.—Received Nov. 9th.*

*Buyukdéré, 29th Sept. 1806.*

Sir,

On the 18th of this month the dragoman of the Porte communicated to Mr. Pisani\*, for my information, a note which had been presented by the French ambassador, a copy of which I have herewith the honour to inclose.

(Inclosure.)

*Note presented by the French Ambassador at the Porte, to the Reis Effendi.*

(Translation.)

*Pera, Sept. 16th, 1806.*

The undersigned general of division, ambassador of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, has the honour to lay before his excellency the Reis Effendi, the following considerations.

He has been positively informed, although in an indirect manner, that the Russian legation has delivered a note to the Sublime Porte, in which it is said that the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify the treaty of peace signed at Paris by his plenipotentiary. This refusal places Europe in the same situation in which she was six weeks ago, but it unmasks the projects of Russia. This treaty of peace stipu-

lated for the independence of the Seven Islands; a stipulation which removing the Russians from the Mediterranean, where they had established themselves in order to attack the Ottoman empire at various points, could not be acceptable to them.

Ragusa was restored to its independence under the protection of the Sublime Porte: this arrangement rendering it impossible for the Russians to keep up their intelligence with the Montenegrins and with the revolted Servians, was contrary to their views.

Doubtless it is the article which stipulates for the independence of the Ottoman empire, and the integrity of its territory, which has occasioned the rejection of the peace at Petersburg: Russia then perceived that she could no longer seize provinces of that empire by force of arms, as she seized the Crimea, or extort them from her in time of peace, as she did with regard to Georgia, and the passage of the Dardanelles.

This treaty of peace, in fine, leaving the French in Albania and Dalmatia, placed upon the frontiers of Turkey, her most ancient ally, and her most faithful friend, who would have remained, and will ever remain, ready to defend her. Such are the motives which have led the cabinet of Petersburg to this refusal. I do not give way to vain declamation; I lay facts before you; I beseech you to weigh them with all the attention to which they are entitled.

If in these difficult circumstances the Porte does not form a true estimate of her dangers and of her

\* First dragoman, or interpreter, attached to the British mission.

force,

force, if she does not form the decision her interests require of her, I shall, perhaps, ere long, have to lament her fate.

The undersigned has received the most positive orders from his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to declare to the Sublime Porte, that not only the principles of friendship, but those of the strictest neutrality, require that the Bosphorus should be shut against all Russian ships of war, as well as against every other vessel of that nation, bringing troops, ammunition, or provisions; and that the same passage cannot be opened to them, without committing an act of hostility against France, and without giving his majesty Napoleon the great, a right of passage over the territories of the Ottoman empire, in order to combat with the Russian army on the banks of the Dneister.

Any renewal or continuation of alliance with the enemies of France, such as England and Russia, would be not only a manifest violation of the neutrality, but an accession on the part of the Sublime Porte to the war which those powers wage against France, and his majesty would see himself compelled to take measures conformable to his interests and his dignity.

The Sublime Porte cannot maintain her relations with two misfions from Naples, and his majesty the emperor of the French cannot suffer his august brother, Napoleon Joseph, king of Naples and the Two Sicilies, to meet with difficulties here which he does not experience from any power in amity with France.

His majesty the emperor has a large army in Dalmatia: this army

is collected for the defence of the Ottoman empire, unless an equivocal conduct on the part of the Porte, and a condescension towards Russia and England, which might again throw her into their power, should compel his majesty the emperor of the French, to bring forward his formidable forces for a purpose totally opposite to that which he had in view.

His majesty has ordered the undersigned to state to the Sublime Porte, in the most friendly though energetic manner, these demands, for the purpose of obtaining an answer in writing, and it is expected that this answer shall be positive and categorical.

No further delay can be allowed; and his majesty has no doubt that the Sublime Porte will give him the assurances he desires, and which are so much in unison with the interests of the Ottoman empire.

The undersigned has no wish to make a vain display of the formidable forces of the great Napoleon; his friends know how to estimate their importance; his enemies have felt their power.

The genius of his august master is well known; his determinations are wise and prompt, his personal attachment to his highness is sincere. He only seeks the independency, the integrity, and the glory of Turkey. He desires nothing. He asks nothing. What inducements to an union with him! At the same time what reason to apprehend the loss of his good will, by adopting a timid, uncertain, or inimical line of conduct! Under these circumstances the answer of the Sublime Porte will regulate the conduct of my august master.

Let

Let not the threats of the enemies of France impose on the Sublime Porte; they have been vanquished, and they will ever be so. The great Napoleon will employ all his resources for the glory of his highness Selim III. his friend; and as his resources are immense, his genius is still greater.

This note is of sufficient importance to be submitted to the profound wisdom of his majesty the emperor Selim III. and your excellency is requested to take the earliest opportunity of laying it before him.

The undersigned requests his excellency the Reis Effendi, to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

HORACE SEBASTIANI.

*Declaration of his Britannic Majesty,*  
OCT. 21.

The negotiations in which his majesty has been engaged with France having terminated unsuccessfully, his majesty thinks proper to make this public declaration to his subjects and to Europe, of the circumstances which have led to an issue which his majesty deeply regrets. He has no object nearer to his heart than the conclusion of a secure and permanent peace. He laments the continuance of a war affecting the happiness of so many nations, and which, even amidst all the successes that attend his arms, is so burthensome to his faithful and affectionate people. But he is confident that there can arise on this occasion no other sentiments, either in his own dominions, or in any part of Europe,

than that of an increased conviction, that the restoration of general tranquillity is retarded only by the injustice and ambition of the enemy.

The French government, unsatisfied with its immense acquisitions on the continent, still openly perseveres in a system destructive of the independence of every other power. War is pursued, not for security, but for conquest; and negotiations for peace appear to be entered into for no other object than that of deluding the neighbouring powers into a state of false security, while France is herself preparing, arranging, and executing, her unremitting projects of encroachment and aggression.

Her conduct in the recent discussions has afforded but too many proofs of this disposition.

The negociation originated in an offer made by the French government, of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession, which was stated to admit of mutual compensation; and a distinct assurance was added, that his majesty's German dominions, which had been attacked without even the pretence of any cause of hostility, should be restored.

Such a proposal appeared to his majesty to afford a just foundation for negotiating: it was, therefore, accepted, with this reserve, that the negotiations should be conducted by his majesty in concert with his allies.

No sooner had this basis been mutually admitted, than it was departed from by the enemy, and that too in points of so great importance, as to call for an immediate declaration on the part of his majesty, that unless the principle

proposed by France herself were adhered to, the communications which had been opened between the two governments must at once be closed.

This produced new professions of the disposition of France to make considerable sacrifices for the attainment of peace, if the discussions were suffered to proceed; at the same time that a difficulty was started on account of the want of full powers in the person intrusted by his majesty with this communication. Steps were thereupon taken by his majesty for opening a regular negotiation by ministers duly authorized, in order to ascertain, in a manner the most satisfactory and authentic, whether peace could be obtained, on terms honourable to the king and his allies, and consistent with the general security of Europe.

During these proceedings, a minister, sent by the emperor of Russia to treat for the same important object, in concert with his majesty's government, was induced, by the artifices of the enemy, to sign a separate treaty, on terms equally repugnant to the honour and interests of his imperial majesty.

Unmoved by this unexpected event, the king continued to negotiate precisely on the same principles as before. He relied with a confidence, which experience has amply justified, on the good faith and steadiness of an ally, in concert with whom he had begun to treat, and whose interests he had maintained throughout with the same firmness as his own.

The French government, on the contrary, elated with this advantage, of which it boasted as equal in importance to the most decisive

victory, departed in every conference more and more widely from its own offers and engagements. Not only did it take upon itself to change at its own will the basis of the negotiation with Great Britain, but it violated, in points, still more important, every principle of good faith with Russia. The chief inducement offered to that power as the price of all the sacrifices extorted from her minister, had been the preservation of Germany. Yet, before the decision of Russia on this treaty could be known, France had already annihilated the whole frame and constitution of the Germanic empire; and reduced under her own yoke a large proportion of the states and provinces of Germany; and, not content with this open contempt of obligations so recently contracted, had at the same time instigated the Porte to measures directly subversive of her subsisting engagements with Russia.

While such conduct was pursued towards his majesty, towards his allies, and towards all independent powers, there appeared so little hope of any favourable issue to the negotiation, that his majesty's plenipotentiaries demanded their passports to return to England.

This demand was at first eluded by an unusual and unexplained delay, and the French government, afterwards, by some material concessions, accompanied with intimations, that others of still greater consequence might be the result of further discussion, procured a renewal of the conferences, which were protracted from day to day, till at length it was announced at Paris that the emperor of Russia had indignantly rejected the unauthorized

authorized and separate treaty signed by his minister.

In consequence of this important event, the strongest assurances were given to his majesty's minister, that France was now prepared to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order, by securing peace with Great Britain, to re-establish the tranquillity of the world.

The object of these assurances appeared, however, to be that of engaging his majesty to a separate negociation, to the exclusion of his allies; a proposal which his majesty had rejected in the outset, and which he could still less admit of at a time when the conduct of Russia had imposed on him an increased obligation not to separate his interests from those of so faithful an ally. To these insidious overtures, his majesty steadily refused to listen; but he took the most effectual method to avoid all appearance of delay, and to accelerate, if possible, the favourable issue of the negociation. The confidential intercourse which he had constantly maintained with Russia, enabled his majesty to specify the terms on which peace with that power might be obtained; and his minister was accordingly instructed to state to France, in addition to his own demands, those of his ally, to reduce them into distinct articles, and even to conclude on those grounds a provisional treaty, to take effect whenever Russia should signify her accession.

This form of negotiating was, after some objection, acceded to by France. Terms were now offered to his majesty more nearly approaching than before to the original basis of negociation; but they were still far short of what

his majesty had uniformly insisted on, and was now more than ever entitled to expect; and the decisive rejection of the just demands of Russia, as well as of the conditions proposed by his majesty in behalf of his other allies, left to his majesty no other course than that of ordering his minister to terminate the discussion and return to England.

The foregoing short and simple exposition of facts stands in need of no comment. The first overtures which led to negociation were made by the enemy, and they were accepted by his majesty in the sincerest spirit of peace. Every opening which seemed to afford the most distant prospect of accommodation has been anxiously embraced, nor was the negociation finally broken off while any hope of a favourable issue could be entertained. His majesty's demands were uniformly just and reasonable; directed to no objects of personal aggrandizement, but to such only as were indispensably required by the honour of his crown, his engagements to his allies, and a due consideration of the general interests of Europe,

It is with heartfelt concern that his majesty contemplates the continuance of those evils always inseparable from a state of war; but it is with his enemies that this awful responsibility rests; and for the issue of the contest his majesty trusts, with confidence, to the justice of his cause; to the resources and bravery of his people; to the fidelity of his allies; and, above all, to the protection and support of the Divine Providence.

In contributing to the great efforts which such a contest must un-

avoidably require, his faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget that all their dearest interests are at stake; that no sacrifices they can be called upon to make, are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin of yielding to the injurious pretensions of the enemy; that with the inviolable maintenance of the good faith and public honour of their country, its prosperity, its strength, and its independence, are essentially connected; and that, in asserting the rights, and upholding the dignity of the British empire, they defend the most powerful bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

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*List of Papers presented relative to Communications with Foreign Powers, on the Subject of the Slave Trade.*

No. I.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox: dated Paris, July 1, 1806—Received July 4.*

I gave M. Talleyrand a copy of the addresses presented to his majesty, for the abolition of the slave trade. Having read it, he said, that he could not receive the communication regularly from a person having no official character; but that I might inform you that, on a general view of the subjects, the sentiments and wishes of France were similar to those of Great Britain, but that no decisive answer could be given till they had considered the interests of their colonies,

which would take some time, the question being to them new.

No. II.

*Extract from a Dispatch from Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 5, 1806.*

If the discussion should proceed, your lordship will avail yourself of any favourable opportunity of reverting to the subject of the addresses of the two houses of parliament respecting the slave trade; and of urging that this opportunity may not be lost of giving effect, by the co-operation of Great Britain and France, to an object the accomplishment of which would be so honourable to them, and so interesting to humanity.

No. III.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox; dated Paris, July 9, 1806—Received July 12.*

I asked M. Talleyrand whether I should write for instructions to enable me to treat with France for the abolition of the slave trade; he said, that the emperor would discuss that point when the others of greater importance were arranged.

No. IV.

*Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox; dated Paris, July 24, 1806—Received July 28.*

I next mentioned the slave trade.  
General

General Clarke assured me, that the emperor would enter into immediate negociation upon that point, whenever the peace was made; but that it could make no article in the treaty, as the question had not yet received the necessary consideration.

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*M. D'Oubril's Treaty signed the 8th (20th) of July, with General Clarke, appointed Plenipotentiary for that Purpose by the French Government.*

1. From the present day there shall be peace and friendship for ever between his majesty the emperor of Russia, and his majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, their heirs and successors, their empires and subjects.

2. As a consequence of the first article, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease between the two nations: the necessary orders for which shall be issued within twenty-four hours after signing the present convention. All ships of war, and other vessels belonging to either of the two powers, or their subjects, that shall be taken after the signing of this convention in any part of the world, shall be restored to the owners.

3. The Russian troops shall give up to the French the country known by the name of Bocca di Cattaro, as also Dalmatia, which, by the fourth article of the treaty of Presburg, belongs to his French imperial majesty as king of Italy. Every facility shall be afforded the Russian troops for the evacuation of Cattaro, as also of the Ragu-

san territory, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, if the circumstances of the war should have occasioned them to occupy those territories. Immediately after this convention shall be ratified, the commanders of the two powers by land and sea shall enter into an agreement with respect to the marching out of the troops, and the surrender of the country.

4. His majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy consents, at the request of the emperor of all the Russias,

I. To restore the republic of Ragusa to its former independence, under the condition that it shall enjoy, as heretofore, the protection of the Ottoman Porte. The French shall retain the position of Stagno, on the Peninsula Subionello, to secure the communication with Cattaro.

II. To cease from any hostile undertakings against the Montenegrins from the day of the signing of this convention, so long as they shall remain peaceable as subjects of the Porte. They shall immediately return home, and his majesty the emperor Napoleon engages not to molest them, nor to make any enquiries relative to the part they have taken in the hostile attacks that have been made in the territory of Ragusa, and the neighbouring territories.

5. The independence of the republic of the seven islands is acknowledged by both powers. The Russian troops now in the Mediterranean shall remove to the Ionian islands. His Russian imperial majesty to give a proof of his sincere disposition to peace, shall not leave more than 4000 of his troops there,

which he shall remove as soon as his imperial majesty shall judge necessary.

6. The independence of the Ottoman Porte shall be acknowledged on both sides, and both the high contracting parties engage to protect it and the integrity of its possessions.

7. As soon as, in consequence of the concluding of the present convention, orders shall have been given for the troops to leave the Bocca di Cattaro, all occasion of hostilities being removed, the French troops shall retire from Germany, his majesty the emperor Napoleon declares, that within three months after the signing of the treaty, all his troops shall have returned to France.

8. Both the high contracting powers shall employ their good offices to terminate, as speedily as possible, the war between Prussia and Sweden.

9. As the two high contracting powers wish, as much as depends upon them, to hasten the peace by sea, his French imperial majesty will willingly accept the good offers of his Russian imperial majesty for the attainment of that object.

10. The commercial relations between the subjects of the two empires shall be restored to the same footing on which they were before the breaking out of the hostilities by which they were disturbed and separated.

11. All prisoners of both nations shall be delivered up to the agents of the respective governments, without exception, as soon as the ratifications shall be exchanged.

12. The regulations of the mis-

sions and ceremonials, between the two high contracting powers shall be placed on the same footing as before the war.

13. The ratifications of this convention shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg within twenty-five days, by plenipotentiaries appointed on each side.

Done and signed at Paris, the 8th of July, 1806.

(Signed)

PETER D'OUBRIL,  
CLARKE.

His imperial majesty has been pleased to lay this act of pacification before a council summoned specially for that purpose, that it might be compared both with the instructions given to M. d'Oubril here, and with the orders sent to him at Vienna, before his departure from that city; and it has appeared that the counsellor of state, d'Oubril, when he signed the convention, had not only departed from the instructions he had received, but had acted directly contrary to the sense and intention of the commission given him.

The imperial council, with a common feeling for the honour of the country, and abiding by the known principles of his imperial majesty, which are founded in the strictest justice, have declared as their common opinion, that this act, which is not conformable to the views of his imperial majesty, cannot receive his majesty's ratification; and his imperial majesty has ordered this to be notified to the French government. His majesty, at the same time, has signified his willingness to renew the negotiations for



for peace, but only on such principles as are suitable to the dignity of his majesty.

The ministry for foreign affairs has made an official communication on this subject to all the foreign ministers accredited to this court.

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*Full Powers of M. D'Oubril.*

“ We, Alexander I. emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c. (through all the titles of his majesty.)

“ Being actuated by a solicitude for the preservation of Europe in a state of calm and tranquillity, and animated by a sincere desire to put an end to misunderstanding, and re-establish peace with France on solid bases, we have considered it proper to commit this task to a person enjoying our confidence. For that purpose we have nominated, appointed, and authorized our trusty and well beloved Peter d'Oubril, counsellor of state, and knight of the orders of St. Wolodimir, of the third class, of St. Anne of the second, and of St. John of Jerusalem, whom we do nominate, appoint, and authorize by these presents, for the purpose and to the intent of entering into conference with the person or persons who shall be properly authorized on the part of the French government, and of concluding and signing with them an act or convention upon bases proper for the settlement of the peace which is to be established between Russia and France, and to lay the foundation of peace between the other belligerent powers of Europe.

“ We promise on our imperial word, to take for granted, and to execute faithfully, all that shall be agreed upon and signed by our said plenipotentiary, and also to give our imperial ratification within the time which shall be agreed upon.

“ In testimony of which we have signed these full powers, and have affixed thereto the seal of our empire.

“ Given at St. Petersburg, the 30th of April, 1806, and in the 6th year of our reign.

ALEXANDER.

(Countersigned)

PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI.

(Certified to be translated conformably to the original.)

PETER d'OUBRIL.”

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*Russian Manifesto.*

We, Alexander I. by the grace of God, emperor and autocrat of all Russia, &c. &c. &c.

To all our faithful subjects be it known;

While we, in pursuance of our incessant anxiety for the internal prosperity of our empire, have directed our constant attention to its external relations, it has uniformly been our wish to establish it upon the solid basis of the public interest, and to maintain it by alliances suited to the situation and circumstances of our country.

In this view we thought it proper, at the commencement of our reign, to remove the causes of the misunderstandings which then ex-

isted, and to unite ourselves in friendly intercourse with those powers whose wise and moderate principles were most consistent with your independence, and with the general tranquillity. The Omnipotent favoured our wishes, in restoring a general peace throughout Europe.

But it was not consistent with his inscrutable purposes to continue this state of things. The war broke out anew.

Although, from our situation, we took no immediate share in this war, yet, agreeably to alliances and to the fixed principles of attachment to the common interest and tranquillity by which we were actuated, we never ceased to wish for the restoration of peace, and to labour, by pacific negotiations, to obtain that end.

In the midst of these negotiations, the daily encroachments of the French government, its spirit of aggrandizement, and its unbounded ambition, which threatened to swallow up our allies, at last compelled us to take an active part in the war.

We took up arms, but never ceased to wish for peace. We therefore announced, by our ukases of the 1st of September, 1805, that the object of our arming was to maintain the faith of our alliances, and to re-establish a general peace.

The misfortune which attended the arms of the allies disappointed our intentions, but the principles on which we acted are not changed. The French government, in the beginning of the present year, shewed a disposition towards pacific approximations. We gave or-

ders to enter into discussions upon the subject.

The restoration of peace, which should combine the security of our empire with the interests of our allies, and with the general tranquillity of Europe, was laid down as the principle of the discussions.

But to our regret the conditions of the treaty concluded with France neither corresponded with the dignity of our empire nor with the interests of our allies. We therefore refused to ratify those conditions.

In order, nevertheless, to demonstrate the unalterable principles by which we are actuated, and which, under all events, we have kept steadily in view, we have at the same time explained the means and the principles in conformity to which we are disposed again to open negotiations with the French government.

The principles which we have proposed are on the one hand so moderate that they cannot be rejected without a menace to the general security, and on the other hand so conformable to the interests of all the powers concerned, that if they are accepted a general and lasting peace may be again restored to Europe.

Either peace or a continuance of war must necessarily be the result of this measure. We wish for peace, but if a durable peace, and one grounded upon reciprocal advantages cannot be attained, we shall account it a sacred duty which we owe to the honour of the Russian name, to the security of the country, to our faith pledged by treaties, to the general preservation of Europe, to abandon all pacific proceedings,

proceedings, and to make those exertions which all those considerations render indispensable.

We are persuaded, that the providence of the Most High, who is the protector of truth, will defend our just cause with his strong arm.

We are persuaded that our faithful subjects, animated at all times with love for their country, actuated at all times with a spirit of honour, and sentiments of bravery, all surrounded with great examples of patriotic zeal, will unite their exertions with ours when called upon by the security of Russia, by the voice of fame, and by our commands to co-operate for the general weal.

In this firm persuasion, depending upon the aid of the Almighty, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to announce to you beforehand our intentions, thereby to give you a fresh proof that in none of our undertakings we are actuated, either by the desire of extending our empire or of acquiring fame by success in war; but that the objects of our wishes and our operations are the general security, the maintenance of our alliance, and the preservation of the dignity of our empire.

Given at St. Petersburg, Aug. 30, 1806, and in the sixth year of our reign.

ALEXANDER.

(Counterigned)

BUDBERG,

Minister for foreign affairs.

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*Prussian Manifesto.*

As his majesty the king of Prus-

sia has taken up arms for the defence of his people, he thinks it necessary to lay before them and all Europe, the circumstances which have imposed this duty on his majesty.

The politics of France have been the scourge of humanity during the last fifteen years. Those men who, in rapid succession, have been at the head of affairs in that country, and have only sought the means of their dominion in war, and the guarantee of their existence in the wretchedness of the people, may be viewed without astonishment. But the introduction of a regular government, to which the same necessity could not be imputed, gave new life to the hopes of the friends of peace. Napoleon, invested with the supreme power, victorious, surrounded by weaker states, friendly disposed governments, or conquered and exhausted rivals, had it in his power to perform a better part. For the greatness of France nothing more remained for him to do; for her happiness every thing was in his power.

It is painful to be compelled to say, that French politics still remained the same. An insatiable ambition was still the ruling passion of France. She made use of arms and of treaties with the same view. The peace of Amiens was scarcely concluded, before the signal for the first acts of violence followed. Holland and Switzerland, two independent states, were compelled to accept a constitution which converted them into French provinces. The renewal of war was the consequence.

Peace, however, still continued upon the continent. The German empire had purchased it by incalculable

lable sacrifices. In the midst of this peace, nevertheless, the French troops invaded the electorate of Hanover; a country which had no concern in the war between France and England, while the ports of Germany were shut against the British flag; and the better to effect her object, France took possession of Cuxhaven, and the territory of a free state, which was still more a stranger to war than Hanover.

In the midst of this peace also, the same troops a few months after violated the German territory, in such a manner as to wound the honour of the nation still deeper. The Germans have never avenged the death of the duke d'Enghein; but the remembrance of that event will never be extinguished among them.

The treaty of Luneville guaranteed the independence of the Italian republic. In spite of the most positive promises did Napoleon place the iron crown of Italy upon his own head. Genoa was incorporated with France. Lucca was very near sharing the same fate. Only a few months before had the emperor, on a solemn occasion—an occasion which imposed very important duties upon him—declared, before his people, and before all Europe, that he wished not to extend the limits of his territory. Besides, France was bound, by a treaty with Russia, to put the king of Sardinia in possession of indemnities in Italy. Instead of fulfilling that obligation, she made herself mistress of every object which could have been serviceable towards that indemnification.

Portugal wished to maintain her

neutrality, but Portugal was compelled to purchase, by gold, the deceitful security of a few moments.

The Porte, who had not forgotten the invasion of Syria and Egypt, was the only power remaining in Europe, which had not been subjected to the arbitrary proceedings of France.

But to these acts of violence, a system of abuse and injury remained still to be added. A journal, which proclaimed itself the voice of government, was chosen as a chronicle of the attacks incessantly made upon every crowned head.

Prussia could be no stranger to any of those general acts of oppression. Many of them were nearly connected with her substantial interests; especially as the wisdom of that system which considers the states of Europe as members of the same family, calls upon each of them for the defence of all; and that the unbounded aggrandizement of one state exposed the rest to danger, was sufficiently manifest to experience.

Still it is most essentially necessary, to represent in what manner the conduct of France was calculated to operate in its immediate relation to Prussia.

It were superfluous to enumerate all the good offices rendered to Napoleon by Prussia. Prussia was the first power that acknowledged him. No promises, no menaces, had been able to shake the king's neutrality. Every thing that the duty of a good neighbour could prescribe, was most amply afforded during a period of six years. Prussia esteemed a valiant nation, which also had learned, on its part, to respect Prussia  
both

both in war and peace; and she did justice to the genius of its chief. But the remembrance of these times is no longer retained by Napoleon.

Prussia had permitted the territory of Hanover to be invaded. In this she had countenanced an act of injustice; therefore it was her first view to remedy it. She offered herself for it instead of England, under the condition that the latter should cede it. It must, however, at least be recollected, that thus a boundary was prescribed to France, which she should not pass. Napoleon solemnly pledged himself not to compromise the neutrality of the northern states; to exercise no violence towards any of them; and, in particular, not to increase the number of troops in the electorate of Hanover.

Scarcely had he agreed to these stipulations, than he broke them. Every one is acquainted with the violent manner in which sir George Rumbold was seized; every one knows that the Hanse Towns were laid under contribution, under the appellation of loans, not by any means for their interest, but exactly in the same manner as if France had been at war with them. For the first of these injuries his majesty contented himself with accepting an inadequate satisfaction. Of the second he took no cognizance, being prevented by the apprehensions and representations on the part of the Hanse Towns. His majesty, on his part, did not scruple to make any sacrifice, as the preservation of peace was the dearest wish of his heart.

The patience and sufferance of every other court were exhausted sooner than that of his majesty.—

War again broke out on the continent—the situation of the king, with respect to his duty, was more difficult than ever. In order to prevent France from augmenting her troops in Hanover, he had promised to suffer no attack to be made on that territory. The Russians and Swedes were preparing for an attack upon the French. From this period the whole burden of the contract between France and Prussia weighed upon the latter only, without producing to her the least advantage; and by a singular concatenation of circumstances, it seemed that Prussia, who only wished to remain impartial and neutral, could no longer pursue her former system, except to the prejudice of the allied powers. Every advantage which resulted from this situation of affairs was on the side of France, and the king was daily threatened with a collision, not less formidable to him, than decisively favourable to the plans of Napoleon.

Who could have thought that the very moment when the king had given to the French government the strongest proof of his determination, and a singular example of the faithful fulfilment of engagements into which he had once entered, should be chosen by Napoleon to do the king the most sensible injury? Who does not remember the violation of the territory of Anspach, which took place on the 3d of October, in the last year, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the provincial administration, and of his majesty's minister?

This contest between that moderation which pardons every thing—that integrity which remains true to its engagements to the last,  
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on the one part; and the abuse of power, the insolence inspired by deceitful fortune, and the habit of only reckoning on this fortune, on the other, continued several years. The king declared to the French government that he considered all his connections with it as dissolved. He placed his army on a footing suitable to circumstances. He was now fully convinced, that no pledge of security remained for the neighbours of France, but a peace established upon firm principles, and guaranteed by all the powers in common.

His majesty offered the allies to be the mediator in negotiations for such a peace, and to support them with all his force. It is sufficient to know the conditions then proposed, to be convinced of the moderation which, at all times, has governed the politics of his majesty in their whole extent. Prussia, at this moment, listened not to the voice of revenge: she passed over the events of the late war, however violent they might have been, since they had been sanctioned by existing treaties. She required nothing but the punctual fulfilment of those treaties; but this she required without limitation. Count Haugwitz repaired to Vienna, where the French emperor then was. Scarcely had this minister been there a few days, when the whole face of affairs was changed; the misfortunes experienced by the court of Vienna had compelled it to sign an armistice, which was immediately followed by a peace. The emperor of Russia sacrificed his magnanimous views to the wish of his ally, and his troops returned home. Prussia stood now alone on the field of contest. His majesty

was obliged to limit his policy by his powers; and instead, as had been his wish, of embracing the interests of all Europe, make his own security, and that of his neighbours, his first object.

The French emperor proposed to count Haugwitz a treaty, in which was stipulated, on the one side, a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish territory, and the results of the peace of Presburg; and, on the other, the taking possession of Hanover by Prussia, in return for the cession of three provinces.

The first part of the treaty promised, at least for the future, an acknowledged, guaranteed, and, if Napoleon had so pleased, a firm, political constitution. The results of the peace of Presburg were a general misfortune for Europe, but Prussia sacrificed herself alone when she accepted them; and to place a limit to the incessant usurpations of France, should the treaty be considered by the court of St. Cloud as any thing more than words, appeared an advantage: the king, therefore, ratified this article unconditionally.

The second half of the treaty of Vienna related to an object, the importance of which had been manifested by serious experience. Prussia could not rely on security for a moment, so long as Hanover remained involved in a war, in which that country had, in fact, no concern. At whatever price it might be purchased, Prussia was resolved that the French should not return thither. She had her choice to obtain this end, either by a treaty or a war. The cession of three provinces, which had been faithful and happy for a long series of years,

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was a sacrifice not to be made for any plan of vain ambition: but these provinces, in case of a war, would have been the first sufferers; all the calamities of that war would have pressed upon the monarchy; while the acquisition of Hanover, could it have been made under less unhappy circumstances, would have been productive of the most valuable advantages to Prussia. The king, therefore, conceived that he reconciled his wishes with his principles, when he accepted the proposed exchange, only under the condition, that the fulfilment of the same should be deferred till the general peace, and that the consent of his majesty the king of Great Britain should be obtained.

All the advantages of this treaty were for France. On the one side, she received guarantees, which put the seal on her conquests; on the other, she gave what she did not possess, what might be again conquered by the chances of an uncertain war, while in the cessions of Prussia she found the means of enriching her allies.

But between a policy which will do every thing in its power, and an integrity which regards its duties, and especially its promises, the contest is ever unequal. The king approached the moment when he was convinced of this by experience; this moment was the most painful of his reign.

It was the affair of France to reject the modifications under which the king had confirmed the treaty, if she did not approve them. But she avoided doing this, for the whole Prussian army was still under arms. She continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship; she fulfilled the treaty as far as it suited

her; but when his majesty wished to reap the only advantage which he had proposed to himself from the late negotiations, and which was nearest to his heart, she suddenly altered her language. The modifications, added to the treaty of Vienna, were now rejected at Paris. Endeavours were made to force Prussia into the most injurious measures; and when count Haugwitz, who was at Paris, remonstrated against this, the unconditional fulfilment of the treaty was haughtily insisted on, as were the immediate cession of the three provinces, and the recal of the patent by which the occupation of Hanover was declared provisional. Prussia was required to resign a part of the advantages stipulated, and to shut the ports against the British flag, in the same manner as if the French had returned into the electorate.

The king, at length, was perfectly convinced of the true character of the friendship of the emperor of the French—a soporific draught for a power which still feels its own strength; an instrument of degradation, and finally of subjection, to every power which no longer possesses strength.

In the mean time, Napoleon was in possession of every advantage. The Prussian army had returned. His own, after some movements of no consequence, at which deceived Germany prematurely rejoiced, on some frivolous pretences, established itself on this side the Rhine. The first conflict might produce misfortunes. War which is not, under all circumstances, the greatest of evils, might become such under those then existing. The king determined to continue the part he had hitherto

hitherto acted, for some time longer. Wishing to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe, and at least to secure the tranquillity of the north, he confirmed the new treaty. Confidence, however, was now utterly lost. Prussia was convinced that, on the first opportunity to weaken her without danger, she might expect an attack from her pretended ally; convinced there is a degree of ambition which nothing can satisfy—which proceeds, without intermission, from usurpation to usurpation, sometimes without a plan, but ever intent on destruction; careless of the choice of means, and employing alike arms, and the pen, violence, and oaths. But even with this conviction, so great is the unfortunate superiority obtained by such policy, over those who wish only to be just, the king fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty with the punctuality of a faithful ally. It is known what the consequences were with respect to the connections of his majesty with England. France gained nothing by this; but she triumphed in secret at the thought of having disunited two courts, the union of which might have been dangerous to her; and what, in the views of France, gave the principal value to her alliance with the king was, that this alliance isolated his majesty, since it produced an opinion, that Prussia was a participator in the cause of so many misfortunes.

But not content with this, we shall soon see in what manner proceeded the politics of France: assured that she had now no enemy to fear, believing that she had annihilated Austria, forming a judgment of Russia with equal ignorance and rashness,

and blinded by the apparent tranquillity of Prussia, she at length threw off the mask; and despising forms which she had hitherto sometimes respected, openly trampled on all treaties and all rights. Three months after the signing of the treaty with Prussia, all its articles were violated.

The treaty had for its basis the *status quo* of the moment in which it was concluded, also the guarantee of the German empire and its states, according to the constitution then established. This truth arises not only from the nature of things; the treaty had also expressly prescribed to the two powers their duties. The relations in which the peace of Presburg had left his majesty the emperor of Austria, were guaranteed to him; consequently also the imperial crown of Germany, and the rights connected with it. The existence of Bavaria, and consequently the relations which had connected it for so many centuries to the empire, were likewise confirmed by the same common guarantee. Three months after, the confederation of the Rhine overthrew the Germanic constitution, deprived the emperor of the ancient ornament of his house, and placed Bavaria, and thirty other princes, under the tutelage of France.

But is it necessary to appeal to treaties, to form a just judgment of this extraordinary event? Previous to all treaties, nations have their rights; and had not France sported with the sanctity of an oath, this act of unexampled despotism would exasperate every mind. To deprive princes who had never offended France, and to render them the vassals of others, themselves the vassals of the French government;



to abolish, with a stroke of the pen, a constitution of a thousand years duration—which long habit, the remembrance of so many illustrious periods, and so many various and mutual relations, had rendered dear to such a number of princes—which had so often been guaranteed by all the European powers, and even by France herself—to lay contributions on the cities and towns in the midst of profound peace, and leave the new possessions only an exhausted skeleton—to abolish this constitution without consulting the emperor of Germany, from whom a crown was wrested, or Russia, so lately become the guarantee of the German league, or Prussia, interested intimately in that league, thus arbitrarily dissolved—No: wars and continued victories have sometimes produced great and remarkable catastrophes; but such an example in time of peace was never before given to the world.

The king commiserated the unfortunate princes, who suffered by these transactions: but he pitied not less those who had suffered themselves to be hired by the hope of gain; and he would reproach himself, should he increase their unhappiness by judging them with too great severity. Deluded by the reward of their compliance; probably, forced to obey commands which admitted of no opposition; or, if surprised into consent, sufficiently punished by their acquisitions, and by being reduced to a state of vassalage, as harsh and degrading as their former relations were honourable, they deserve not to be treated by Germany with the utmost rigour. Perhaps, when the magnanimous nation, to which they

formerly belonged, arises around them on every side to contend for their independence, they may listen to the voice of gratitude and honour, and, at least, abhor their chains, when they find they must be stained with the blood of their brethren.

It was not enough that these despotic acts were immediately injurious to Prussia. The emperor of France was intent on rendering them sensible to the person of the king in all his allied states. The existence of the prince of Orange was under the common guarantee of the two powers; for the king had acknowledged the political changes in Holland only under this condition. For several years this prince had expected that the claims, secured by the mutual stipulations of Prussia and France, should be satisfied. The Batavian republic had been willing to enter into an accommodation, but the emperor Napoleon forbade it. Neither the recollection of this circumstance, nor the consideration of the ties of blood which united his majesty to the prince, nor the declaration, twenty times repeated, that the king could not desert the rights of his brother-in-law, could prevent his being added to the heap of victims. He was the first who was deprived of his paternal property. Eight days before, he had received from the emperor a letter, condoling with him, in the customary forms, on the death of his father, and wishing him joy on his undisturbed succession to the states of his house. None of these circumstances are unimportant; each throws a light on the whole.

Cleves had been allotted to prince Murat. Scarcely become a sovereign,

reign, he wished likewise to be a conqueror.—His troops took possession of the abbeys of Essen, Werden, and Elten, under the pretext that they appertained to the duchy of Cleves, though they were entirely territories newly acquired, and there was not the shadow of a connection between them and the ceded province. Great labour was employed, in vain, to give even a colour to this outrage.

Wesel was to belong to the new duke, not to the emperor Napoleon. The king had never resolved to give up the last fortrefs on the Rhine into the power of France.—Without a word by way of explanation, Wesel was annexed to a French department.

The existing state of the Austrian monarchy, and of the Porte, had been mutually guaranteed. The emperor Napoleon certainly wished that Prussia should be bound by this guarantee; for in his hands it was an instrument which he might employ as suited his politics, a pretext for demanding sacrifices in a contest which his ambition might occasion.—He himself, however, did not observe it longer than it contributed to his interest. Ragusa, though under the protection of the Porte, was taken possession of by his troops. Gradiska and Aquileia were wrested from Austria, under nearly the same pretexts which had been employed when the French seized the three abbeys.

In all political proceedings it was naturally taken for granted, that the new states formed by France, were states in the proper sense of the term, and not French provinces. But it cost the cabinet of St. Cloud only a word to de-

prive them of their independence. The appellation, *The Great Empire*, was invented, and that empire was immediately surrounded with vassals.

Thus there was no trace of the treaty left, yet Prussia proceeded to shut her ports against England, and still considered herself as having obligations to fulfil.

The emperor, at length, informed his majesty that it was his pleasure to dissolve the German empire, and form a confederation of the Rhine, and he recommended to the king to establish a similar confederation in the north of Germany.—This was according to his customary policy; a policy which had long been crowned with success; at the moment of the birth of any new project, to throw out a lure to those courts which might occasion difficulties in the execution of such project. The king adopted the idea of such a confederation, not that the advice he received made the least impression on him, but because, in fact, it was rendered necessary by circumstances; and, because, after the secession of the princes who had acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, a close union between those of the north became more than ever the condition of their safety. The king took measures to establish this league, but on other principles from those of the model presented to him. He made it his pride to collect the last of the Germans under his banners; but the rights of each he left unimpaired, and honour alone was the bond of the league.

But could France advise the king to any measure which should be productive of advantage to Prussia?

fin? We shall soon see what is to be expected when France makes professions of favour.

In the first place, care had been taken to introduce into the fundamental statute of the confederation of the Rhine, an article which contained the germ of all future innovations. It provided, that other princes should be received into this confederation, should they desire it. In this manner, all relations in Germany were left indeterminate; and as the means were still reserved to detach and annex to this league the weaker states, either by promises or threats, it was but too probable that, in time, this confederation would be extended into the heart of the Prussian monarchy.

And, that this might no longer remain doubtful, but be manifest to every one, the first attempt was immediately made. Fortunately, it was made on a prince who knows not fear, and who considers independence as the highest object of his ambition. The French minister at Cassel invited the elector to throw himself into the arms of his master. Prussia, it was alleged, did nothing for her allies!—It is true, Napoleon knows how to manage his better; and every one sees that Spain and Holland, and the kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, have to thank their alliance with him for peace, independence, and honour! Prussia did nothing for her allies. Napoleon, on the contrary, would reward the accession of the elector by an enlargement of his territory.

And this treachery was exercised towards an ally; and at the very moment when the king was advised to form his alliance, of which Hesse was to be the first bulwark, endea-

vours were made to detach from him a power, whom family connections, alliances, and relations of every kind, united in the closest manner to his majesty's person.

But even these hostile steps were not sufficient. Does any one wish to know what was the lure by which it was hoped to gain the elector of Hesse, and what was the augmentation of territory with the expectation of which he was flattered? It was the prince of Orange, the brother-in-law of the king—that prince who had been twice deceived in the most shameful manner—who was now to be robbed the third time! He still possessed the territory of Fulda; this was promised to the elector, and it would have been given, had the elector consented to accept it, and had not Prussia taken up arms.

His majesty saw the system of usurpation advance every day; he saw a circle, continually becoming narrower, drawn round him, and even the right of moving within it beginning to be disputed with him, for a sweeping resolution forbade a passage to any foreign troops, armed or not armed, through the states of the confederation. This was to cut off, contrary to the rights of nations, the connection between the detached Hessian provinces; this was to prepare pretexts on which to act; this was the first threat of punishment aimed at a magnanimous prince, who had preferred a defender to a master.

But even after this, (his majesty cannot reflect on it without admiration,) the king considered whether a combination might not be found, which should render this state of things compatible with the maintenance of peace.

The emperor Napoleon appeared to be solicitous to remove this doubt. Two negotiations were then carrying on at Paris, one with Russia, the other with the English ministry. In both these negotiations the intentions of France against Prussia were evidently manifested.

By the treaty which the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify, France offered, in conjunction with Russia, to prevent Prussia from depriving the king of Sweden of his German territories. Yet, for many months, the cabinet of St. Cloud had continually pressed the king to seize those states, with the threefold view,—first to revenge himself on the king of Sweden; secondly, to embroil Prussia with all other powers; and, thirdly, to purchase her silence with respect to the subversion of Southern Germany. But the king had long been aware, that such were the views of France; and his unfortunate dispute with Sweden was painful to him.—He had, therefore, been careful to provide against every suspicion of self-interested motives, and he confided his explanations to the emperor Alexander. The scene now again changed, and Napoleon, who had so long been the enemy of the king of Sweden, was suddenly transformed into his protector.

It is not superfluous to remark, that, in this insidious treaty of the French emperor, in order to satisfy the honourable interest which the court of St. Peterburgh took in the maintenance of the rights of the king of Naples, he promised the latter an indemnification: engaging to prevail on the king of Spain to cede to him the Balearic islands. He will act in the same manner with respect to the augmentation of ter-

ritory he pretends to bestow on his allies.

These were all preludes to the steps he took against Prussia: we now approach the moment which determined his majesty.

Prussia had hitherto derived nothing from her treaties with France but humiliation and loss; one single advantage remained. The fate of Hanover was in her power; and it must remain, unless the last pledge of the security of the north were annihilated. Napoleon had solemnly guaranteed this state of things, yet he negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of the electorate. The king is in possession of the proofs.

War was now in fact declared—declared by every measure taken by France. Every month produced a new notification of the return of his army; but, on one frivolous pretext or another, it was still continued in Germany; and for what purposes?—Gracious heaven! to eradicate the last trace of sovereignty among the Germans—to treat kings as governors appointed by himself—to drag before military tribunals citizens only responsible to their own governments; to declare others outlaws who lived peaceably in foreign states, under foreign sovereigns, and even in the capital of a German emperor, because they had published writings in which the French government, or at least its despotism, was attacked; and this at the time when the same government daily permitted hired libellers to attack, under its protection, the honour of all crowned heads, and the most sacred feelings of nations.

The French troops were in no manner

manner diminished, but continually reinforced and augmented, and continually advanced nearer to the frontiers of Prussia or her allies, till they at length took a position which could only menace Prussia, and were even assembled in force in Westphalia, which certainly was not the road to the Mouths of the Cattaro.

It was no longer doubtful that Napoleon had determined to overwhelm Prussia with war, or to render her for ever incapable of war, since he was leading her from humiliation to humiliation, till she should be reduced to such a state of political degradation and feebleness, that, deprived of every defence, she could have no other will than that of her formidable neighbour.

The king delayed no longer. He assembled his army. General Knobelsdorff was sent to Paris with the final declaration of his majesty. Only one measure remained which could give security to the king, which was the return of the French troops over the Rhine. General Knobelsdorff had orders to insist on this demand; it was not the whole of the king's just demands, but it was necessary that it should be the first, since it was the condition of his future existence. The acceptance or refusal of it must shew the real sentiments of the French emperor.

Unmeaning professions—arguments, the real virtue of which was known by long experience—were the only answer the king received. Far from the French army being recalled, it was announced that it would be reinforced; but with a haughtiness still more remarkable than this

refusal, an offer was made, that the troops which had marched into Westphalia should return home, if Prussia would desist from her preparations. This was not all: it was insolently notified to the king's ministers, that the cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubéck, would not be suffered to join the northern confederation, but that France would take them under her protection, in the same manner as, in the other confederation, she had given away cities, and promulgated laws without permitting any other power to make the least pretension. The king was required to suffer a foreign interest to be introduced into the heart of his monarchy.

Another contrast of conduct incensed the king to the utmost. He received from the emperor a letter full of those assurances of esteem, which, certainly, when they do not accord with facts, ought to be considered as nothing; but which the dignity of sovereigns renders a duty to themselves even when on the eve of war. Yet, a few days afterwards, at a moment when the sword was not yet drawn—when the minister of the emperor endeavoured to mislead those of the king, by assurances on assurances of the friendly intentions of France—the *Publiciste* of the 16th of September, appeared, with a diatribe against the king and the Prussian state, in a style worthy of the most disgraceful periods of the revolution, insulting to the nation, and what in other times than ours, would have been considered as amounting to a declaration of war.

The king can treat slanders that are merely abusive, with contempt, but when these slanders contribute

to explain the real state of things, it would be unwise to treat them so.

The last doubt had now disappeared, troops marched from the interior of France towards the Rhine. The intent to attack Prussia was clear and certain. The king ordered a note to be transmitted by general Knobelsdorff, containing the conditions on which he was ready to come to an accomodation.—These conditions were:—

1. That the French troops should immediately evacuate Germany.

2. That France should oppose no obstacle to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that this confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states, not included in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3. That a negociation should be immediately commenced, for the adjustment of all differences still in dispute; a preliminary article of which should be, the restoration of the three abbies, and the separation of the town of Wesel from the French empire.

These conditions speak for themselves: they shew how moderate the king, even at this moment, has been in his demands, and how much the maintenance of peace, if France wishes peace, depends upon France herself.

The term peremptorily fixed by the king for the decision of peace or war has elapsed. His majesty has not received the answer of the cabinet of St. Cloud; or rather, the preparations made around him, daily, give that answer. The king can henceforth confide the safety and honour of his crown only to arms. He takes them up

with pain, because the chief object of his wishes was, not a glory purchased by the tears of his people, but by their tranquillity; for his cause is just. Never has a sovereign made greater sacrifices to peace. He pushed his condescension to the last limit that honour would allow. Every thing which was directed against him personally he passed over in silence. The opinions of the ignorant, and the reflections of the slanderous, he despised, animated with the constant hope, that he would be able to conduct his people, without injury, to that period which must sooner or later arrive, when unjust greatness shall find its bounds; and ambition, which obstinately refused to acknowledge any limits, shall at length overleap itself.

The motives which induce his majesty to take up arms, are not to satisfy his resentments, to increase his power, or to render a nation uneasy which he shall always esteem, as long as it confines itself to its just and natural interests; but to avert from his kingdom the fate which was preparing for it; to preserve to the people of Frederick, their independence and their glory; to rescue unfortunate Germany from the yoke by which it is oppressed, and to bring about a safe and honourable peace. The day on which he shall effect this will be the proudest of his life. The events of the war which is now beginning, are in the disposal of Supreme Wisdom.—His majesty leaves it to others to indulge in premature exultation and gratuitous insult, as he has for a long time allowed them the miserable satisfaction arising from unjust invectives.

invectives. He leads to an honourable combat an army worthy of its former glory. He reigns over a people of whom he may be proud; and, while he is ready to shed his blood for them, he knows what he may expect from their energy and affection. Princes, the honour of the German name, who can confide in his gratitude and honour, and who, fighting by his side, are not dubious of victory, have joined their banners with his: and a sovereign, who adorns with his virtues one of the first thrones in the world, is penetrated with the justice of his cause. Every where his arms are blessed by the voice of the people, and even where they are silent from fear, their impatience is the greater. With so many motives to be conscious of her strength, Prussia may well be permitted continually to confide in her high destiny. Head-quarters, Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

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*Copy of the Note of M. de Knobelsdorff, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sept. 12, 1806.*

The undersigned, feeling how much it is of the first importance to answer immediately the note which his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs, has done him the honour of addressing to him this evening, feels himself compelled to limit himself to the representation of the following observations. The motives which have engaged the king, my master, to make armaments, have been the effect of a scheme of the enemies of France and

Prussia; who, jealous of the intimacy which exists between these two powers, have done every thing in their power to alarm, by false reports, coming at once from every quarter. But above all, what proves the spirit of this measure is, that his majesty has concerted it with no person whatsoever, and that the intelligence respecting it arrived sooner at Paris than at Vienna, St. Petersburg, and London. But the king, my master, has ordered to be made to the envoy of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, an amicable communication on the subject of these measures. That minister had not yet returned an answer upon this communication. The relation of the interesting conversations that his imperial majesty has deigned to entertain with the undersigned, and the marquis de Lucchesini, could not yet have arrived at Berlin. After this explanation, the undersigned can only testify to his excellency, his most ardent wish that public acts may yet rest suspended, till the return of the courier dispatched to Berlin.

The undersigned begs his excellency, &c.

(Signed)

GENERAL KNOBELSDORFF.

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*Copy of the second Note to M. de Knobelsdorff, dated Sept. 13th. 1806.*

The undersigned has laid before his majesty, the emperor and king, the note that his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff yesterday did him the honour to address to him.

\* N n 3

His

His majesty has found therein, with pleasure, the assurance that Prussia had not entered into any concert hostile to France; that the armament she has made, had no other cause than a misunderstanding; that the departure of the garrison of Berlin, though it happened since the letter written by his majesty the king of Prussia, ought only to be considered as the execution of an anterior order; and that the movements marked out for the Prussian troops would cease as soon as it was known at Berlin, what his majesty the emperor and king was pleased to say to M. M. Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini, in the private audiences which he granted them.

His majesty has ordered, in consequence, that the communications which were to have been made to the senate on Monday next, shall be deferred; and that no troops, beside those which are actually on their march towards the Rhine, shall be put in motion, until his majesty learns the determinations and the measures that the court of Berlin shall have taken, after the report that M. M. de Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini have made; and if these determinations are such that the French army in Germany shall be no longer menaced, and that all things shall be replaced between France and Prussia on the same footing as they were a month ago, his majesty will immediately order the retrograde march of the troops who were actually advancing to the Rhine.

His majesty expects that this singular misunderstanding will be cleared up. He expects to be enabled, without any mixture of uncertainty or doubt, to restore him-

self to those sentiments of which he has given so many proofs to the court of Berlin, and which have always been those of a faithful ally.

The undersigned prays M. de Knobelsdorff to receive the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed.)

C. M. TALLEYRAND,  
Prince of Benevento.

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*Copy of the third Note addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to M. Knobelsdorff.*

The undersigned minister of foreign relations has expressed to his excellency M. Knobelsdorff, in the note which he had the honour to write to him on the 13th of Sept. the confiding dispositions with which his majesty the emperor received the assurances given by M. Knobelsdorff, that the military movements of the court of Berlin were not the result of any hostile concert against France, but simply the effect of a misunderstanding; and that they would cease the moment when the first communication of his excellency should have arrived at Berlin.

Nevertheless, the news received every day bears so much all the character of an impending war, that his imperial majesty must feel some regret at the engagement he made, not yet to call out his reserve; and to defer the constitutional notification, after which all the forces of the nation would be placed at his disposal. He will fulfil that engagement; but he shall think it contrary to prudence and to the interest of his people,

not



not to order, in the interim, all the measures, and all the movements of the troops, which can take place without previous notification.

His majesty has, at the same time, charged the undersigned to express again to M. Knobelsdorff, that he cannot yet conceive, by what forgetfulness of her interests, Prussia should be willing to renounce her ties of amity with France. War between the two countries appears to him a real political monstrosity; and from the moment that the cabinet of Berlin shall return to her pacific dispositions, and shall cease to menace the armies of Germany, his majesty engages to countermand all the measures which prudence commanded him to take. He will seize with pleasure, as he does not cease to do in all circumstances, the occasion of testifying to his majesty the king of Prussia the price he attaches to his friendship; to a union founded on a wise policy, and on reciprocal interests; and to prove to him that his sentiments are always the same, and that no provocation has been able to alter them.

The undersigned is happy in being able to give to his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff so formal an assurance of the dispositions of his majesty, which are so foreign to all ideas of war with Prussia, that he has already committed a very grave military fault, in retarding his military preparations for one month, and in consenting to let fifteen days more pass over, without calling out his reserves and his national guards.

This confidence, which his majesty loves to preserve, proves

what a value he sets upon what was stated to him by M. Knobelsdorff, that Prussia had entered into no concert with the enemies of France, and that the assurances that he had received, in putting a term to the misunderstanding which has just arisen, would cause the cessation of those armaments which were the consequences of it.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND, &c.

Paris, Sept. 19, 1806.

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*Second Note of M. Knobelsdorff to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

The undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Prussia, received yesterday the note addressed to him by his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs. If, in this communication, the undersigned has found again, with extreme satisfaction, the assurance formerly given, in the note of the 13th of September, that his majesty the emperor and king would fulfil the engagement which he had made to wait the result of the explanations given to M. de Lucchesini and the general Knobelsdorff, before taking any measures respecting the constitutional notification, which would put all the forces of the French nation at the disposal of government, he has learned, with infinite pain, that his majesty should have had any regret at that engagement; and that in fulfilling it, he thinks it necessary to order all the measures and all the movements of troops, which can be taken without previous notification.

The undersigned hastens to reiterate to his excellency M. the prince of Benevento, the assurance that his majesty the king of Prussia, far from ever having had an idea of renouncing his relations of amity with France, participates in that respect all the sentiments of his imperial and royal majesty, expressed in the communication to which this note is an answer; that, far from having entered into a concert with the enemies of France, his Prussian majesty has always sought to calm all the resentments for facilitating the re-establishment of a general peace; in fine, that far from menacing the French armies in Germany by his armaments, these only took place in consequence of the advice received at Berlin, and which was so alarming that it was not possible to neglect measures of precaution, demanded by prudence for the welfare of the state.

The undersigned is pleased, in renewing to his excellency the prince of Benevento the assurance, that in taking these measures his majesty the king of Prussia has not renounced, for a single instant, the assurance of seeing the clouds dispersed that have been raised between him and France; and general Knobelsdorff is persuaded, that such will be the result of the explanations that have taken place. In begging M. the prince of Benevento to make known to his majesty the emperor and king this answer to his communication, the undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

GENERAL KNOBELSDORFF.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1806.

*Note.*

The undersigned minister of his Prussian majesty, by the same courier who brought the letter to his imperial majesty, which he has had the honour to transmit to-day to his excellency the prince of Benevento, has received orders to make the following communications.— Their object is to have the relations of the two courts no longer in suspense. Each of them is so imminently interested in remaining no longer in doubt upon the sentiments of the other, that the king flatters himself that his majesty the emperor will applaud his frankness. His Prussian majesty has expressed, in the letter mentioned above, his entire thoughts, and the whole view of the subject of the complaint, which, from a faithful and honest ally, have made him become a neighbour, alarmed for his existence, and necessarily aroused for the defence of his dearest interests. The perusal of it will recal to his majesty the emperor and king, what Prussia was for a long time to France. Will not the remembrance of the past be for her the pledge of the future? And what judge would be blind enough to believe that the king could have been for nine years towards France so consistent, and perhaps so partial, in order to place himself voluntarily with her in a different relation—he who more than once might, perhaps, have ruined her, and who knows now only too well the progress of her power.

But if France has in her recollections, and in the nature of things, the pledge of the sentiments of Prussia, it is not so with this last power. Her recollections are made to alarm her: she has been careless, neutral,

neutral, friendly, and even in alliance. The destruction that surrounds her, the gigantic increase of a power essentially military and conquering, which has injured her successively in her greatest interests, and menaces her in them all, leaves her now without a guaranty.—This state of things cannot last. The king sees almost nothing around him but French troops, or vassals of France, ready to march with her. All the declarations of his imperial majesty announce, that this attitude will not change. Far from that, new troops issue from the interior of France.—Already the journals of his capital indulge themselves in a language against Prussia, of which a sovereign, such as the king, can despise the infamy, but which does not expose the intentions and the error of the government that suffers it. The danger grows every day. It is necessary to be heard at once, or be heard no more.

Two powers who esteem each other, and who fear each other no more than they are able, without ceasing to esteem themselves, have no need to go about to explain themselves. France will not be less strong for being just, and Prussia has no other ambition than her independence and the security of her allies. In the actual position of affairs, both one and the other would risk every thing in protracting this uncertainty. The undersigned has received orders, in consequence, to declare, that the king expects with justice from his imperial majesty,

1. That the whole of the French troops, which are called by no fair pretence into Germany, should immediately repass the Rhine without exception, beginning their march on

the very day that the king expects the answer of the emperor, and continue it without halting; for this immediate and complete retreat is the only pledge of security that the king can receive at the point to which affairs have been brought.

2. That no obstacle shall be raised on the part of France to the formation of the league of the north, which shall include, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3. That a negociation shall be immediately opened, to decide, in a permanent manner, on all the points in dispute, and that for Prussia its preliminary basis shall be, the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three Abbies by the Prussian troops.

The instant that his majesty is assured that this basis is accepted, he will resume that attitude which he has quitted with regret, and will become to France that frank and peaceable neighbour, who for so many years has seen without jealousy, the glory of a brave people, for whose prosperity he has been anxious. But the instant intelligence of the march of the French troops compels his majesty to ascertain immediately what he is to do. The undersigned is charged to insist on an immediate answer, which at all events must reach his majesty's head-quarters by the 8th of October; his majesty still hoping that it will arrive there time enough, that the unexpected and rapid progress of events, and the presence of the troops, should not put either party under the necessity of providing for his safety.

The undersigned is particularly instructed to declare, in the most solemn

solemn manner, that peace is the sincere wish of his majesty, and that he only requires that which can contribute to make it permanent. The causes of his apprehensions, the claims which he had for another connection, from France, are unfolded in the letter of his majesty to the emperor, and are calculated to obtain from that monarch the last permanent pledge of a new order of things.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity to renew to the prince of Benevento, the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) KNOBELSDORFF.

Paris, O<sup>c</sup>t. 1, 1806.

The Senate referred the communication to a special commission.

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*Second Report addressed to His Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Minister of Foreign Relations, October 6, 1806.*

Sire,

When in the report that a few days back I had the honour to address your majesty, I established, that if Prussia had any personal reasons which led her to make war, it could only be from a desire to enslave Saxony, and the Hanseatic Towns, I was far from perceiving, that she would ever dare avow such a motive. It is, nevertheless, an avowal which she has not feared to make, and to express in a note that M. de Knobelsdorff has sent me from Metz, and which I have the honour to address to your majesty. Of the three demands which that note contains, the first and the third are only made to disguise, if

it be possible, that no real importance may be attached to the second.

Prussia, after having seen with a tranquil eye the French armies in Germany during a year, could not be alarmed at their presence when their numbers were diminished—when they were dispersed in small bodies in distant cantonments—when, above all, your majesty had solemnly announced, that they should return to France, as soon as the affair of Cattaro, the cause of the prolongation of their stay in Germany, should be settled by an agreement with Austria, and that already the order for their return was given.

Prussia, who speaks of a negotiation to fix all the interests in question, knows well that there is no point of interest whatever, in question between the two states; the amicable discussion which should definitively fix the fate of the Abbeys of Essen and Werden, has not been deferred by any delay of the French cabinet. The French troops have evacuated those territories which the grand duke of Berg had caused to be occupied, in the perfect persuasion that numerous documents had given him, that they made part of the duchy of Cleves, and that they were comprehended in the cession of that duchy.

Thus the demands of Prussia, on these different points, and others of the same nature, and the pretended grievances which she seems to indicate, do not offer the real mind of the cabinet of Berlin. It does not reveal it. It lets its secret escape only, when it demands that no farther obstacle whatever shall be made, on the part of France, to the formation of the northern league,

League, which shall embrace, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

Thus, to satisfy the most unjust ambition, Prussia consents to break the bonds that united her to France, to call down new calamities upon the continent, of which your majesty would wish to cicatrize the wounds, and to assure the tranquillity, to provoke a faithful ally, to put him under the cruel necessity of repelling force by force, and once more to snatch his army from the repose which he aspires to make it enjoy, after so many fatigues and triumphs.

I say it with grief, I lose the hope of the ability to preserve peace, from the moment it is made to depend upon conditions that equity and honour equally oppose—proposed, as they are, in a tone, and in forms that the French people endured in no time, and from no power, and which it can less than ever endure under your majesty's reign.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND, &c.

Mayence, Oct. 6, 1806.

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*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor and King.*

Senators,

We have quitted our capital to place ourselves in the midst of our army of Germany, at the moment we saw with certainty that its flanks were menaced with unexpected movements. Scarcely arrived on

the frontiers of our states, we had an opportunity of perceiving how much our presence was necessary there, and of congratulating ourself on the defensive measures that we had taken before we quitted the centre of our empire. Already the Prussian armies, ready for war, were in motion in all parts; they had passed their frontiers; Saxony was invaded, and the wise prince who governs it was forced to act against his will, and against the interest of his people. The Prussian armies had arrived in face of the cantonments of our troops. Provocations of every kind, and even acts of violence, had marked the spirit of hatred which animated our enemies, and the moderation of our soldiers, who, tranquil at the aspect of all their movements, astonished only at receiving no orders, rested under the double confidence of courage and a just cause. Our first duty has been to pass the Rhine ourself, to form our camps, and to cause the sound of war to be heard. It has spread into the hearts of all our warriors. Rapid and combined marches have brought them, in the twinkling of an eye, to the spot we had indicated. All our camps are formed; we are going to march against the Prussian armies, and to repel force by force. At all times, we ought to say it, our heart is sorely affected at this constant preponderance which the genius of mischief obtains in Europe, occupied incessantly in traversing the designs we form for the tranquillity of Europe, the repose and happiness of the present generation—besieging every cabinet by every kind of seduction—leading those astray whom it cannot corrupt—blinding them to their true interests, and launch.

launching them into the midst of disputes, without any other guide than the passions it has known how to inspire them with. The cabinet of Berlin itself has not chosen with deliberation the part it takes: it has been thrown into it with art, and with malicious address. The king has found himself, all at once, an hundred leagues from his capital, on the frontiers of the confederation of the Rhine, in the midst of his army, and opposite the French troops dispersed in their cantonments, and who thought themselves justified in counting upon the ties which unite the two states, and upon the lavish protestations made in all circumstances by the court of Berlin. In a war so just, in which we take arms only to defend ourself, who have provoked by no act, by no pretension, and of which it would be impossible to assign the true cause, we reckon entirely on the support of the laws and the people; whom circumstances call upon, to give us new proofs of their love, of their devotion, and of their courage. On our part, no personal sacrifice will be painful to us, no danger will stop us, whenever it is the question to assure the rights, the honour, and the prosperity of our people.

Given at our imperial quarters, at Bamberg, the 7th Oct. 1806.

By the emperor,

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The minister secretary of state.

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

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*Address of Kosciusko to the Poles.*

“ Brave Countrymen,  
 “ The din of arms with which

Poland once more resounds, summons Kosciusko, to join you. They are not barbarians hungering for pillage, who now advance into our plains. They do not resemble those ferocious men who came to divide your territory, and to insult your weakness, after having fattened on your misfortunes and your blood. On the contrary, you will, by their valour and their triumphs, by that thunder-bearing eagle which hovers in their front, recognize the approach of those unconquerable legions, whose victories have rendered the four quarters of the world illustrious—who have in one campaign extinguished the united power of two vast empires—and who have in one week levelled with the dust a throne raised by an age of successes, the great work of Frederick, shaded by all the laurels of his old generals. Thus has it been willed by the destiny of Napoleon, who creates or destroys kings, who overthrows hostile armies with the rapidity of lightning, and who can, by the force of his arm, and the conceptions of his genius, elevate those nations which bend under the yoke of an atrocious policy. Poles, there are thousands among you who have followed the first general of Europe through the defiles of Italy. Your battalions are already united with the army of the brave. Now Napoleon marches to you. His eye observes you. He leads into the heart of Poland those Frenchmen, among whom we have found a second country; who have collected the wrecks of our own legions in their camps; who have treated us as brothers; who have covered our misfortunes with their laurels;—those French generals, among whom your Kosciusko has ceased to consider

sider himself proscribed; before whom he could raise, with a sentiment of consolation, and perhaps of pride, his head, which, though humbled by defeat, never has been dishonoured; and among whom he has been permitted to cherish the love of his country, and the hope of its future freedom.

“ Dear countrymen, you who, banished from your paternal soil, have still remained Poles in a foreign land, and you who, on the contrary, though rendered foreigners in the midst of Poland, have still remained faithful to your country and your brethren, I summon you all to arise—the time of your deliverance is come! the great nation is beside you—Napoleon beholds you, Kosciuszko calls to you. Look around you, and see how Europe, shaken to her ancient foundations, is hastening at the call of genius to re-construct the social edifice, and to immortalize the nineteenth century by new creations and new claims to future glory.—Behold how the yoke of the tyrant of the seas, of the enemy of the repose of Europe, is breaking on every side. The people of all countries are elevating themselves under the authority of governments constituted by law. Oppressed nations are every where advancing to their independence. Poles! what more is necessary to be said to animate you, to induce you to become again yourselves? Doubtless, you are still the children of the hero who delivered Europe from the Mussulman yoke; your hearts are still inflamed with that ardour which formerly made your enemies at once esteem and dread you. Though your territory has been divided, are you not still united by blood,

by language, by misfortune, and by all that is dear among men?—If Poland has been effaced from the political map, she still exists entire in the hearts of her children. If without the help of France, without any support but a consciousness of our own rights, and our valour, we were able to make fortune balance between us and the three empires which united to oppress us, what doubt can you have of triumphing, when the conqueror of the triple alliance has passed your frontiers—when the man of destiny directs his views towards you? Do not you observe the armies of your enemies tremble at his approach? See you not the shades of the heroes who died in combating for you, press around him, and implore his vengeance! Listen to their sighs; listen to the voice of your country, which calls upon you to restore her ancient glory and independence.—Poles! escaped by a miracle from the steel of your assassins, and the chains of your tyrants, I collected and carried with me the last sighs of my expiring country. Now, full of confidence, I breathe my last wishes among you. Soon shall I tread again on that dear paternal land which my arm has defended, which my blood has dyed, and which, when I behold again, I shall salute with kisses, and bathe with my tears. Unfortunate friends, whom I was prevented from following to the grave—dear, brave countrymen, whom I was compelled to leave under the yoke of an usurper,—I have lived only in the hope of avenging you—I come to break your chains. Sacred remains of my country, I salute you with a holy enthusiasm; I rejoin you, never

never more to part. I shall shew myself worthy of the great man, whose arm is raised to protect us, and worthy of the people, who answer to my call. I shall assist in emancipating my country, and in establishing its future prosperity on stable bases. But if I shall find that the dear name of our country is with you now only an empty sound, I shall then escape from the common shame, and from my own misfortunes, by burying myself under the noble ruins of Poland. But it cannot be so. The glorious day of Poland redawns—fate has not conducted Napoleon and his invincible troops to the banks of the Vistula without an object. We are under the ægis of that monarch, who overcomes difficulties by prodigies. The re-establishment of Poland is a deed too glorious not to have been reserved by the Eternal Director of all things for him to achieve.

(Signed) "KOSCIUSKO.  
"Paris, Nov. 1, 1806."

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*Proclamation issued by the Emperor of Russia.*

"Alexander, Emperor, &c.

"Our manifesto of the 30th of August declared the situation of our affairs with the French government. At that period of our hostile situation, Prussia still formed a barrier between us and the French, who tyrannized over various parts of Germany. But, soon after, the fire of war blazed out in Prussia also; after various disasters and important losses on her part, our own dominions on the frontiers are now threatened by the flame. To Russians, accustomed to love

the glory of their country, and to sacrifice every thing to it, it is unnecessary to explain how unavoidable these events have made the present war. Honour unsheathed our sword for the protection of our allies; how much more justly must it be drawn for the defence of our own safety! Before these events could approach our frontiers, we took, at an early period, every measure to be ready to meet them. Having, in good time, ordered our army to move beyond the frontier, we have now commissioned our general field marshal Kamenskoy to command it, and to act against the enemy with all the forces intrusted to him. We are assured, that all our faithful subjects will join us in fervent prayers to the Almighty, who directs the fate of states and the issue of battles, that he may take our righteous cause under his all-powerful protection; that his victorious strength and blessing may direct the Russian armies employed in repelling the general foe of Europe. We are confident that our faithful subjects of the government on the frontier will, in the present circumstances particularly, redouble the proofs of their attachment, and their zeal for the common good; and that, unshaken by fear or delusive promises, they will tread with firmness the same path in which, under the protection of the laws and of a mild government, they have hitherto enjoyed tranquillity and undisputed property, and shared in the universal prosperity of the whole empire. Lastly, we are confident that all the children of the land, relying on the help of God, on the valour of our troops, and on the known experience of their leader, will spare no sacrifice,



sacrifice, no efforts, which patriotism and the safety of our country may demand.

“ *St. Petersburg,*  
*Nov. 28, 1806.*”

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*Proclamation of his Prussian Majesty  
to the Inhabitants of Silesia.*

“ Brave Inhabitants of Silesia.

“ Among the mournful events which have taken place during the course of the present war, there is nothing that has so much filled with grief the heart of his majesty, as to see a considerable part of his provinces and faithful subjects oppressed by the weight of sufferings, which must be the inevitable consequence of a war, in which the enemy, by his manner of making war, unusual in our time, entirely exhausts the country through which he passes, by forced requisitions of every kind, and by the large bodies of marauders who swarm round his disciplined armies, and who, incapable of sparing, treat the armed warrior and the unhappy peaceable inhabitant with the same cruelty, and every where leave behind them traces of the grossest barbarity, desarts, and ashes; even where, through fear of violence, the unarmed inhabitants have shewn the greatest submission in the reception of those destroying hordes.

“ His majesty perceives that his faithful Silesian provinces are now threatened with the same wretched fate.

“ It sensibly grieves his majesty that he is prevented by the situation of affairs, which renders his presence necessary at other points, from hastening in person to the aid of his faithful Silesians, who have

at all times, and under all circumstances, rewarded the paternal care of their monarch for the welfare and prosperity of their country, by the most unshaken attachment to the house of Prussia.

“ The enemy boasts—favoured by fortune, so liable to change, and not less favoured by the treachery of base traitors—that he has already annihilated the whole force of the Prussian monarchy.

“ But he knows not that his majesty is at this moment at the head of a formidable army, which burns with eagerness to engage the oppressors of the country.

“ He knows not, or appears not to wish to know, that the monarch of Prussia finds himself surrounded by a guard, which no force, no misfortunes, no talisman, can subdue—the unalterable love of his people.

“ He knows not that every day thousands of volunteers offer themselves, with arms in their hands, to set bounds to his progress, and that the Silesians display no less activity and energy in defence of their king and country, than to defend their property from unexampled rapacity.

“ He flatters himself with the doubts he is anxious to disseminate of the promised aid of Russia.

“ But he deceives himself in his hopes; the most sacred and inviolate fulfilment of all treaties entered into is one of the principal traits in the character of the noble-minded sovereign of all the Russias.

“ Already two formidable Russian armies have arrived near the banks of the Vistula, while a third, much more numerous, is advancing by rapid marches.

“ Already

“ Already legions of patriots, voluntarily armed, and used to battle, are prepared to join the armies in the field.

“ His majesty, under these circumstances, depends on the attachment of his Silesian states and subjects, who have at all times, both by word and deed, given the most manifest proofs of their unshaken fidelity; and he believes that, by the appointment, *ad interim*, of one of the most distinguished of them, his excellency the prince of Anhalt Pless, to be governor-general of Silesia, he gives them a proof of his confidence and good-will. Conducted by this prince, who has gloriously signalized himself in the course of the war, the states, and all classes of the inhabitants of Silesia, will certainly exert themselves to contribute all in their power, in conjunction with the forces which his majesty will send to their assistance, to defend their country, and their own province in particular.

“ Invested with full power by his majesty, I therefore hereby call on all and each of the inhabitants of the Silesian provinces, to bear cheerfully the sacrifices and burthens which probably may be necessary for the attainment of this great object, and the rather as they not only can bear no proportion to the enormous sacrifices to which they must be subjected should the enemy succeed in his attempt to conquer Silesia, but as in due time they will be rewarded by his majesty, and as far as possible, made good.

“ Given at Breslaw, the 3d of Dec. 1806.

“ Count VON GOTZEN,

“ Major and flugel adjutant to his majesty the king.”

*Proclamation of the King of Prussia.*

The battle of the 14th of last month was, notwithstanding the most courageous efforts of the army, so unfortunate in its issue for the army of Prussia, that the enemy found the way quite open to the capital, and into the heart of the monarchy. The king was of course induced to propose an armistice: he thought he might promise himself a good reception in this undertaking, as during the battle he had received a letter from the emperor Napoleon, full of friendly expressions. But to this proposal, as no attention could be paid unless his majesty consented to numerous sacrifices as the fundamental basis of peace, the king, who immediately perceived the whole of the danger to which his faithful subjects would be inevitably exposed, preferred those sacrifices to the less certain and distant means of saving the country, by trusting to the fate of arms; he therefore determined upon every risk for the preservation of the independence of the monarchy, and dispatched his minister of state, the marquis Lucchesini, on the 18th of October, with full powers, to the head-quarters of the emperor and king. The sacrifices to which the king had authorized his minister, the marquis Lucchesini, to accede, were the effects of the advantages which the enemy had obtained by the fortune of a single day; and his majesty's proposals were deemed so moderate, that on the 30th of October they were accepted as the basis of a peace, by the grand marshal of the palace Duroc, who was charged by the emperor and king with the conduct of the negotiations.

Upon

Upon these bases, the peace might have been concluded without loss of time; and the king, on his part, had actually taken all the necessary measures to fulfil the conditions of the peace without delay immediately after its conclusion.

The emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, refused to discontinue the prosecution of hostilities; he not only suffered his army, without relaxation, to follow up all the advantages they had gained, but at the same time overrun all the provinces on the Oder and the Wartha, which were unprovided with troops. These provinces, equally with the capital, were compelled to feel all the inconveniences of war. From the head-quarters of the emperor, even four days after the conditions of peace were received, a seditious proclamation was issued, printed, and distributed among the inhabitants of South Prussia, exciting them to insurrection, and which was promoted in various ways. Wherever the enemy's troops arrived, they seized upon the king's property, sequestered the royal treasures, and even endeavoured to compel his majesty's servants to act against him, contrary to the oath of fidelity which they had taken.

These events soon excited suspicion that the emperor was by no means in earnest to conclude a peace upon the conditions which had been proposed.

The indefatigable but vain efforts of his majesty's plenipotentiary to continue the course of the negotiation uninterrupted, were employed till it was expressly declared, "that the emperor must avail himself of the unfortunate situation into which Prussia had

fallen, in consequence of the battle of the 14th, to conclude a peace with Russia and England." This declaration left no doubt remaining. The bases of peace which had been formally concluded were now entirely set aside; and instead of these, an armistice was proposed on the part of the French, the conditions of which, at the very moment when it was supposed every difficulty had been got over, were increased with every advantage obtained by the enemy.

After so many hopes that still remained unrealized, his majesty's plenipotentiary at length, on the 16th of November, thought proper to conclude the armistice marked (A) in the supplement; by that means to affix some boundaries to the increasing demands of the enemy. This act was accompanied by the official declaration of the prince of Benevento, minister of foreign affairs, marked (B); the contents of which prove more clearly than any thing that preceded them, that Prussia would flatter herself in vain, should she indulge the most distant hope of preserving peace, even by making the unreasonable sacrifices which the armistice demanded. And if his majesty had been inclined to indulge this hope, it was no longer in his power to fulfil the conditions expressed — to compel the retreat of the Russian armies; for as the French troops, even during the armistice, had advanced towards the Vistula, it was then impossible to arrest the march of the Russians, who saw their own frontiers threatened.

No choice now remained for his majesty; he was compelled to refuse his ratification of the armistice concluded by marshal Duroc on the

22d of November. It only remained for his majesty to solicit the courts of St. James's and St. Petersburg to negotiate with him for the basis of a general peace with the emperor Napoleon. This his majesty has done; and, under the distant hopes of a happy issue to this proceeding, his majesty has not yet recalled his plenipotentiary, the marquis Lucchesini, from the head-quarters of the emperor and king.

Whilst the king has thus done every thing in his power to prevent the further effusion of blood, he has, on the other hand, been incessantly occupied in preparing the means of resistance with which Providence has supplied him. Though the fortresses of Stettin, Custrin, and Magdeburg, notwithstanding their being abundantly supplied with provisions, and furnished with sufficient garrisons, have been unjustifiably surrendered by their governors and commanders; yet the remaining fortresses of the country, and particularly those on the Vistula, have been with the utmost activity placed in the best state of defence, and confided to the care of resolute and faithful commanders. The troops remaining in the provinces on the Vistula, and the Wartha, will form a junction with the numerous and brave Russian armies; besides which, a new army will be collected, and got in readiness for service. The king, therefore, relies upon the support of the nation, which, in the seven years war, made a glorious stand against almost the whole of Europe, and which gave no signs of despair or irresolution, though then, as now, the capital, and the greater part of the kingdom, had fallen into the

power of the enemy, and chose to sustain the greatest perils and dangers, with a degree of firmness and intrepidity which rendered it the wonder of the age and that of posterity. The stake we now contend for is greater than ever. We now fight for all that is honourable to the nation and sacred among mankind. This is well known to the country and to the whole world. The king has only taken up arms to defend his independence; nor will the enemy succeed in deceiving the people with the idea of a coalition, for which there is not the least foundation. In the seven years war Prussia stood alone, or at least without any considerable assistance from any other nation, against the principal powers of Europe. In the present war she depends upon the aid of the powerful and magnanimous Alexander, who will raise his whole force in her behalf. In this great contest Prussia will have but one and the same interest with Russia. Both will stand or fall together. From this intimate connection between the two powers, and in so sacred a cause, against an enemy whose power has so rapidly risen to such a giddy height, that he no longer sets any bounds to his good fortune, a happy issue cannot be doubted. Perseverance in danger conformably to the glorious example of our ancestors, can and must infallibly lead us to victory.

[Next follows the armistice (A.) concluded at Charlottenburg, on the 16th of November, 1806.]

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*French Declaration.* (B.)

“ The undersigned, minister for foreign

foreign affairs, has been ordered by his majesty the emperor and king to make the following declaration to their excellencies the marquis of Lucchefini and general Zastrow, the plenipotentiaries of his Prussian majesty :

“ Four coalitions, the last of which has produced the present war, have been formed against France. Every one of the four have been conquered. The victories obtained over each of them have placed vast territories in the power of his majesty the emperor and king. Three times has France, with a moderation unexampled in history, restored the whole, or nearly the whole of its conquests, and re-established on their thrones, without almost any diminution of their power, princes who were hurled from them by victory. The conduct which his majesty the emperor has thrice pursued, he is still disposed to follow, without considering that this extreme moderation may, before the expiration of ten years, produce a fifth coalition. But in the course of these perpetually reviving wars, France, Spain, and Holland, have lost their colonies. It is natural, it is just, that the countries which the right of war has placed in the emperor's power, should be employed as compensations for these colonies.

“ But that which particularly distinguishes the injury done to France by the fourth coalition is, that the Porte has lost its independence. Wallachia and Moldavia, governed by men whom it had justly deposed, and whom the threats of Russia forced it to restore, are become absolute conquests in the hands of Russia. The com-

plete independence of the Ottoman Porte being one of the great objects of France, his majesty the emperor would lose the principal reward of his successes, if they did not tend to insure it. His majesty, consequently, cannot restore any of the territories which the chance of arms has placed in his power, before the Ottoman Porte shall be reinstated in the plenitude of all its rights over Wallachia and Moldavia, and that its absolute independence shall be recognized and guaranteed.

“ The undersigned has the honour to renew to their excellencies the marquis of Lucchefini and major-general Zastrow, the assurances of his high consideration.

“ CH. MAUR. TALLEYRAND,  
Prince of Benevento.”

*Berlin, Nov. 16, 1806.*

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*Treaty of Peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony.*

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony, anxious to provide for the final re-establishment of peace between their estates, have named for their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, the general of division, Michael Duroc, grand marshal of the palace, &c. &c. and his serene electoral highness the elector of Saxony, count Charles De Bose, his principal

principal chamberlain, &c. &c. who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

Article I.—From the day of the signing of the treaty, there shall be peace and perfect friendship between the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, on the one part, and his serene electoral highness the elector of Saxony, on the other.

II. His electoral highness accedes to the treaty of confederation and alliance, concluded at Paris on the 12th of July in the present year; and by such accession, he succeeds to all the privileges and obligations of the alliance, in the same way as if he were a principal contracting party to the said treaty.

III. His electoral highness will assume the title of king, and take his place in the college in the rank of kings, according to the order of his introduction.

IV. He cannot, without the previous consent of the confederation of the Rhine, in any case or for any cause whatever, allow a passage through the kingdom of Saxony to any army or corps, or detachment of troops, appertaining to a power not a party to the said confederation.

V. The laws and ordinances which define the several rites of the various forms of worship established in Germany, having been abolished by the effect of the dissolution of the ancient Germanic body, and moreover not being compatible with the principle upon which the confederation has been formed, the exercise of the catholic worship

shall, throughout the whole kingdom of Saxony, be fully assimilated to the Lutheran form of worship, and the followers of the two religions shall without restriction enjoy the same civil and political rights. This object is a particular condition with his majesty the emperor and king.

VI. His majesty the emperor of the French undertakes, that by the future treaty of peace with Prussia, the Cotbuser Kreis, or Circle of Coburg, shall be ceded to his majesty the king of Saxony.

VII. His majesty the king of Saxony cedes to such prince as shall be named by his majesty the emperor of the French, and in that part of Thuringia situated between the principalities of Eichfeld and Erfurt, a territory, equal in revenue and population to the Circle of Coburg, which territory, serving as a point of union between the said principalities, shall be possessed by the said prince, in full and entire sovereignty. The limits of this territory shall be fixed by commissaries appointed for that purpose, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications.

VIII. The contingent of the kingdom of Saxony, in case of war, shall consist in the whole of 20,000 men.

IX. During the present campaign, considering what has happened, the contingent of the kingdom of Saxony shall be 1500 cavalry, 4200 infantry, 300 artillery, and 12 pieces of cannon.

X. No contributions shall be levied after the signing of the present treaty.

XI. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged

changed at Dresden, in the course of eight days. Done at Posen, Dec. 11, 1806.

(Signed)

DUROC,  
CHARLES, COUNT DE BOZE.

*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, to his Majesty the King of Bavaria.*

Paris, Sept. 27.

Sir, my brother,

It is more than a month since Prussia has armed, and it is known to all the world that she arms against France and against the confederation of the Rhine. We have sought for the motives of these armaments without being able to discover them. The letters written to us by his Prussian majesty are amicable: his minister for foreign affairs has notified to our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, that he recognises the confederation of the Rhine, and that he has no objection to the arrangements made in the south of Germany.

Are the armaments of Prussia the result of a coalition with Russia, or merely of the intrigues of the different parties which exist at Berlin, and the irresolution of the cabinet? Have they for their object to force Hesse, Saxony, and the Hanseatic towns, to contract obligations which the two latter powers do not appear to wish to form? Does Prussia wish to compel us ourselves to depart from the declaration which we have made, that the Hanseatic towns shall not

enter into any particular confederation? a declaration founded upon the commercial interests of France, and of the south of Germany, and upon what has been made known to us by England, that any change in the present situation of the Hanseatic towns will be a great obstacle to a general peace. We have also declared that the princes of the Germanic empire, who were not comprised in the confederation of the Rhine, ought to be at liberty to consult only their own interest and convenience, that they ought to be regarded as perfectly free, that we would do nothing to draw them into the confederation of the Rhine, but that we would not suffer them to be forced to do any act which would be contrary to their inclination, their policy, or the interests of their people. Ought this just declaration to have so wounded the cabinet of Berlin, that we should be obliged to retract it? Amongst all these motives which is the true one we cannot divine, and the future only can reveal the secret of a conduct as strange as it was unexpected. A month has elapsed without our taking notice of it. Our inattention has only served to embolden all those fire-brands who wish to precipitate the court of Berlin into a most inconsiderate contest.

At length the armaments of Prussia have led to the case provided for by one of the articles of the treaty of the 12th of July, and we think it necessary that all the sovereigns who compose the confederation of the Rhine, should arm to defend its interests, to guaranty and maintain the inviolability of its territory. Instead of 200,000 men, which France is bound

bound to furnish, she will furnish 300,000; and we have just given orders that the troops necessary to complete that number shall be transported with speed to the Lower Rhine. The troops of your majesty being still on a war footing, we invite your majesty to issue orders that they may be put in a state to march without delay, with all their field equipage, in order that they may contribute to the defence of the common cause, the success of which we dare believe will correspond with its justice, if at length, contrary to our wishes, and even contrary to our hopes, Prussia should compel us to repel force by force.

We pray God, my brother, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

Given at St. Cloud, the 21st of Sept. 1806.

NAPOLÉON.

Conformable to the original,  
The minister for foreign affairs,

C. M. TALLEYRAND,  
Prince of Benevento.

*The Emperor Napoleon's appeal to the Saxons.*

Saxons! the Prussians have overrun your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connections which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to shed your blood for an interest to which you are not only strangers, but which is even in opposition to your interests.

My army was upon the point of

evacuating Germany when your territory was violated; it shall return to France as soon as Prussia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which she had formed against you.

Saxons! your prince had, till that moment, refused to enter into an alliance so opposite to his duties; if he has since consented to the conditions imposed upon him, it has only been in consequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Prussians.

I was deaf to the idle provocation which the Prussians offered against my people. I was deaf to them so long as their armaments were confined to the Prussian states, and my minister did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.

Saxons, your destiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between those who would bring you under the yoke, and those who would defend you? My victories shall secure the existence and the independence of your prince, and your nation. The conquests of the Prussians will only rivet your chains. But what do I say?—Have they not already tried every experiment?—Have they not, for a long time past, used every effort to compel your prince to acknowledge a sovereignty, which once directly imposed upon you, would erase you from the list of nations?

Your independence, your constitution, your liberty, would then only exist in the pages of memory; and the shades of your forefathers, those valiant Saxons, would disdain you for suffering yourselves to be reduced to slavery without resist-

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ance—a slavery prepared for you so long beforehand—and thus becoming witnesses of the degradation of your country into a Prussian province.

Given at our head-quarters  
Eberisdorff, Oct. 11, 1806.

NAPOLEON.

*Imperial Decree from the protocol of  
our Secretary of State.*

*From our Imperial Camp at  
Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French,  
and King of Italy.

Whereas,

1. That England has ceased to observe the law of nations, recognised by all civilized states.

2. That she considers every individual as an enemy who belongs to an hostile state, and consequently makes prisoners, not merely the crews of ships of war, but also the crews of merchant vessels, and even the members of commercial factories, and persons connected with commerce, where employed in their mercantile affairs.

3. That she extends the rights of conquest to the cargo and commodities, and to the property of individuals; which right of conquest, however, ought only to be applicable to that which belongs to the hostile state:

4. That she extends her right of blockade to places not fortified, and to commercial ports, in bays, and the mouths of navigable rivers; which blockade, according to the

principles and the practice of all civilized nations, is applicable only to fortified places:

That she considers a place in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place can only be considered as blockaded when it is so circumscribed in its communication that it is impossible to approach it without visible danger:

That she even declares places in a state of blockade which, with her whole united strength, she would be unable effectually to blockade, for instance, whole coasts and whole kingdoms:

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandise the commerce and industry of England by the ruins of the commerce and industry of the continent:

6. That as this is the object of England, all those who carry on traffic in English commodities upon the continent, by doing so, second her views and render themselves her accomplices:

7. That this conduct of England, which is altogether worthy of the age of barbarism, has become advantageous to that power to the prejudice of every other:

8. That it is a right conferred by nature to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against you, and to fight against him in the same manner in which he attacks, and that this principle is recognised by all ideas of justice and all liberal sentiments, the result of that civilization by which societies are distinguished:

We therefore determine to employ

ploy against England those principles which she has adopted in her maritime code.

The consequence of the present decree shall be considered as fixed fundamental laws of the empire, so long as England refuses to acknowledge one and the same law as applicable both to sea and land, till she ceases to consider private property, be it what it may, a good prize—till she ceases to extend to the persons of individuals who are not engaged in military operations the principles by which she at present treats them as prisoners of war—and until she shall apply the rights of blockade only to those places which she has a force fully adequate to cut off from communication.

We have therefore decreed and declare as follows :

Article 1. The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade.

2. All commerce and all correspondence with the British isles are prohibited.

3. The letters or packets which are addressed to England or to Englishmen, or which are written in the English language, shall not be forwarded by the posts, and shall be taken away.

4. Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever condition he be, who is found in the countries occupied by our troops, or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

5. Every magazine, every commodity, every article of property, of whatever sort, which belongs to an English subject, shall be declared good prize.

6. The trade in English com-

modities is prohibited, and every article which belongs to England, or is the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

7. The half of the proceeds of the confiscation of the articles, property, and goods declared good prize by the preceding article, will be employed to indemnify the merchants for the losses which they suffer by the capture of trading vessels seized by the English cruizers.

8. No ship which comes direct from England or the English colonies, or has been there after the publication of the present decree, shall be admitted into any harbour.

9. Every ship which trades with a false declaration, in contravention of the above principles, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated as if they were English property.

10. Our prize court at Paris is invested with power definitively to settle all disputes which may arise in our empire or in the countries occupied by the French armies in regard to the execution of the present decree. Moreover, our prize court at Milan is invested with full power finally to decide all disputes which may arise within the dominions of our kingdom of Italy.

11. The present decree shall be communicated to the kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and Etruria, and our other allies, whose subjects, as well as our own, have been the victims of the injustice and barbarity of the English maritime code.

12. Our ministers of foreign affairs,

fairs, of war, of marine of finance, of police, and our post-masters general, each of them, in as far as concerns his department, is intrusted with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed)            NAPOLEON.  
By the emperor,  
  
H. MARET,  
Secretary of state.

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*Note presented on the 24th of November, by his excellency the French Imperial Minister M. Bo rienne, to the Senate of Hamburgh.*

The undersigned minister of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy to the states of Lower Saxony, has been commanded by his sovereign to communicate to the city of Hamburgh as follows :

That—As England has not acknowledged the laws of nations, which are observed by all civilized states ;

As she makes prisoners individuals who do not belong to the military service ;

As she seizes and confiscates private property ;

As she considers places in a state of blockade which in reality are not so, as well as places of commerce, not fortified bays and mouths of rivers ;

As she declares places in a state of blockade, which in point of fact are not so, or which in their very nature cannot be so placed ;

France is reduced to the necessity of applying the same principles

which England adopts in her maritime code to the British islands, to British subjects, to their property of every kind, to be found in the territories, states, and ports occupied or to be occupied by the French arms, to the ships coming from the British islands or colonies arriving in such ports, as well as those which shall go from such ports to those belonging to Great Britain ;

That while his majesty the emperor and king declares the British islands in a state of blockade, and with respect to English subjects, their property, and the ships which come from the British islands or possessions, or which are bound for the same, in doing which his majesty is justified by the laws of self-defence ;

That his majesty the emperor and king in doing so has been prompted not merely by the interest of France, but that he has also considered it as his duty to protect the continent from the misery with which it is threatened, since the acts of violence exercised by England are visibly intended to interrupt the communications between nations, and to elevate its industry and commerce on the ruins of the industry and commerce of the continent, whence it follows that every person on the continent, who carries on commerce in English commodities, supports the views of England, and must be considered as her accomplice ;

That as a great number of the inhabitants of the city of Hamburgh are in this situation, and are notoriously engaged in the affairs of England, his majesty the emperor and king feels, himself reluctant-

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ly compelled to take possession of that city, and to give orders for the execution of the measures above stated to be necessary, of which the undersigned is authorised to give notice in manner as follows:—

Art. 1. All English goods which are found in the city, ports, and territories of Hamburgh, to whomsoever they may belong, shall be confiscated.

2. Every Englishman, or English subject, in the city, or in the ports and territory abovementioned, is a prisoner of war.

3. All moveable and personal property in the city of Hamburgh, its ports or territories, belonging to Englishmen or English subjects, is confiscated.

4. No ship coming from England, or bound for the same, shall be admitted into the above-mentioned ports, city, or territories.

5. Every ship which by means of false declarations shall attempt to sail from the abovementioned city, ports, and territories to England, shall be confiscated.

6. No English courier, nor English letter bag, shall be allowed to pass through the city, ports, or territory of Hamburgh.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to the senate his assurances of high consideration.

(Signed) BOURIENNE.

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*Proclamation.*

His excellency the marshal of the empire, Mortier, with respect to the account which has been rendered to him, having remarked that

the distribution hitherto made of the possession of English merchandize does not offer a satisfactory result, considering that the merchants who have delivered in accounts may have acted with too much precipitation, and have given such declaration without applying to them all the attention and reflection which they require; considering besides, that the multiplied occupations of the commandant of the place do not permit him to perform the business with which he was charged, in keeping the register of inspection, enjoins every individual having in his possession merchandise belonging to the English, or produce from English manufactures, to present himself, within forty-eight hours, dated from Monday, the 24th of November, 1806, to the inspector of reviews, *per interim*, of the 28th division of the grand army, where they will make declaration and inscription in a register opened for that purpose, marked by the general in chief of the staff, of all merchandise in their possession, belonging, as above stated, to the English, or the produce of English manufactures.

At the expiration of the term of 48 hours, domiciliary visits will be made, and all those who act contrary to the present order will be militarily punished.

Every merchant or trader having already made a declaration, must present himself again, and reiterate his inscription with the inspector of reviews, at No. 66, Groningerstreet.

Hamburgh, Nov. 23, 1806.

*Proclamation.*

*Proclamation.—Francis II. Emperor of Germany, &c. &c.*

I have given peace to my good and faithful people. My resolutions have united with their wishes. I renounced all hopes of a change in the fortune of war, to banish with promptitude all the dangers and sufferings to which my flourishing country, and even the heart of the monarchy, my capital and residence, were exposed. The sacrifices are great, and they were with difficulty wrung from my heart ; but they could not stand in competition with the welfare, the domestic and civil welfare of millions. For these I made the sacrifice ; and I expect my indemnification in the blessings which are promised to my people by the return of peace. I know no other happiness than that of my people ; and no glory superior to that of the father of these people, who in loyalty, unshaken fidelity, and disinterested love to their sovereign and their country, give place to no nation in Europe. The fair fame of their national character has exacted an unwilling tribute of esteem, even from the enemy ; but in my heart they have fixed a monument which time itself will not be able to destroy. Under these emotions I returned to my residence, in the circle of my loyal and estimable citizens and inhabitants, and to the resumption of the direction of my affairs. The wounds inflicted by the war are deep ; several years may be necessary to heal them, and to obliterate the impressions inflicted by the sufferings of this unfortunate period. The administration of the state has

greater, and more difficult duties than ever to fulfil ; and they will fulfil them : but they have, at the same time, stronger claims than ever upon the co-operation of all classes, for the laudable purpose of restoring the vigour of the interior, by disseminating the true culture of the mind, and animating the national industry in all its branches, through the restoration and increase of the national credit ; and by these means to establish the monarchy upon that basis which the variable fate of the states of Europe has rendered necessary. Every moment of my life will be directed to this object, and devoted to the improvement of the welfare of the noble and good people, who are dear to me as the children of my affection. United by the mutual obligations of reciprocal confidence, and the cordial love of my subjects, I shall only believe I have done enough for Austria, as a prince and a father, when its prosperity is again secured ; when the sufferings of the citizens are forgotten, and nothing remains alive but the remembrance of my sacrifices, your fidelity, and your exalted and unshaken patriotism.

FRANCIS.

*Vienna, Feb. 1, 1806.*

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*Act of Confederation of the Rhenish League, done at Paris, July 12, 1806.*

Whereas his majesty the emperor of the French, and their majesties the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg ; their electoral highnesses

nesses the arch-chancellor and the elector of Baden; his imperial highness the duke of Berg; and their royal highnesses the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birstein, and Lichtenstein; the duke of Ahremberg, and the count of Leyen; being desirous to secure, through proper stipulations, the internal and external peace of southern Germany, which, as experience for a long period and recently has shewn, can derive no kind of guarantee from the existing German constitution; have appointed to be their plenipotentiaries to this effect, namely, his majesty the emperor of the French, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, duke of Benevento, minister of his foreign affairs; his majesty the king of Bavaria, his minister plenipotentiary, A. Von Cetto; his majesty the king of Wurtemberg, his state-minister the count of Wintzingerode; the elector arch-chancellor, his ambassador extraordinary, the count of Boust; the elector of Baden, his cabinet minister the baron of Reitzenstein; his imperial highness the duke of Berg, baron Von Schele; the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, his ambassador extraordinary, baron Von Pappenheim; the princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Usingen, baron Von Gagern; the princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Sigmaringen, major John Fischer; the prince of Isenburg-Birstein, his privy-counsellor, M. Von Grentze; the duke of Ahremberg, and the count of Leyen,

Mr. Durand St. André; who have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. The states of the contracting princes (enumerated as in the preamble,) shall be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united, by a particular confederation, under the designation of "the confederated states of the empire."

Art. II. All the laws of the empire, by which they have been hitherto bound, shall be in future null and without force, with the exception of the statutes relative to debts determined in the recess of the deputation of 1803, and in the paragraph upon the navigation, to be funded upon the shipping tolls, which statutes shall remain in full vigour and execution.

Art. III. Each of the contracting princes renounces such of his titles as refer to his connection with the German empire, and they will, on the first of August, declare their entire separation from it.

Art. IV. The elector arch-chancellor shall take the title of prince primate and most eminent highness (given in French, *altesse eminentissime*) which title shall convey no prerogative derogatory to the entire sovereignty which every one of the contracting princes shall enjoy.

Art. V. The elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt shall take the title of grand dukes, and enjoy the rights, honours, and prerogatives belonging to the kingly dignity. Their rank and precedence shall be in the same order as they are mentioned in Art. I. The chief of the Houses of Nassau shall take

take the title of duke, and the count of Leyen that of prince.

Art. VI. The affairs of the confederation shall be discussed in a congress of the union (Diète) whose place of sitting shall be in Frankfort, and the congress shall be divided into two colleges, the kings and the princes.

Art. VII. The members of the league must be independent of every foreign power. They cannot, in any wise, enter into any other service, but that of the states of the confederation and its allies. Those who have been hitherto in the service of a foreign power, and chuse to adhere to it, shall abdicate their principality in favour of one of their children.

Art. VIII. Should any of the said princes be disposed to alienate the whole or any part of his sovereignty, he can only do it in favour of the confederates.

Art. IX. All disputes which may arise among the members of the league shall be settled in the assembly at Frankfort.

Art. X. In this the prince primate shall preside, and when it shall happen that the two colleges have to deliberate upon any subject, he shall then preside in the college of kings, and the duke of Nassau in that of the princes.

Art. XI. The time when the congress of the league, or either of the colleges, shall have particularly to assemble, the manner of the convocation, the subjects upon which they may have to deliberate, the manner of forming their conclusions, and putting them in execution, shall be determined in a fundamental statute, which the prince primate shall give in proposition, within a month after the

notification presented at Ratisbon. This statute shall be approved of by the confederated states; this statute shall also regulate the respective rank of the members of the college of princes.

Art. XII. The emperor shall be proclaimed protector of the confederation. On the demise of the primate he shall, in such quality, as often name the successor.

Art. XIII. His majesty the king of Bavaria cedes to the king of Wurtemberg the lordship of Wiefensteig, and renounces the rights which he might have upon Wiblingen, on account of Burgau.

Art. XIV. His majesty the king of Wurtemberg makes over to the grand duke of Berg the county of Bondorff, Breunlingen, and Villingen, the part of the territory of the latter city, which lies on the right bank of the Briege, and the city of Tuttlingen, with the manor of the same name belonging to it, on the right bank of the Danube.

Art. XV. The grand duke of Baden cedes to the king of Wurtemberg the city and territory of Bibrach, with their dependencies.

Art. XVI. The duke of Nassau cedes to the grand duke of Berg the city of Deutz and its territory.

Art. XVII. His majesty the king of Bavaria shall unite to his states the city and territory of Nuremberg, and the Teutonic comitials of Rohr and Waldstetten.

Art. XVIII. His majesty the king of Wurtemberg, shall receive the lordship of Wiefensteig, the city and territory of Bibrach, with their dependencies, the cities

of

of Waldsee and Schettingen, the comital lands of Kapfenburg, Lauchheim and Alschhausen, with the exception of the lordship of Hohenfeld and the abbey of Wiblingen.

Art. XIX. The grand duke of Baden shall receive the lordship of Bondorff, the cities of Breunlingen, Villingen, and Tuttlingen, the parts of their territory which are given to him in Art. XIV. and along with these the comitals of Bolken and Freyburg.

Art. XX. The grand duke of Berg shall receive the city and territory of Deutz, the city and manor of Koenigswinter and the manor of Wistich, as ceded by the duke of Nassau.

Art. XXI. The grand duke of Darmstadt shall unite to his states the burgraviat of Friedberg, taking to himself the sovereignty only during the lifetime of the present possessor, and the whole at his death.

Art. XXII. The prince primate shall take possession of the city of Frankfort on the Maine and its territory, as his sovereignty property.

Art. XXIII. The prince of Hohenzollern-Sieg-maringen shall receive as his sovereign property the lordships of Asehberg and Hohenfels depending on the comital of Alschhausen, the convents of Klosterwald and Haltzthal, and the sovereignty over the imperial equestrian estates that lie in his dominions, and in the territory to the north of the Danube, wherever his sovereignty extends, namely, the lordships of Gamerdingen and Hettlingen.

Art. XXIV. The members of the confederation shall exercise all

the rights of sovereignty henceforward as follow:—His majesty the king of Bavaria, over the principality of Schwarzenberg, the county of Castell, the lordships of Speinfeld and Wiefenheid, the dependencies of the principality of Hohenlohe, which are included in the margraviate of Anspach, and the territory of Rothanburg, namely, the great manors of Schillingsfurst and Kirchberg, the county of Sternstein, the principality of Oettingen, the possessions of the prince of La Tour to the north of the principality of Neuburg, the county of Edelstetten, the possessions of the prince and of the count of Fugger, the burgraviat of Winterreiden; lastly, the lordships of Buxheim and Thannhausen, and over the entire of the highway from Memmingen to Lindau. His majesty the king of Wirtemberg, over the possessions of the prince and count of Truchefs Waldeburg, the counties of Baintdt, Egloff Guttzell, Hechbach, Yfny, Koenigseck, Aulendorff, Ochsenhausen, Roth, Schuffenried and Wiefenau, the lordships of Mietingen and Sunningen, New Ravensburg Thannheim, Warthausen and Weingarten, with exception of the lordship of Hagenau; the possessions of the prince of Thurn, with the exception of those not mentioned above; the lordship of Strafsberg and manor of Oztraitz, the lordship of Gundelfngen which his majesty does not possess, all the unalienated possessions of the prince of Hohenlohe, and over a part of the manor formerly belonging to Mentz, Krautheim on the left bank of the Jaxt. The grand duke of Baden over the principality of Feurstenberg, (with the excep-



exception of the lordships of Gundelfingen and Neussen); also over Trochtelfingen, Jungenau, and the part of the manor of Moeskirch, which lies on the left bank of the Danube, over the lordship of Hagenau, county of Thuingen, Landgraviat Klettgau, manors Heidenau and Billigheim, principality of Liningen, the possessions of Lowenstein Wertheim, upon the left bank of the Maine (with the exception of the county of Lowenstein,) and the lordships of Aai-bach, Brennberg, and Habitzheim; and lastly over the possessions of the princes of Salm-Reiferscheid-Krauthem, to the north of the Jaxt. The grand duke of Berg, over the lordships of Limburg Styrum, Brugg, Hardenberg, Gimborn, and Neustadt, Wildenberg; the counties of Homburg, Bentheim, Steinfort, and Horstman, the possessions of the duke of Looz, the counties of Siegen, Dillenburg (the manors of Werheim and Burgoch excepted,) over Hadamar, the lordships Welterburg, Schadeck, and Beilstein, and the property so called, part of Runkel on the right bank of the Lahn. In order to establish a communication between Cleves and the abovenamed possessions, the grand duke shall have a free passage through the states of the prince of Salm.—His highness the grand duke of Darmstadt, over the lordships of Brenberg, Haibach, the manor of Habizheim, county of Erbach, lordship of Illenstadt, a part of the county of Konigshelm, which is possessed by the prince of Stolberg Gederu; over the possessions of the baron of Reidesel, that are included in, or lie contiguous to, his states, namely, the jurisdictions of Lauferhach, Stockhau-

sen, Mort, and Truenstern, the possessions of the princes and counts of Solms, in Wetterau, exclusive of the manors of Hohen-Solms, Braunfels, and Greifenstein; lastly, the counties Wittgenstein and Berleburg, and the manor of Hefsen-Homburg, which is in possession of the line of that name.—His most serene eminence (Durchlauchtige eminez) the prince primate, over the possessions of the princes and counts of Lowenstein-Wertheim, on the right bank of the Maine, and over the county of Rheineck.—Nassau Usingen and Nassau Weilburg, over the manors of Dierdorf, Altenweid, Neursburg, and the part of the county of Bassenburg, which belongs to the prince of Wied Runkel, over the counties of Neuweid and Holzapfel, the lordship of Schomburg, the county of Diez and its dependencies, over that part of the village of Metzfelden, which appertains to the prince of Nassau Fulda, the manors of Werheim and Balbach, that part of the lordship of Runkel, situate on the left bank of the Dalur, over the equestrian possessions of Krausberg, and, lastly, over the manors of Solms Braunfels, Hohen-Solms, and Greifenstein.—The prince of Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen over Trochtelfingen, Jungenau, Straßberg, manor Ostrach, and the part of the lordship of Moeskirch situated on the left bank of the Danube.—Salm Kyrburg over the lordship of Genmen.—Isenburg-Birstein, over the possessions of the count of Isenburg Budinggen, Wechtersbatch, and Mohrholtz, without any pretensions on the part of the branch in present possession being urged against him.—

Ahrem.

Ahremberg over the county of Dulmen.

Art. XXV. The members of the confederation shall take the sovereignty of the imperial equestrian lands included within their boundaries. Such of these lands as lie between the states of two of the confederates, shall be with respect to the sovereignty partitioned as exactly as possible between them, that no misunderstanding with respect to the sovereignty may arise.

Art. XXVI. The rights of sovereignty consist in exercising the legislation, superior jurisdiction, administration of justice, military conscription, or recruiting, and levying taxes.

Art. XXVII. The present reigning princes or counts shall enjoy, as patrimonial or private property, all the domains they at present occupy, as well as all the rights of manor and entail that do not essentially appertain to the sovereignty, viz. right of superior and inferior administration of justice in common and criminal cases, tenths, patronage, and other rights, with the revenues, therefrom accruing. Their domains and chattels, as far as relates to the taxes, shall be annexed to the prince of that house under whose sovereignty they come, or if no prince of the house be in possession of immovable property, in that case they shall be put upon an equality with the domains of princes of the most privileged class. These domains cannot be sold or given to any prince out of the confederation, without being first offered to the prince under whose sovereignty they are placed.

Art. XXVIII. In penal cases, the now reigning princes and

counts, and their heirs, shall preserve their present privileges of trial. They shall be tried by their peers. Their fortune shall not in any event be confiscated, but the revenues may, during the life-time of the criminal, be sequestrated.

Art. XXIX. The confederate states shall contribute to the payment of the debts of their circle, as well for their old as their new possessions. The debts of the circle of Suabia shall be put to the account of the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the grand duke of Baden, the princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, the prince of Lichtenstein, and prince of Leyen, in proportion to their respective possessions in Suabia.

Art. XXX. The proper debts of a prince or count who falls under the sovereignty of another state shall be defrayed by the said state, conjointly with the now reigning prince, in the proportion of the revenues which that state shall acquire, and of the part which by the present treaty is allotted to attach to the attributes of the present sovereigns.

Art. XXXI. The present reigning princes or counts may determine the place of their residence where they will. Where they reside in the dominions of a member or ally of the confederation, or in any of the possessions which they hold out of the territory of the confederation, they may draw their rents or capitals without paying any tax whatever upon them.

Art. XXXII. Those persons who hold places in the administration of the countries which hereby come under the sovereignty of the confederation

confederates, and who shall not be retained by the new sovereign, shall receive a pension according to the situation they have held.

Art. XXXIII. The members of military or religious orders who shall lose their incomes, or whose common property shall be secularised, shall receive during life a yearly stipend proportioned to their former income, their dignity, and their age, and which shall be secured upon the goods of the revenues, of which they were in the enjoyment.

Art. XXXIV. The confederates renounce reciprocally, for themselves and their posterity, all claims which they might have upon the possessions of other members of the confederation, the eventual right of succession alone excepted, and this only in the event of the family having died out, which now is in possession of the territories, and objects to which such a right might be advanced.

Art. XXXV. Between the emperor of the French and the confederated states, federatively and individually, there shall be an alliance, by virtue of which every continental war in which one or either parties shall be engaged shall be common to all.

Art. XXXVI. In the event of any foreign or neighbouring power making preparations for war, the contracting parties, in order to prevent surprise, shall, upon the requisition of the minister of one of them at the assembly of the league in Frankfort, arm also. And as the contingent of the allies is subdivided into four parts, the assembly shall decide how many of those shall be called into activity. The armament however, shall only take

place upon the invitation of the emperor to each of the contracting parties.

Art. XXXVII. His majesty the King of Bavaria binds himself to fortify Augsburg and Lindau; in the first of these places to form and maintain artillery establishments, and in the second, to keep a quantity of muskets and ammunition sufficient for a reserve, as well as a baking establishment at Augsburg, sufficient to supply the armies without stop in the event of war.

Art. XXXVIII. The contingent of each is determined as follows:—

France	200,000
Bavaria	30,000
Wirtemberg	13,000
Baden	3,000
Berg	5,000
Darmstadt	4,000
Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others	4,000

Art. XXXIX. The contracting parties will admit of the accession of other German princes and states, in all cases where their union with the confederation may be found consistent with the general interest.

Art. XL. The ratification of the present treaty shall be exchanged between the contracting parties, on the 25th of July, at Munich.

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*Resignation of the Office of Emperor of Germany, by Francis, Emperor of Austria.—Dated at Vienna, August 6, 1806.*

We, Francis Second, &c.

Since the peace of Presburg, all our attention and all our care have been

been employed to fulfil, with scrupulous fidelity, all the engagements contracted by that treaty, to preserve to our subjects the happiness of peace, to consolidate every where the amicable relations happily re-established, waiting to discover whether the changes caused by the peace, would permit us to perform our important duties, as chief of the German empire, conformably to the capitulation of election.

The consequences, however, which ensued from some articles of the treaty of Presburg, immediately after its publication, and which still exist, and those events generally known, which have since taken place in the Germanic empire, have convinced us, that it will be impossible, under these circumstances, to continue the obligations contracted by the capitulation of election, and even, if, in reflecting on the political relations, it were possible to imagine a change of affairs, the convention of the 12th of July, signed at Paris, and ratified by the contracting parties, relative to an entire separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar confederation, has entirely destroyed every such hope.

Being thus convinced of the impossibility of being any longer enabled to fulfil the duties of our imperial functions, we owe it to our principles and to our duty, to renounce a crown which was only valuable in our eyes, whilst we were able to enjoy the confidence of the electors, princes, and other states of the Germanic empire, and to perform the duties which were imposed upon us. We declare, therefore, by these presents, that we,

considering as dissolved the ties which have hitherto attached us to the states of the Germanic empire, that we, considering as extinguished by the confederation of the states of the Rhine, the charge in chief of the empire; and that we, considering ourselves thus acquitted of all our duties towards the Germanic empire, do resign the imperial crown, and the imperial government.

We absolve, at the same time, the electors, princes, and states, and all that belong to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme tribunal, and other magistrates of the empire, from those duties by which they were united to us as the legal chief of the empire, according to the constitution.

We also absolve all our German provinces and states of the empire from their reciprocal duties towards the Germanic empire, and we desire, in incorporating them with our Austrian states, as emperor of Austria, and in preserving them in those amicable relations subsisting with the neighbouring powers and states, that they should attain that height of prosperity and happiness, which is the end of all our desires, and the object of our dearest wishes.

Done at our residence, under the imperial seal.

FRANCIS.

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*Address of the Emperor of Austria on resigning the Office of Emperor of Germany.*

We, Francis Second, &c.  
In abdicating the imperial government of the empire, we, considering

sidering it as the last effort of our care, and as an absolute duty, do express thus publicly a desire, equally reasonable and just, that the persons who have hitherto been employed in the administration of justice, and in diplomatic and other affairs, for the good of the whole empire, and for the service of the chief of the empire, should be suitably provided for.

The care which all the states of the empire took of those persons who lost their places by the affair of the indemnity in 1803, induces us to hope, that the same sentiments of justice will be extended to those individuals who have hitherto been employed in the general service, who have been chosen in all parts of the Germanic empire, and many of whom have quitted other profitable places, looking forward to an honourable subsistence for life, and which should not be wanting to them on account of their fidelity, and the integrity and capacity with which they have executed their functions.

We have, therefore, taken the resolution of preserving to those of our imperial servants, who have hitherto drawn their salaries from our chamber, the same appointments, reserving to ourselves to place them in employments in the service of our hereditary states, and we hope, with so much the more confidence, that the electors, princes, and states, will provide for the imperial chamber of justice of the empire, and the chancery of the chamber of justice, by charging themselves voluntarily with this expence, as it will be trifling in amount, and will diminish every year.

As to the chancery of the Aulic council of the empire, the funds destined for its support will be employed to provide for the wants of those individuals who have hitherto drawn from thence their salaries, this will serve them until other measures may be taken.

Done in our capital and residence of Vienna, under our imperial seal, the 6th of August, 1806.

FRANCIS.

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CIRCULAR NOTE,

*Addressed to their Majesties, Imperial Royal Highnesses, Dukes and most Serene Princes, associated in the Confederation of the Rhine, on the Part of the Prince Primate of the Confederation.*

The prince primate of the confederation has the honour to inform their majesties, imperial and serene highnesses, &c. &c. that his minister plenipotentiary baron d'Albini repaired to Frankfort at the beginning of this month, to make preparations in his name for the opening of the Diet, in as much as might accord with the intentions of the associated kings and sovereigns. The act of confederation having designated that term for proposing a fundamental statute, the opening of the sittings will depend probably upon the arrival of the plenipotentiaries. Ardently desiring to deserve the confidence of the associated kings and princes, the prince primate regards it as the first duty of his office, not to propose any thing which might not be generally acknowledged as of essential advantage to the confederation,

ration, as well as consistent with the perfect independence of the confederated sovereigns.

“ If the formation of a fundamental statute cannot be the work of a day, and that an object of such importance requires the most mature reflection, it is notwithstanding equally true, that it is desirable that the confederation should from its commencement be established upon an immoveable basis. Its object is to obtain tranquillity and serenity, the true happiness of nations, and to enable sovereigns to occupy themselves without interruption in the prosperity of their states, in increasing the happiness of the towns and country, by the enlightened attention of a prudent and paternal government, and by the encouragement of useful arts and sciences, the true sources of the splendour of august dynasties and sovereign houses. The south of Germany, after ages of misfortunes, troubles, and wars, cannot but ardently wish that its eternal happiness should be established upon an imperishable basis. The prince primate submits to the wisdom of the confederated kings and princes the decision of the question, whether the fundamental maxim of the inviolability of the territory of the confederation, be not the first and most important of all the bases of the public prosperity? Whether it be agreeable to the high wisdom of the confederated kings and princes never to allow a passage to foreign troops, though even disarmèd, without the consent of the entire confederation? And, finally, if it be not also conformable to the dignity of independent sovereigns, that the re-

presentatives at the diet of Frankfort, engaged in assuring domestic tranquillity, should neither send ministers to, nor receive them from foreign courts; a right which is naturally reserved to each of the august kings and sovereigns, and not to a meeting of their plenipotentiaries.

“ If the diet of Frankfort should hereafter apply to his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, as protector, to obtain his guarantee of such an inviolability of the territory of the confederation, we may be allowed to entertain a hope that this favour, one of the first importance, will not be refused on the part of that great man, who has known how to respect the inviolability of one of the most important countries in the world, notwithstanding the obstacles which appeared to oppose it.

The prince primate submits these observations to the kings, princes, &c. &c. associated in the confederation of the Rhine, and will always feel happy if his zealous disinterestedness can deserve their confidence and approbation.

CHARLES.

*Afchaffenburg, Sept. 18, 1806.*

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*Abstract of the Proceedings for remitting the Mouths of the Cattaro to the Russians and Montenegrins.*

Copy of a letter from the marquis de Ghislieri to M. de Zanino, an officer of the regiment of Thurn, and communicated by that officer to his comrades, by desire of the marquis de Ghislieri.

*Castelnuovo,*

*Castelnuovo, March 6, 1806.*

Sir,

As in the difficult circumstances in which I have found myself placed, nothing could lie nearer my heart than not to decide any thing which could displease so brave and so estimable a garrison as that of Cattaro, and as besides, according to what lieutenant d'Esembergh has informed me, I have reason to fear that I have not entirely accomplished my object, I avail myself of the personal knowledge which I had the happiness to have of you, sir, to make to you amicably two observations only, and to beg of you to communicate them also to your comrades.

1st. It is not to the summons of a power at war with our august master, and still less at the demand of the Montenegrins, with whom I have not even entered into treaty, but only to the reiterated summons of a Russian commandant that I have taken the resolution of withdrawing the troops of his majesty from this province; and consequently it is only by the express wish of a court in friendship and alliance with our own, and against which superior orders are very precise, not to use other means than those of declarations and protests, and never any measures of armed defence.

2dly. I have not entered into any capitulation with the Russian commandant, which I should never have concluded without the consent of the army; but I have simply confined myself to making the necessary protests and declarations, to leave no room of complaint against our court by the French, and to insure the respect due in all

circumstances to the flag and troops of his majesty.

According to these very clear observations, you will yourself see, sir, that the part which I have taken is a measure altogether political, and the only one which circumstances permit, and not a measure in any respect military; which ought to tranquillize yourself and your brave comrades respecting every consequence which you might apprehend from it, to the disadvantage of your reputation, already too well ensured among the army and the public, to be implicated by a measure wholly foreign to military affairs.

By my readiness to enter with you and for you, with all the officers, into such details, you will judge of the value which I affix to your esteem and good will, and two lines in answer, which may be directed to me, to the care of the imperial consul at Ragusa, will give me much pleasure. I am, with perfect respect, yours, &c.

(Signed) GHISILIERI.

*Copy of a Letter written by the  
marquis de Ghisilieri to general  
Molitor, Governor of Dalmatia  
and Albania.*

*Zacortaz, March 9, 1806.*

General,

The same motives of prudence which induced me to precede the troops destined to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, under the necessity of ordering the troops of my august master to be withdrawn, not so much to avert new dangers from a brave garrison, who desired nothing better than to fight, as to preserve from pillage and total ruin a province, which is already the pro-

perty of his majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy.

The fury with which the Montenegrins, raised in a mass by their chief pontiff, menaced the provinces, and the enthusiasm entertained, in common with them, among the inhabitants of the mouths of the Cattaro, by the sectaries of the Greek religion, who form three-fourths of the population, had for some time alarmed the government, when a Russian squadron, which came to anchor at Porte Rose, the 27th ult. in the evening, contributed further to paralyse the little means that might be employed to frustrate the projects of the Montenegrins. The days of the twenty-eighth of February and the first and second of March were employed in inundating the province by some thousands of Montenegrins, reinforced by the inhabitants of Zuppa, Comuni, and Pastrovicchio; and when this horde was already in motion to attack the forts guarded by Austrian troops, the commandant of the Russian squadron summoned, the 3d of March, the governor of Cattaro to give up all the forts, or to declare himself the enemy of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and he next day reiterated to me the same summons, in the peremptory terms of half an hour, always according to the principle, that the mouths of the Cattaro were already French territory, from the day that the delay of two months fixed for their occupation by the French troops were expired. At a moment so pressing, persuaded as I was that the valour of the garrison would not have been sufficient against a number of Montenegrins, infinitely superior, nor against the fire which the squadron might have

made upon the forts, and likewise persuaded that the devastation of the province would have been the consequence of my refusal, I thought it my duty to yield to the force of circumstances, and not to have recourse to violent means, after having in vain exhausted those of persuasion and protests; and by such a conduct I saved to my august master brave troops, and preserved for yours, general, the mouths of the Cattaro in a flourishing state.

I flatter myself that, in this respect, the part which I have taken will not merit the disapprobation of his majesty, my august master, and will not excite the smallest complaint on the part of the French government; which will be the most pleasant recompence for the troubles of every kind which I have suffered, and even the dangers which I have run these last days.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) GHISILIERI.

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*Note to the marquis de Ghisilieri.*

The undersigned commissary-general of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, has had the honour to receive from the marquis de Ghisilieri, commissary-general of his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, the answer to his note of the 21st of March; in which he announces to the undersigned, that he has dispatched that note to his court; and that he further refers to the answer given to general Molitor respecting the same grievances.

The undersigned hastened to ask of general Molitor the answer spoken of by the Marquis de Ghisilieri;



ghilieri; it is dated the 9th of March, 1806, from Zacortaz.

In that answer, the marquis de Ghislieri makes known that the garrison of Cattaro wished only to fight; the undersigned is so much the more persuaded of it, that he positively knows that protests have been made by the officers of the regiment of Thurn, against giving up the forts to the Russians, that some officers were put under arrest for that protest, and that generally all the officers and soldiers of that regiment testify their indignation at having given up the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro to a small number of Russians, who would not have made the smallest resistance against the regiment of Thurn, composed of 1500 men.

But notwithstanding all these protests, the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro were given up to the Russians by order of the marquis de Ghislieri.

The undersigned has the honour to beg of the marquis de Ghislieri to inform him, whether he has acted in this circumstance by his own authority, or in virtue of superior orders; for it is essential that he should make known to his court the reasons for which the Austrian commandant and the marquis de Ghislieri have peaceably allowed entrance, and a residence in the ports of the mouth of the Cattaro, to the armed squadron of a power at war with that to which they were to have given up the forts, and to whose generals they gave no information.

It is also important that the undersigned should inform his court of the motives on which the mouths of the Cattaro have been ceded to

the Russians, instead of being given up to the troops of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy conformably to the treaty of Presburg.

The reason given by the marquis de Ghislieri, in his letter to general Molitor, of the 9th of March, cannot be admitted. He there says, that it is to preserve to his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, the mouths of the Cattaro in a flourishing state, that he has given them up to the Russians and Montenegrins.

But only two days after their surrender, the Montenegrins sacked and pillaged the houses; and those very inhabitants which the marquis de Ghislieri represents as in accord with the Montenegrins, armed themselves and marched against them, and even killed several.

The same inhabitants stretch their arms to the French, and bitterly complain that they have been given up to their most cruel enemies.

The undersigned expects with impatience an answer from the marquis de Ghislieri, and persists in the demands which he made in his note of the 21st of March. He conceives the marquis de Ghislieri must be invested with the necessary powers to comply with them, since he had that of commanding the garrison of Cattaro, notwithstanding its protest, to give up to the Russians the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro.

He has the honour to give him the assurance of his great respect.

(Signed)

AL. LAURISTON.

Zara, March 25, 1806.

\* P P 4

The

*The Grand Pensionary of the Batavian Republic, to their High Mightinesses.*

*High and Mighty lords,*

Notwithstanding the unsettled state of my health for a long time past, and particularly the unfortunate diminution of my sight, would have afforded more than sufficient grounds for withdrawing myself from the fatigues of public business. I have hitherto continued in office from a sense of duty to my country, and with a view of doing it some essential service; being further influenced by the persuasion, that the renewal of the late war, and the consequences arising from the approach of the enemies' hands towards our frontiers, rendered such a step, on my part, the least doubtful. At present, high and mighty lords, these imperious motives exist no more; and my conviction, that any further service of mine, in my present situation, is not essential to the good of the country, has determined me to leave a post, which being no longer beneficial to my countrymen, nor advantageous to myself, I think it unadvisable any longer to fill, I therefore make that use of the privilege which the 41st article of the regulation of the state acknowledges, by virtue whereof, I again deposit my post, as pensionary of the council, in the hands of your high mightinesses.

This post I leave with an entire consciousness, that every thing that has depended upon me, has been directed to the happiness of my fellow citizens. I leave this situation thoroughly penetrated with

the sense of, and the most cordial acknowledgment for, the repeated proofs of the confidence of this assembly, and of my countrymen in general. I therefore offer my most sincere thanks to all the members of this assembly, to your high mightinesses, and to the whole nation, with the assurance that my remembrance of the same, will prove to me the most agreeable companion of my retirement. Waving the more intimate relationship by which I have been connected with your high mightinesses, by virtue of my office, I pray that the all-bountiful Providence will take my country, dear to me beyond every other consideration, under its special guidance and protection, and that the Almighty will further the prosperity, the welfare, and improvement of its inhabitants; and that your high mightinesses may also experience the best of blessings in your persons and your families.

(Signed)

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

(L. S.) G. G. HULTMAN, General Sec. of State.

June 6, 1806.

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*Proclamation of Louis Napoleon, King of Holland.*

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitutional laws of the state, king of Holland!

To all whom it may concern, health!

We publish and make known to all, that, with the approbation of his majesty the emperor king Napoleon, our illustrious brother, we have

have assumed, and do assume, the royal dignity of king of Holland, agreeably to the wishes of the people, to the constitutional laws, and to the treaty and mutual ratification this day presented to us by the deputies of the Dutch nation.

On our coming to the throne, our most anxious care shall be to watch for the interests of our people! We shall be always solicitous to give them constant and unremitted proofs of our love and attention; preserving for that purpose the liberty of all our subjects, with their rights, and continually employing ourselves in promoting their welfare.

The independence of the kingdom is guaranteed by his majesty the emperor and king! The laws of the constitution, and our fixed determination, extend equally to all, for the security of their demands on the state, for their personal safety, and their liberty of conscience!

Conformably to this declaration, therefore, we have decreed, and do decree by these presents,

Art. I. Our ministers of marine and finance, nominated by our decree of to-day, will enter effectually on their functions. The other ministers shall continue in their functions, till others are appointed in their places.

II. All the constituted authorities of every description, civil and military, shall continue to discharge their functions till others are provided.

III. The constitutional laws have been made public in the fullest manner, with the treaty concluded at Paris, of the 24th of May, of the present year, between his majesty the emperor and king, and the Ba-

tavian republic, as is stated hereafter, together with this decree.

Accordingly we order and command these to be announced, and every where made public, with an injunction to all whom it concerns, to take care that this decree be punctually executed.

Given at Paris, the 5th of June, 1806, being the first year of our monarchical government.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Countersigned) VERHEUL.

## CONSTITUTIONAL CODE.

### FIRST PART.

#### *General Definitions.*

Article 1. The constitutional laws at present in force, particularly the constitution of the year 1805, together with the civil, political, and religious institutions now subsisting in the Batavian republic, the exercise of which is stipulated in, and conformable to the conditions of the treaty concluded on the 23d of May, of this year, between his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and the Batavian republic, shall remain in full force, with the exception of such only as shall be expressly repealed by the present constitutional code.

2. The government of the Dutch colonies shall be regulated by a special code. The receipts and expenditure of the colonies shall be considered as forming a part of the receipts and expenditure of the state.

3. The public debt of the state is hereby guaranteed.

4. The Dutch language shall continue to be exclusively employed for all laws, proclamations, ordinances, decrees, and all other public

public documents, without exception.

5. No alteration shall be made in the value or weight of the current coin, unless by virtue of a special statute.

6. The former flag of the state shall continue to be used.

7. The council of state shall consist of thirteen members. The ministers shall have rank, seats, and deliberative voices in the council of state.

#### SECOND PART.

##### *Of Religion.*

Art. 1. The king and the law extend equal protection to all the modes of religion professed by the state. By their authority shall be regulated every thing that may be judged necessary relative to the organization, the protection, and the exercise of all kinds of worship.—The exercise of religious duties shall in all cases be performed within the walls of the churches of the different sects.

2. The king shall enjoy in his palaces, and in any and every place where he may fix his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion.

#### THIRD PART.

##### *Of the King.*

Art. 1. The king possesses exclusively, and without restriction, the complete exercise of the government, and of all the powers necessary to carry the laws into effect, and cause them to be respected. He appoints to all the offices and places, the nomination to which was, by the former laws, vested in the grand pensionary.

He shall enjoy all the titles of pre-eminence heretofore attached to that dignity.—The national coin shall be stamped with his effigy.—Justice shall be administered in his name.—He has the power of pardoning offences, and of remitting punishments, ordered to be inflicted by courts of justice. This power shall, nevertheless, not be acted upon, but after an audience given to the members of the national court at a privy council.

2. On the demise of the king, the care of his son, being a minor, shall be committed to the queen mother, and in default of her surviving, to such person as shall be nominated by the emperor of the French.

3. The regent shall be provided with a council of natives, whose constitution and powers shall be determined by a special law.—The regent shall not be personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

5. The government of the colonies, and all that relates to their internal administration, is exclusively vested in the king.

6. The general government of the kingdom, is under the immediate conduct of four ministers of state, viz.—a minister for foreign affairs, minister for naval and military affairs, a minister of finance, and a minister of the interior.

#### FOURTH PART.

##### *Of Law.*

Law is established in Holland by the union of the legislative body, being the assembly of their high mightinesses, and of the king.

The legislative body shall consist of 38 members, chosen for five years

years, and nominated in the following proportion, viz.

For Holland	-	17
For Guelderland		4
For Brabant	-	4
For Friesland	-	3
For Overyffel	-	3
For Zealand	-	2
For Groningen	-	2
For Utrecht	-	2
For Drenthe	-	1

The number of members of the assembly of their high mightinesses may be increased by law, in case of the extension of their territory.

2. In order, on this occasion, to nominate nineteen members of the assembly of their high mightinesses, by which the number fixed in the preceding article shall be completed, their high mightinesses shall present to the king a nomination of two persons for each of the places to be filled up.

The departmental assembly of each department shall in a similar manner present a nomination of two persons, and the king shall from the persons presented make the choice.

3. The present grand pensionary shall take the title of president of their high mightinesses, and hold the office for life.

The election of his successors shall take place in the manner prescribed by the constitution of the year 1805.

4. The legislative body shall nominate from its own members a secretary, by a majority of votes.

5. The legislative body shall in general assemble twice a year; namely, from the 15th of April to the 1st of June, and from the 15th of November to the 15th of Ja-

nuary. It may be assembled on any extraordinary occasion, by authority of the king.

On the 15th of November of each year, the oldest fifth part of the members constituting the legislative body shall go out. The first vacating of seats shall take place on the 15th of November, 1807; and on this occasion, lot shall determine the members to go out. The persons going out, shall always be eligible again.

#### FIFTH PART.

##### *Of the Judicial Power.*

Art. 1. The judicial tribunals shall be continued as established in the year 1805.

2. The king shall, with regard to the judicial power, exercise all the rights, and all the powers which were assigned to the grand pensionary, by the 49th, 51st, 56th, 79th, 82d, and 87th articles of the constitution of the year 1805.

3. All that relates to the exercise of criminal justice in military affairs, shall be fixed by a particular law.

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##### *Royal Decree.*

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom.

We have decreed, and do decree as follows :

1. Till further orders be given, no vessel shall be suffered to depart from any of the ports of our kingdom, without our special authority; which, however, shall not be granted by us till sureties be given that the lading shall not be discharged in any of the enemy's ports.

ports. The authority for the departure of any vessel shall be signed by our own hand.

2. Every ship that enters any of our ports shall be detained, without any possibility of liberation, but by special authority from us, signed by our own hand.

3. All fishing ships going out or coming into any port, shall, before their departure, and after their arrival, be examined by the officers of justice, and the commissioners of convoys and licences.

4. No fishing vessel shall be allowed to depart before the commanders of the same shall make oath, that they will have no voluntary understanding or communication whatever with any ship or vessel, and they shall likewise be bound to give information of any person failing therein.

5. The directors and other persons employed at the post-offices are made responsible for any letters coming from or going to England. They shall immediately transmit them to the minister of justice and police.

6. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, as far as regards their respective departments. The ministers of marine, finances, and of justice, shall transmit to us daily an account of their proceedings.

Given at our palace of the Hague, Dec. 15, 1806, and in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

At a moment when the nations of Europe are in commotion, and arming against each other—when those with whom we have principal intercourse are engaged in the general contest, and when the countenance of some of them towards our peaceable country, threatens that even that may not be unaffected by what is passing on the general theatre, a meeting of the representatives of the nation, in both houses of congress, has become more than usually desirable. Coming from every section of our country, they bring with them the sentiments and the information of the whole, and will be enabled to give a direction to the public affairs, which the will and the wisdom of the whole will approve and support.

In taking a view of the state of our country, we, in the first place, notice the great affliction of two of our cities, under the fatal fever which, in latter times, has occasionally visited our shores. Providence, in his goodness, gave it an early termination on this occasion, and lessened the number of victims which have usually fallen before it. In the course of the several visitations of this disease, it has appeared that it is strictly local, incident to cities, and on the tide waters only, incommunicable in the country either by persons under the disease, or by goods carried from diseased places; that its access is with the autumn, and it disappears with the early frosts. These restrictions, within narrow limits of time and space, give security even to our maritime cities, during three-fourths of the year, and in the country always.—Although from these facts it appears unnecessary,

unnecessary, yet to satisfy the fears of foreign nations, and cautions on their part not to be complained of in a danger whose limits are yet unknown to them, I have strictly enjoined on the officers at the head of the customs, to certify with exact truth, for every vessel sailing for a foreign port, the state of health respecting this fever which prevails at the place from whence she sails. Under every motive from character and duty to certify the truth, I have no doubt they have faithfully executed this injunction. Much real injury has, however, been sustained, from a propensity to identify with this epidemic, and to call by the same name fevers of very different kinds, which have been known at all times, and in all countries, and never have been placed among those deemed contagious. As we advance in our knowledge of this disease—as facts develop the source from which individuals receive it—the state authorities charged with the care of the public health, and congress with that of the general commerce, will become able to regulate with effect their respective functions in these departments. The burthen of quarantines is felt at home as well as abroad; their efficacy merits examination. Although the health-laws of the states should be found to need no present revival by congress, yet commerce claims that their attention be ever awake to them.

Since our last meeting, the aspect of our foreign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbours watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal com-

missions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured, in the very entrance of our harbours, as well as upon the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication; but not daring to approach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them; maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreach'd by any control of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruize within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions, found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the gulph-stream, and to bring the offenders in for trial as pirates.

The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbours, under colour of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles, too, have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice, nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these, a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency, and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty

of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed, the confidence we ought to have in the justice of others, still countenances the hope, that a sounder view of those rights will, of itself, induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them.

With Spain our negotiations for a settlement of differences, have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formally acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated, but on conditions affecting other claims, in no wise connected with them. Yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. On the Mobile, our commerce passing through that river, continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Proposals for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana, have not been acceded to.—While, however, the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the disputed territories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controlled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence.

Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi: our citizens have

been seized, and their property plundered, in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary, at length, to give orders to our troops, on that frontier, to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future. Other details, necessary for your full information of the state of things between this country and that, shall be the subject of another communication. In reviewing these injuries from some of the belligerent powers, the moderation, the firmness, and the wisdom of the legislature, will be called into action. We ought still to hope that time, and a more correct estimate of interest as well as of character, will produce the justice we are bound to expect. But should any nation deceive itself by false calculations, and disappoint that expectation, we must join in the unprofitable contest, of trying which party can do the other most harm. Some of these injuries may perhaps admit a peaceable remedy. Where that is competent, it is always the most desirable. But some of them are of a nature to be met by force only, and all of them may lead to it. I cannot therefore but recommend such preparations as circumstances call for. The first object is to place our seaport towns out of the danger of insult. Measures have already been taken for furnishing them with heavy cannon, for the service of such land batteries as may make a part of their defence against vessels approaching them. In aid of these, it is desirable we should have a competent  
number



number of gun-boats; and the number, to be competent, must be considerable. If immediately begun, they may be in readiness for service at the opening of the next season.

Whether it will be necessary to augment our land forces, will be decided by occurrences probably in the course of your session. In the mean time, you will consider whether it would not be expedient, for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia, as would enable us, on any sudden emergency, to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old and those having families. Upwards of 300,000 able-bodied men, between the age of 18 and 26 years, which the last Census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces, after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service, cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present as well as future times, inasmuch as it engages to them in more advanced age, a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I cannot then but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system, as, by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an efficient corps, fit for real and active service, and to be called to in regular rotation.

Considerable provision has been made, under former authorities from

Congress, of materials for the construction of ships of war of 74 guns. These materials are on hand, subject to the further will of the legislature.

An immediate prohibition of the exportation of arms and ammunition is also submitted to your determination.

[The message then alludes to the events that have lately happened at Tripoli and Tunis; enters into a view of the transactions that have taken place with the Indian nations, and concludes in the following manner:]

The receipts of the treasury during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have exceeded the sum of thirteen millions of dollars, which, with not quite five millions in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting other demands, to pay nearly two millions of the debt contracted under the British treaty and convention, upwards of four millions of principal of the public debt, and four millions of interest. These payments, with those which had been made in three years and a half preceding, have extinguished of the funded debt nearly eighteen millions of principal.

Congress, by their act of Nov. 10, 1803, authorized us to borrow 1,750,000 dollars, towards meeting the claims of our citizens assumed by the convention with France. We have not, however, made use of this authority; because the sum of four millions and a half, which remained in the treasury on the same 30th day of September last, with the receipts which we may calculate on for the ensuing year, besides paying the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, appropriated

ated to the funded debt, and meeting all the current demands which may be expected, will enable us to pay the whole sum of three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, assumed by the French convention, and still leave us a surplus of nearly a million of dollars at our free disposal. Should you concur in the provisions of arms and armed vessels recommended by the circumstances of the times, this surplus will furnish the means of doing so.

On this first occasion of addressing congress since, by the choice of my constituents, I have entered on a second term of administration, I embrace the opportunity to give this public assurance, that I will exert my best endeavours to administer faithfully the executive department, and will zealously cooperate with you in any measure which may tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety, of our fellow-citizens, and to consolidate the republican forms and principles of our government.

In the course of your session, you shall receive all the aid which I can give for the dispatch of the public business, and all the information necessary for your deliberations, of which the interest of our own country, and the confidence reposed in us by others, will admit a communication.

T. JEFFERSON.

Dec. 3, 1805.

*Trade, and Impressments of American Seamen.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

In my message to both houses of congress, at the opening of the present session, I submitted to their attention among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation, by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory of the rights of neutrals, and unacknowledged by the usage of nations.

The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develop these principles and practices, which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.

The right of a neutral to carry on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country, (with the exception of blockaded ports, and contraband of war), was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide on that and other questions of difference between the two nations; and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them against Great Britain, for the infractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principles were revived, with others more novel and extending, the instructions were given to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him,

on

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*Message from the President of the United States, respecting the Violation of Neutral Rights; the Depredations on the Colonial*

on this subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the principle. He has, therefore, been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights too evident, and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time, the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of congress.

On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed, at one moment, of an arrangement which might have been submitted to: but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the different seas, has been constantly pursued in those of our neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our minister at London, now communicated.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Jan. 17, 1806.

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*A Proclamation by Thomas Jefferson,  
President of the United States of  
America.*

Whereas satisfactory information has been received, that Henry Whitby, commanding a British armed vessel, called the Leander, did, on the 25th day of the month of April last past, within the waters and

jurisdiction of the United States, and near to the entrance of the harbour of New York, by a cannon shot fired from the said vessel Leander, commit a murder on the body of John Pierce, a citizen of the United States, then pursuing his lawful vocations within the same waters and jurisdiction of the United States, and near to their shores, and that the said Henry Whitby cannot at this time be brought to justice by the ordinary process of the law.

And whereas it does further appear, that both before and after the said day, sundry trespasses, wrongs, and unlawful interruptions and vexations on trading vessels coming to the United States, and within their waters and vicinity, were committed by the said armed vessel, the Leander, her officers and people; by one other armed vessel, called the Cambrian, commanded by John Nairne, her officers and people; and by one other armed vessel, called the Driver, commanded by Slingsby Simpson, her officers and people, which vessels being all of the same nation, were aiding and assisting each other in the trespasses, interruptions, and vexations aforesaid.

Now, wherefore, to the end that the said Henry Whitby may be brought to justice, and due punishment inflicted for the said murder, I do hereby enjoin and require all officers having authority, civil or military, and to all other persons within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, wheresoever the said Henry Whitby may be found, now or hereafter, to apprehend and secure the said Henry Whitby, and him safely and diligently to deliver

to the civil authority of the place, to be proceeded against according to law.

And I do hereby further require, that the said armed vessel the *Leander*, with her other officers and people, and the said armed vessels, the *Cambrian* and *Driver*, their officers and people, immediately and without delay, depart from the harbours and waters of the United States. And I do for ever interdict the entrance of all the harbours and waters of the United States to the said armed vessels, and to all other vessels which shall be commanded by the said Henry Whitby, John Nairne, and Slingsby Simpson, or either of them.

And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or shall re-enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do, in that case, forbid all intercourse with the said armed vessels, the *Leander*, the *Cambrian*, and the *Driver*, or with any of them, and the officers and the crews thereof, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished them, or any of them. And I do declare and make known, that if any person, from or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, shall afford any aid to either of the said armed vessels, contrary to the said proclamation, either in repairing such vessel, or in furnishing her officers or crew with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them, in the first instance, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penal-

ties by the laws provided for such offences: and I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this proclamation, and every part thereof, into full effect.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed (L. S.) to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Given at the city of Washington, the 3d day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1806, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirtieth.

(Signed)

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

By the President,

(Signed)

JAMES MADISON,

Secretary of State.

*Message of the American President.*

*Washington City, Dec. 2.*

This day, at twelve o'clock, the President of the United States communicated, by Mr. Coles, his secretary, the following message to both houses of congress:

“ To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled:—

“ It would give me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce,

hounce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of our last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions as, in the event of failure, could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negotiations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negotiations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which had taken place at the date of the last dispatches enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Mississippi she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayon Pierre, on the Red River. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed, at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander in chief, to assume the Sabine River as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negotiations shall be known,

it has been referred by the Spanish commandant to his superior; and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine River. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit more particularly the present state of things in that quarter.

“The nature of that country requires indispensibly that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I authorized him to call on the governors of Orleans and Mississippi for a corps of 500 volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangement he has proposed may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you, with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously under all circumstances which may occur.

“Having received information that in another part of the United States a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organizing themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprize, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting

and bringing to justice its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public as well as in private transactions: it was due to good order, and regular government, that, while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorized hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed.

“ Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negotiations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening in that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.

“ The possession of both banks of the Mississippi reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence: and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches of the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the

Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the legislature.

“ The gun-boats, authorized by an act of last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year.

“ A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our seaport towns, or their remaining before them.

“ In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislation, are renewed by them at short periods—where, under the characters of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of judiciary powers—where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprize on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have

have wisely provided punishment for these crimes when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprize is meditated by private individuals against a foreign nation in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws.— Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprize preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprizes meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose, which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.

“ The states of the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect our peace and friendship. With Tunis alone some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall shew it to be unnecessary.

“ We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere con-

cern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.

“ The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learnt the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants; and it is but justice to say, that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.

“ The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about 600 miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return without completing their work.

“ Very useful additions have been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by Lieut. Pike, who has ascended to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both houses of congress. Those of Messrs. Lewis, Clarke and Free-

man, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorization of congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.

“ I congratulate you, fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.

“ The receipts of the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have amounted to near 15 millions of dollars, which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and, in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and a half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded

debt, with those which had been made in the four years and a half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty-three millions of principal.

“ The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time, after which they will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation.

“ When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of monies in the treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects; nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other object shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give advantage to foreign over domestic manufacturers? On a few articles



of a more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of these articles on which impost is paid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of public education, roads, rivers, and canals, and such other objects of public improvement as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers.—By those operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union much cemented by new and indissoluble ties.—Education is here placed among the articles of public care; not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hand of private enterprize, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but a public institution can alone supply those sciences which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation.

“The subject is now proposed to the consideration of congress, because, if approved by the time the state legislators shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall be passed, and the other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution,

by consent of the states, necessary; because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public money to be applied.

“The present consideration of a national establishment, for education particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which shall be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This formation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes the resources destined for them.

“This, fellow citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such too the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is therefore to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quick-  
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ened pace, in preparations for the defence of our seaport towns and waters—an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of our country—a militia so organized, that its effective portions can be called to any point in the union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burthens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

“The result of our negotiations, or such incidents in their course as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also on our western frontier as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negotiation is to be protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess, or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

“THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

“Dec. 2, 1805.”

*House of Representatives, Dec. 3.*

In a committee of the whole house, resolutions were entered into for referring the several subjects of the president's message to seven different committees.

*Special Message from the President of the United States.*

“To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

“I have the satisfaction to inform you that the negotiation depending between the United States and the government of Great Britain is proceeding in a spirit of friendship and accommodation which promises a result of mutual advantage. Delays indeed have taken place, occasioned by the long illness and subsequent death of the British minister charged with that duty. But the commissioners appointed by that government to resume the negotiation have shewn every disposition to hasten its progress: it is, however, a work of time, as many arrangements are necessary to place our future harmony on stable grounds.

“In the mean time, we find, by the communications of our plenipotentiaries, that a temporary suspension of the act of last session, prohibiting certain importations, would, as a mark of candid disposition on our part, and of confidence in the temper and views with which they have been met, have a happy effect on its course.

“A step so friendly will afford further evidence that our proceedings have flowed from views of justice

justice and conciliation, and that we give them willingly that form which may best meet corresponding dispositions.

“ Add to this that the same motives which produce the postponement of the act till the 15th of November last, are in favour of its further suspension; and as we have reason to hope that it may soon yield to arrangements of mutual consent and convenience, justice seems to require that the same measure may be dealt out to the few cases which may fall within its short course, as to all others preceding and following it. I cannot, therefore, but recommend the suspension of this act for a reasonable time, on considerations of justice, amity, and the public interests.

“ THOS. JEFFERSON.”

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*Revolution in St. Domingo. Narrative of the Haytian Campaign against Tyranny, from the 13th to the 16th of October, 1805.*

“ A horrible crime was about to be committed in the department of the south; thousands of victims were on the point of being sacrificed to the suspicion, or the ferocity rather, of Dessalines. General Moreau, and the inspector Etienne Mentor, were the ministers charged with the execution of these sanguinary orders in the quarters of Des Cayes. They were already employed in taking measures for executing them, when, being detected in their abominable projects, they were both arrested by order of the brave Ouagnac. The inhabitants of the town of

Des Cayes, finding support in this amiable chief and his troops, rose *en masse*, and swore to die with arms in their hands.

“ Colonel Francis Yeune, informed of the movements which took place in the town of Des Cayes, appeared in the midst of his fellow-citizens, confirming them in these noble resolutions, and departed to propose in his division those sublime principles which were to ensure the triumph of innocence. To arrive, address his companions in arms, and to dispose them to adopt his sentiments, were for him only the work of a moment.

“ The minister of war, apprized by the colonel of the disposition of the inhabitants and troops, although ill, quitted his bed to put himself at the head of this holy insurrection. His whole suite followed him, and his zeal was well rewarded by the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Soon after generals Ferou and Vaval followed his generous example. Colonel Brune also conducted himself perfectly in this crisis.

“ After having formed all his dispositions, the minister set out from L'Anse à Veau, with the 15th and 16th demi-brigade, and advanced towards Mirajoune. On the next day he had a conversation with general Gayon, who was encamped at Little Goave, and finding him favourable to his designs, every thing was agreed upon; but still this general would not conclude any thing until the arrival of general Pétion, with whose sentiments he was previously acquainted. Colonel Lamane, and all the troops of his division, were also of the same inclination. General

neral Ambroise, though much indisposed, and scarcely able to stand, repaired, notwithstanding, to Leogane, on the first intelligence of these movements, in order to be able to confer with general Petion on the part he was to take. They scarcely met, when they fully agreed.

“ On the 15th, at noon, general Petion arrived at Little Goave, where he was received by the army with the enthusiasm he merited. The two divisions having joined, marched direct for great Goave, where general Germain waited for his brigade. Having been surrounded, he affected to decide in our favour; but it was soon perceived that he only wished to gain time.

“ The same day we proceeded to Leogane; and the next morning, with the 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 21st, and 24th demi-brigades, and three squadrons of dragoons, we were in possession, at four o'clock, of Port-au-Prince.

“ The conduct of general Germain becoming more suspicious, and fears being entertained that he would escape by night, he was arrested.

“ At ten at night we were apprised by a traveller of the approach of a battalion of the 3d, from Arcahaye, and forming the advanced guard of Dessalines. Every thing was prepared for their reception. They arrived, and surrendered without the least resistance, in consequence of the vigorous measures adopted by general Gayon.

“ A deputation from the soldiers and planters of the plain of Cul de Sac, came at midnight to

declare to general Petion, in the name of their constituents, that the deaths of Dessalines and Germain were necessary for the preservation of liberty; that the soldiers were resolved to do their duty; that the planters would take care of the plain, and that they would besides engage to keep the tyrant ignorant of the measures which it was necessary to adopt against him. They kept their words; Dessalines crossed the plain, without receiving information from any one of the disposition of the army. This event confirms the observation, that tyrants have numbers of flatterers but no friends.

“ Dessalines, who was ignorant of this, and who had not the least suspicion of our arrival at Port-au-Prince, pursued his journey with the most perfect security. At eight in the morning he had reached our advanced posts without perceiving it, and it was only when they proceeded to arrest him that he perceived he was not in the midst of his friends. He then endeavoured to escape, and in the attempt received the blow which put an end to his life and his crimes. Colonel Maardie, who wished to defend him, also fell on this occasion, but with general regret. On the part of the enemy there were also a few persons wounded; our loss was one man killed.

“ Such were the operations of the army. Four days were sufficient to crown it with perfect success.

“ This great event, which will contribute an era in human revolutions, will proclaim to the astonished world the energy of an oppressed

oppressed people, and attract to us the admiration and esteem of all nations.

“ On the 18th, at nine in the morning, *Te Deum* will be sung in celebration of this memorable day, which has been the fall of tyranny and the resuscitation of liberty.

(Signed) GERIN, minister of war and marine.

PETION, general commandant of the second division of the west.

GAYON, VAVAL, generals of brigade.

BRUNET, intendant general and head of the staff.

Head-quarters, Port-au-Prince,  
17th October, 1806.”

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*Address of the Government of Hayti to the Commerce of Neutral Nations.*

“ The inhabitants of Hayti had scarce delivered themselves from the French yoke, than they had another hydra to destroy, which they had nourished in their own bosom. Their whole attention is now turned to the cultivation of that valuable produce which the mercantile part of Europe obtains at a great expence from the most distant countries. Our persevering industry has procured us a most abundant recompence for our laborious exertions. The riches of our soil offer a most pleasing prospect to your speculations. Our warehouses filled with all the productions of the Antilles, only wait the arrival of your mercantile fleets, to make an exchange for the manufactures of which we stand in

need, of those which you require. If a system, unfavourable to the progress of commerce, has hitherto interposed to prevent its success among us, that disastrous influence will shortly cease. The imposture is dissipated, the phantom has disappeared, and all the illusions that hovered round it are dispersed. So far is our government, in its present regenerated state, from opposing the freedom of commerce in our ports, that it offers facilities to you which cannot be granted by any other government. It is of no consequence under what colours you may appear: the protection of your property, the security of your persons, and a rigid maintenance of the laws, in every thing that relates to you, are guaranteed to you on the faith of government. Solid regulations, and dictated by wisdom—duties arranged in proportion to the difficulties that you may experience in gaining our ports, are equitably collected; great dispatch in expediting your vessels; with men of integrity in the direction of the public offices—such are the changes on which you may have a perfect reliance. The government is firmly persuaded, that where a reciprocal advantage does not prevail, there can be no commerce. It has already directed the suppression of exclusive consignments; of the tax on the price of articles; of the privileges granted for the sale of coffee, as well as the obligation to take cargoes of sugar, &c. Every one will be at liberty to sell and to buy on the conditions that he shall judge most for his advantage. Those regulations, produced by ignorance, will no longer offer impediments to your speculations; your confidence

dence will be no longer forced in favour of individuals who were equally strangers to you, and to the welfare of the country. Your friends, your own particular factors shall have the possession of your property; and the government engages to grant them all the protection which they can desire. The sanguinary horrors which have too notoriously marked the commencement of a cruel reign will no more renew the sad spectacle of scenes that are past. Come with perfect confidence to traffic in our ports: come and exchange the fruits of your industry for our riches; and be persuaded that you will never have cause to repent of a reliance on our promises.

“ At the same time, while the government is exerting all its efforts to procure you the advantages of a brilliant commerce, it requires of your agents the same loyalty and good faith, which it will exercise towards you. It also expresses its hope that the base conduct of the privateers of Louisiana will not be imitated, and that it will have no cause to regret that its too great confidence has been abused.

“ The ports are the Cape, Fort Dauphin, Port-de-Paix, the Gonaives, Saint Mark, Port-au-Prince, the Cayes, Jeremie, and Jacmel, where you may send your cargoes with the certainty of an advantageous return.

“ The well known exactness with which the government of Hayti acquits its engagements is a solemn pledge for the execution of the treaties it may enter into with you. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which preceded our independence, and the disastrous wars which it naturally produced, the

means of government have never failed of keeping pace with its wants. Such is the astonishing extent of our immense resources, that even the vices of the preceding administration did not prevent the liquidation of all its contracts. Judge then what will now be our prospects as well as yours, when a wise economy shall take the place of prodigality, and an equitable collection of the revenues will determine the rights of government as well as those of individuals. Haste then to come and avail yourselves of these favourable dispositions, which your connections with us will confirm more and more. Whatever may be the number of your vessels, whatever may be the extent of your speculations for our ports, entertain not the least apprehension that you will not acquire a certain profit. An abundant harvest, commodities already prepared wait your coming, and the certainty of an immediate sale of your cargo is assured you.

“ Given at the Cape, Oct. 24, 1806, in the third year of the independence of Hayti.

“ The chief of the government of Hayti,

“ HENRY CHRISTOPHE.

“ By his excellency the secretary of the government,

“ RONANEZ, the younger.”

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*Revolution in St. Domingo. Address of the Army of Hayti to the General in Chief, Henry Christophe.*

“ Tyranny has been destroyed along with the tyrant! Liberty revives. Since the 17th we have been

been free—striking example of revolution effected by Machiavelism, and which proves that a people long in bondage, if once made acquainted with their own strength, though they may suffer themselves to be abused for a time, by those they believed capable of putting them in the enjoyment of their efforts, yet it will never be possible to shut their eyes against their true interests; the incessant agitations which have succeeded each other have sufficiently proved this, and that the object proposed had not yet been obtained—that period alone when the Temple of War may be closed.

“ The principles you have always acted upon, and which you have had the courage to communicate to the generals in the periods of barbarism, when even our breath was construed into a meaning, and might bring the heads of the most innocent to the scaffold, these principles have been the electric flame which has caused the commotion that has been so strongly felt, and which has carried away every thing with it, to the moment when Jean Jaques Dessalines, our common oppressor, ceased to live.

“ Vengeance has had its operation, and now the army only waits for your presence to concur in the formation of the social compact which should unite us—of a constitution, in which every citizen shall at length find security for his person, and the sacred right of property, emanating from the general will; not like that mishapen act which we have trodden under our feet, made in the silence of the cabinet, without the knowledge of those most interested in it, and calculated only to flatter the caprice

of a single individual, and even in the letter of it contrary to every principle of liberty. Thus long abused we have sworn not to separate till we have seen the new constitutional act proclaimed—that act by which we ought to be governed—until we have approved of it, and sworn to obey it; and until, conformably to the usages of ancient warriors, we have publicly acknowledged you for the head of our government, and borne you upon our shields.

“ Satisfy, general, the impatience of your brave soldiers, of the whole nation assembled, who are admirers of your virtues, and to which nothing is wanting, at these moments of joy, but your presence.

“ Head-quarters, Port-au-Prince,  
Oct. 24, 1806.”

[Here follow the Signatures.]

—————  
*Proclamation of the Provisionary  
Government.*

“ An horrible tyranny, exercised a long time upon the people and the army, has at length exasperated all minds, and excited them, by a movement worthy the motive that produced it, to rise in a mass, in order to oppose a powerful boundary against the torrent that threatened them.

“ A plot, framed in silence and reflection, was upon the point of execution; men capable of thinking—those men capable of making the sublime principles of true liberty finally triumphant—men who were even the defenders of that liberty, were to disappear forever. A rapid step towards its total subversion had already appalled the  
most

most indifferent; every thing seemed to announce, that we were approaching the moment when we were to see all the former scenes of horror and proscription renewed; those dungeons, gibbets, faggots, drownings, of which we were the sorrowful and unhappy victims under the iniquitous governments of Rochambeau, the Darbois, the Ferrands, Bergers, &c. &c.

“ Less affected by the happiness of his people, than greedy to amass riches, the chief of the government unjustly despoiled thousands of families of their property, and who are at this moment reduced to the utmost misery, under the apparent pretext that they could not justify the titles to their property, but, in fact, to augment his own domains. Is it not incontestible, after enjoying an estate ten, twenty, or thirty years, that one ought to be admitted as the real proprietor? Desfalines was not ignorant of this: but had persuaded himself, that even his fellow-citizens had lost their titles in the late disturbances. He wished to avail himself of this to satisfy his cupidity. Some little farmers were hurried away from their dwellings, and sent, without regard to age or sex, to the plantations to which they formerly belonged. If any particular situation, or any view of the general interest, could authorise that measure which appears to have been adopted by preceding governments, at least it would have been but justice to have granted an indemnification to those against whom it was exercised.

“ Commerce, the source of plenty and prosperity to states, languished in apathy under this ignorant man, the chief causes of which were the

vexations and the horrors exercised upon strangers. Cargoes violently seized, bargains broken as soon as they were contracted; banished far from our ports the ships of all countries. The assassination of Thomas Thuat, an English merchant, who had long resided in this country, where he was respected on account of his blameless conduct and his virtues, excited general indignation; and why was he murdered? Thomas Thuat was rich; this was his sole crime. The Haytian merchants were not better treated. The advantages which it was affected to allow them, were only calculated upon the profits which it was expected to extract from them.

“ Always swayed by his vicious disposition, the chief of the government, in his last tour, disorganized the army. His cruel avarice suggested to him the idea to transfer the troops of one corps to another, for the purpose of bringing them nearer to their native place, in order that they should require no subsistence, although he exacted from them the most assiduous service. The soldier was deprived of his pay, of his subsistence, and appeared every where almost naked; while the public treasure furnished, in profusion, annual stipends of 20,000 dollars to each of his mistresses, of which he kept twenty at least, to support their boundless extravagance, which was both a disgrace to the government and an insult to the general misery.

“ The Jews were not more respected. A constitution was framed by order of the emperor, solely for the advancement of his private interests, dictated by caprice and ignorance, put into form by his secretaries, and published in  
the



the name of the generals of the army, who not only never approved or signed this misshapen and ridiculous document, but never had the least knowledge of it until it was published and promulgated. The regulating laws, formed without plan or combination, and rather with the intention of satisfying a passion than regulating the interests of the inhabitants, were always violated and trodden under foot by the monarch himself. No protecting statute shielded the people from the barbarity of the sovereign; his supreme pleasure sent a citizen to death, and none of his friends or relatives could tell why. No restraint, in fact, arrested the ferociousness of this tyger thirsting for the blood of his fellows; no representation had any effect upon his savage heart, not even the entreaties of his amiable wife, whose excellent qualities we all admire.

“ The ministers, whose duties were defined by the constitution, if that act can be so named, could never exercise it for the happiness of the people. Their plans and representations were always laughed at, and rejected with disdain; their zeal for the public good in general, and that of the army in particular, was always of course, rendered ineffectual.

“ Cultivation, that first branch of public and private wealth, was not encouraged, and the orders of the chief only tended to diminish the number of unhappy planters. Was it wise, in fact, to snatch from

cultivation the hands which promoted it, for the purpose of unnecessarily augmenting the number of troops, who were neither paid, clothed, nor subsisted, while the army was before on a respectable footing?

“ Such crimes, such enormities, such vexations, could no longer remain unpunished. The people and the army, tired of the odious yoke which he imposed upon them, have re-assumed their courage and their energy, and, by one great spontaneous effort, have broken it. Yes, we have burst our chains. Soldiers, you will be paid and clothed. Labourers, you will be protected. Proprietors, you will be secured in the possession of your estates. A wise constitution will shortly fix the rights and the duties of all.

“ Until the moment shall arrive when we shall be able to establish it, we declare, that concord, brotherhood and friendly intercourse, being the foundations of our union, we will never lay down our arms before we shall have struck down the tree of our slavery and debasement, and placed at the head of the government a man whose courage and virtues we have long respected; and who, like us, has been the object of the insults of the tyrant. The people and the army, whose voice we speak, proclaim general Henry Christophe, provisional chief of the government of Hayti, until the constitution shall have definitively conferred on him that august title.

(Signed) GERIN,  
PETION, &c. &c. &c.”

# CHARACTERS.

*Summary of the Character of Milton, from the Life of Milton, by Dr. Charles Symmons.*

THE concurring voices of all his early biographers, who were personally acquainted with him, will not allow us to doubt that the harmony of Milton's features and form seemed to render his body a suitable residence for his superior soul\*. At Cambridge, the fineness of his complexion occasioned him to be called "the lady of Christ's college;" and the ruddiness, which lingered on his cheek till the middle of life, gave to him, at that period, an appearance of remarkable juvenility. His eyes were dark grey; and their lustre, which was peculiarly vivid, did not fade even

when their vision was extinguished. His hair, which was light brown, he wore parted at the top, and "clustering," as he describes that of Adam, upon his shoulders. His person was of the middle height, not fat or corpulent, but muscular and compact. "His deportment," (I use the words of Wood, from whom nothing but a respect for truth could have extorted any favourable account of his great contemporary) "his deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness."

In his earlier life he was fond of robust exercises; and, excelling in the management of the sword, †, he wanted neither strength nor resolution to repel the insults of any adversary, however eminent for

\* I borrow the expression and the thought from Aubrey. "His harmonical and ingenuous soul," (says this biographer) "dwelt in a beautiful and well proportioned body."

The personal beauty of Milton has given occasion to a little romantic story, which is pleasing to the imagination. As the youthful bard was asleep under a tree, an Italian lady, accidentally passing near the place, was struck with his charms, and alighted from her carriage to contemplate them. After gratifying her curiosity, and feeding her love with the spectacle, she dropped a paper, intimating the occurrence, and professing her passion, and then, withdrawing without awaking him, she proceeded on her journey. This event, as the story further relates, determined him to cross the Alps, for the purpose of discovering the fugitive fair one among the beauties of Italy. It is unnecessary to say that his search was unsuccessful; but in the voice and the charms of Leonora Baroni, he found an ample compensation for the loss of his imaginary mistress.

† Doctor Johnson thinks that Milton's weapon was not the rapier, but the broad sword. It was the weapon, however, as Milton tells us himself, which he commonly carried by his side; and I suspect that gentlemen, who were not of the military profession, very seldom (if ever) were any weapon but the small sword.

his skill, or his bodily force.— When blindness, and the gout, with which he was early afflicted, confined him in a great degree to his house, he contrived a swing for the purposes of exercise; and to exercise in one form or other, as the essential preservative of health, he regularly allotted one hour in the day.

Having injured his constitution in his youth by night studies, whence immediately proceeded those pains in his head of which we have before spoken; and that weakness in his eyes which terminated in the loss of sight, he corrected this erroneous practice as he advanced in years, and retired to his bed at the early hour of nine. The moments however which he gave to sleep in the beginning of the night, he took from the drowsy power in the morning, rising in summer generally at four o'clock, and in winter at five. When, contrary to his usual custom; he indulged himself with longer rest, he employed a person to read to him from the time of his awaking to that of his rising.

The opening of his day was uniformly consecrated to religion. A chapter of the Hebrew scriptures

being read to him as soon as he was up, he passed the subsequent interval till seven o'clock in private meditation. From seven till twelve, he either listened while some author was read to him, or dictated as some friendly hand supplied him with its pen. At twelve commenced his hour of exercise, which before his blindness was commonly passed in walking; and afterward for the most part in the swing. His early and frugal dinner succeeded; and when it was finished, he resigned himself to the recreation of music\*, by which he found his mind at once gratified and restored. Of music he was particularly fond, and both with its science and its practice he was more than superficially acquainted. He could compose, as Richardson says that it was reported; and with his voice, which was delicately sweet and harmonious†, he would frequently accompany the instruments on which he played, the bass-viol or the organ. His musical taste had, beyond question, been fostered by his father; and the great author's love of this delightful art is discovered in every part of his writings, where its intimation can in any

\* “In relation to his love of music,” says Richardson, “and the effect it had upon his mind, I remember a story I had from a friend, I was happy in for many years, and who loved to talk of Milton, as he often did. Milton hearing a lady sing finely, ‘Now will I swear,’ said he, ‘this lady is handsome.’ His ears were now eyes to him.” —Richardson's Remarks on Milton, p. vi.

In his Tractate on Education, as we have seen, Milton advises for the students this recreation of music after meals, as peculiarly salutary to the mind; and it may be remarked, that the same indulgence has been recommended by Sir William Jones, from his own experience, as favourable to mental exertion, and producing the good effects without any of the disadvantages of sleep.

I feel gratified by any opportunity of bringing forward the name of the admirable Sir William Jones, whose whole life, like that of Milton, was one continual and ardent struggle for the acquisition of knowledge; and who sought to advance all his species to that perfection, after which he himself was perpetually straining.

† “He (Milton) had a delicate tuneable voice,” says Wood, “an excellent ear, could play on the organ,” &c.—Fast Oxon. p. 626.

way be made compatible with his subject.

From his music he returned, with fresh vigour, to the exercise of his intellect, to his books or his composition. At six he admitted the visits of his friends: he took his abstemious supper at eight, and at nine, having smoked a pipe and drank a glass of water, he retired, as we have before observed, to his repose.

It is not pretended that this precise and uniform distribution of the day could at all times be maintained without interruption. When he was in office, many of his four-and-twenty hours were unquestionably engaged by business; and, as a table was allowed to him by government for the entertainment of learned foreigners, the scheme of life which we have noticed could at this juncture have been very imperfectly followed. During the fourteen years, which intervened between his dismissal from office and his death, the arrangement of his time would experience little disturbance; though his solitude

was far from complete, and he was still followed by the attentions of the world.

When he was in a great degree deserted by his thankless countrymen; he continued to be gratified with the notices of illustrious strangers; to whom, on their visits to our island, he still formed the principal object of curiosity and regard.\* Under the usurpation of Cromwell, many had been allured from the continent by the sole wish of seeing the two extraordinary, but unequal and dissimilar characters who held, with so much ability and effect, the sceptre and the pen of Britain; and some, as Wood assures us, had visited with a feeling almost of religious veneration the house in Bread-street, which had been hallowed as it were by the birth of the renowned literary defender of the republic†.

Of this great man the manners are universally allowed to have been affable and graceful; the conversation, cheerful, instructive and engaging‡. In his whole deport-

\* Several of these visits of persons eminent for their talents or their quality he is said to have received, as he was sitting before his door, in a grey coat of coarse cloth, in warm sultry weather to enjoy the fresh air: and Richardson, who relates this circumstance, proceeds to tell us—"And very lately I had the good fortune to have another picture of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright. He found him in a small house, he thinks but one room on a floor: in that up one pair of stairs, which was hung with rusty green, he found John Milton, sitting in an elbow chair, black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones. Among other discourse, he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain this gave him, his blindness would be tolerable." Richardson's remarks, &c. p. iv.

† Fast. Oxon, p. 266.

‡ His youngest daughter, Deborah, (Mrs. Clark) when speaking of him, many years after his death, to the numerous inquirers whom his fame brought to her, affirmed that "he was delightful company; the life of the conversation, not only on account of the flow of his subject but of his unaffected cheerfulness and civility\*." Francis Junius, the author of *De Picturâ Veterum*, says, as we have already noticed, that Milton, with

\* Richardson's remarks, p. xxxvi.

ment, however, there was visible a certain dignity of mind; and a something of conscious superiority, which could not at all times be suppressed or wholly withdrawn from observation. His temper was grave, without any taint of melancholy; sanguine and bold in the conception of his purposes, impetuous yet persevering in their execution. Ardent in kindness and vehement in resentment, he was inflexible only in the former; and his friendships were permanent while his enmities were transitory. Of the facility and the heartiness with which he could forgive, his conduct to the Powells exhibits a memorable instance, and no circumstance of his life can be adduced to convict him of that severity and moroseness, of which he has been rashly and maliciously accused. The brutal ferocity of his political assailants offers a full justification of the means which he employed in his defence; and if his weapons were more sharp or were wielded by a more vigorous arm, their's were aimed with all the deadliness and were infected with all the venom which their inferior powers could supply. In a contest with the insolent Salmasius, with the

dastardly and scurrilous Du Moulin, the common war of polemics "seemed but a civil game;" and the man who, involved in it, could content himself with the arms of the legitimate controversy of the present day, might well be regarded as not less ignorant of his opponents, than wanting to himself and to his cause.

In his domestic intercourse, Milton has not been suspected of deficient tenderness to his wives: to his first his conduct seems at least to have been exempt from blame; to his two last to have been distinguished by uniform kindness and affection. His supposed rigour to his daughters, which has always been asserted on very defective or very questionable testimony, has of late been entirely disproved by the attestations attached to the nuncupative will of which we have already spoken. From the whole of the evidence, old and new, which is now before us, we know that two of Milton's daughters were taught to read several languages; without understanding\* what they were reading, for the purpose of being useful to him, and that one of them was frequently employed as his amanuensis; that, on their

whom he was intimate, was affable and polite; and N. Heinsius mentions the general report of his being a man of mild and courteous disposition.

The whole passage which occurs in a letter of this great scholar's to his friend Gronovius, (dated from Leyden on the 14th of August 1657,) is worthy of insertion, as it speaks the general sentiment of the learned at that time in Europe respecting our great author. *Ludi magistrum vocat (Salmasius, here called Scribonius,) passim Miltonum: qui tamen et nobili loco natus, et in re lautâ constitutus, variis peregrinationibus, assiduisque studiis privatus ætatem, quam quadraginta annis grandiore vix numerat, exegisse narratur: donec a consilio statûs Anglici ad scribæ provinciam in isto collegio suscipiendam invitatus est. Virum esse mihi comique ingenio aiunt, quique aliam non habuisse se causam profitetur Scribonium acerbè in sectandi, quam quod ille et viros è maximis celeberrimisque multos nihil benignius exceperit, et quod in universam Anglorum gentem convitiis atrocissimis injuriis valde fuerit.* [Burm Syll. iii. 276.]

\* The oldest, Anne, was excused from reading on account of an imperfection in her speech.

expressing their dislike of these occupations in the service of their blind father, he dispensed with their assistance, and, expending a large part of his moderate income on their education\*, dismissed them to tasks better adapted to their inclinations and their sex†; that with peculiar inhumanity they neglected him in his blindness‡, and were capable even of defrauding or robbing§ him; that with all these provocations the injured father complained, it is true, of his children, but complained of them without passion ||; and seems never to have treated them with harshness. After the intervention of many years, the youngest of these ladies, Mrs. Clarke, spoke of her father with great tenderness, and, on being shown a portrait which strongly resembled him, she exclaimed with transport, " 'Tis my father! 'tis my dear father!" an expression of affectionate remembrance not likely to break from the lips of a child sensible of injuries, and irritated by causeless severity. She is reported indeed to have been her father's favourite; and she had not perhaps been so deep in undutifulness as her sisters: but it must be recollected that on the testimony of this daughter's daughter alone, (Mrs. Foster I mean,) has been supported all that charge of domestic tyranny, with which an at-

tempt has been made to sully the memory of Milton.

Of his erudition so much has necessarily been said in the progress of this work, that it would be superfluous to enlarge upon the subject. To doctor Ward, the rhetoric professor of Gresham college, Mrs. Clarke related, that extraordinary circumstance of her and her sisters (it ought with strict accuracy to have been sister) having been accustomed to read to their father in eight different languages. The languages are not specified; and, unless we separate the two dialects of the Hebrew and the two also of the Spanish, we can reckon, without including the English, only six of them: but with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, we know that Milton was intimately conversant; and that, by unremitting study, he improved this large acquaintance with language into the mean of the most ample knowledge. If his Greek learning must be allowed to have been less accurate than that of a few of his contemporaries or of some of the illustrious scholars of the present day, it was unquestionably not less extensive; and it gave him full dominion of the historians, the poets, the orators, the philosophers of that favoured country, in which the human intellect seems to have

\* Further this deponent saith, that she has several times heard the said deceased, (John Milton) since the time deposed, declare and say, that "he had made provision for his children in his life time, and had spent the greatest part of his estate in providing for them, &c." (See Nunc. will of Milton; appendix to Watson's 2d edition of his juvenile poems. p. xxxvii.)

† The working of embroidery in gold and silver is specified on this occasion by Phillips: an art which, at that time, formed one of the chief employments of females of rank and fortune.

‡ Wart. ib. p. xxxiii.

§ Wart. ib. p. xxxix,  
I Richardson's Remarks, &c.

|| Wart. ib. p. xxxiii.

attained its highest stature, its keenest vision, and its most comprehensive embrace. Among the Greeks, his favourite authors are said to have been Euripides, Demosthenes, Plato, and Homer, whose long poems he could nearly recite by memory. Of the Latins, Ovid, as we are certain, possessed a prime place in his regard; and, from the circumstantial eulogy which he pronounces, in one of his familiar epistles,\* on the merits of Sallust, we may infer the superior value which he assigned to the weighty and pregnant compositions of that admirable historian. He zealously, however, followed the precept of the Roman critic, and sedulously formed his taste on the great models of Greece. But we must not imagine that Milton's knowledge was confined within the pale of classical erudition. His active and strong intellect traversed the whole circle of the sciences, and there was scarcely one of them which he had not penetrated deeper than the surface.

For those political opinions, by which he was steadily actuated from the beginning to the termination of his career, some apology has always been expected; when in truth none can be necessary. From his own to the present times, the republicanism of this great man has uniformly been regarded as throwing a shade over his character, which the most affectionate of his biographers have rather hoped to extenuate than been ambitious to remove.

To the sagacious and unprejudiced eye, which contemplates the constitution of England, as it was

established at the revolution of 1689; to the eye, which can command this admirable system of liberty in all its beautiful complexity; which sees it diffusing through the whole subordination of its community more equal freedom than has ever yet resulted from any other plan of political institution; which observes it extending the control of law to its highest subject, and the protection of law to its lowest; which views it every where jealously checking and balancing its trust of power; which beholds it opening all its emoluments and honours, with the exception of an unattainable dignity, to the exertions of ability and virtue, and thus uniting the animation of a commonwealth with the tranquillity and the executiveness of a monarchy; which surveys it, in short, as it efficiently combines democratic energy with hereditary power in its legislature, and democratic feeling with legal wisdom in its tribunals,--to such an eye, a republic in all its visionary perfection can present only relative deformity, and can suggest nothing more than an occasion of envy or of glory in the fortunate inheritance of Englishmen.

But in Milton's days the political prospect was far less alluring; and, from the spectacle before him, a wise and a good man might very justifiably surrender himself to the impulse of different impressions.

Some of the great component parts of the British constitution (for the liberties of England are not the creatures of yesterday,) had long before been in existence: the parliament, with all its pre-eminences

\* Henrico de Bras. P. W. vi. 135.

of power, could boast in fact of its Saxon pedigree; the common law of England subsisted in its native vigour; and the trial by jury, with an origin to be traced to the remotest times, offered its equal justice to the criminal and the innocent. A concurrence of unfortunate circumstances had however disordered the machine, and reduced it in the middle of the seventeenth century to little more than a ruin and a name. The impetuous power of the Tudors, springing from the disastrous consequences of the wars between the factions of York and Lancaster, had overleaped every barrier of the constitution; and the ambition of the Stuarts, at a period less favourable to the exertion of lawless prerogative, had diligently followed in the track of their insolent and tyrannical predecessors. On whatever side he looked, Milton saw nothing but insulted parliaments, arbitrary taxation, illegal and sanguinary tribunals, corrupted and mercenary law, bigotted and desolating persecution. With that ardent love of liberty, therefore, which always burns brightest in the most expanded and elevated bosoms, and fresh from the schools of Greece and Rome, which had educated the master spirits of the world, it was natural for him to turn with delight from the scene in which he was engaged, to those specious forms of government, the splendid operations of which were obvious while the defects were withdrawn in a great measure by distance from the sight. He preferred a republic, (and who can blame him?) to that unascertained and unprotected constitution, which, on every quarter, was open

to successful invasion, which gave the promise of liberty only, as it were, to excite the pain of disappointment, and which told men that they had a right to be free in the very instant in which it abandoned them to oppression.

With Milton, the idea of liberty was associated with that of the perfection of his species; and he pursued the great object with the enthusiasm of benevolence, and with the consciousness of obedience to a high and imperious duty. Against tyranny or the abuse of power, wherever it occurred and by whatever party it was attempted, in the church or the state, by the prelate or the presbyter, he felt himself summoned to contend. From his continuance in office under the usurpation of Cromwell, he has been arraigned of inconsistency and a dereliction of principle. But, not to repeat what has already been advanced upon the subject, his office did not in any way blend him with the usurpation; he had no connection with the confidence or the counsels of the protector; and he conceived, with the most perfect truth, that he was the servant of his country, when he acted as the organ of her intercourse with foreign states. We have seen his unanimous address to the usurper; and from some of his private letters we may collect his acute feelings of mortification and disappointment in consequence of the afflicted state of the commonwealth, and the abandonment of that cause which was always the nearest to his heart.

But sanguine, or, if it must be so, rash and blind as was his affection for liberty, he was not prepared



pared to receive it from the government of the multitude ; or to believe that, what he considered as the offspring only of wisdom and virtue, could ever be generated by the ferment of an uneducated and unenlightened rabble. From his prose writings and his poems many passages might be adduced to prove that, drawing the just line between liberty and licentiousness, he regarded the latter as the ignorant and destructive demand of the many, while to love and cultivate the former was the privilege of the favourite and gifted few. His liberal and elevated sentiment seems to have been precisely the same with that of the excellent sir William Jones : “ that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty, and ought of course to be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, or actively virtuous without freedom, or securely free without rational knowledge.”

Though no doubt can exist of the sincerity and fervour of Milton's Christian faith, some questions have resulted from the peculiarities of his religious\* opinions and practice. In the early part of his life he zealously adhered, as we know, to the system of Calvin, and classed himself with those severer religionists who were then indiscriminately branded with the name of puritans. Disgusted, subsequently, with the intolerance and the spiri-

tual domination of the presbyterians, he passed into the ranks of the independents ; and latterly, as Toland asserts, he ceased to be a professed member of any particular sect, frequenting none of their assemblies, and using none of their peculiar rites in his family.

From this assertion of Toland's, and from the general silence of Milton's biographers respecting his use either of family or closet prayer, some inferences have been adduced to the disadvantage of his devotional character. It has been insinuated that, without the existence of external rites, religion would insensibly slide even from such a mind as Milton's ; that in these instances of omission he was probably acting without his own approbation, and that death perhaps interrupted him in his daily resolutions to reform a scheme which his reason must† have condemned. The greater part of the premises, from which these conclusions are after all not very fairly drawn, rests upon nothing more than the weakness of negative evidence.

The fact of Milton's not frequenting in the latter period of his life any place of public worship, may possibly, though still with caution, be admitted on the single testimony of Toland‡ : but the cause of this fact will more properly be sought in the blindness and infirmities, which, for

\* Not of his theological opinions, for these, as far as it appears, were orthodox and consistent with the creed of the church of England. The peculiarity of Milton's opinions had reference to church government and the externals of devotion,

† Johnson's life of Milton.

‡ When I speak of the diffidence with which Toland's testimony, in this instance, ought to be received, I refer to those unhappy prepossessions on the subject of religion, with which this respectable biographer is known to have been biased ; and which would naturally induce him to lessen the distance as much as he possibly could, in this

some of his last years, confined the great author to his house, than in any disgust, with which he had been affected by a nearer insight into the imperfections of the contending sects. On any determination of this question, narrow must be the mind of that man who can suspect the devotion of Milton, merely because it was not exercised within the consecrated precincts of a church. We are fully aware of the usefulness and of the duty of public worship, and in us the omission of it would be criminal : but the degree of the obligation must be measured by the standard in the bosom of the individual ; and we believe that a good man may offer his homage to God, with as strong an assurance of acceptance, in the Lybian desert, as in the cathedral of St. Paul's.

For Milton's disuse of all prayer, in his family or by himself, no evidence is pretended but what results from the silence of his biographers ; and for a part of the alleged fact no evidence could have been obtained without that admission to his closet, which would be denied to the most privileged friendship. The first hours of his day were regularly devoted, as we are assured, to religious reading and meditation ; and of the time, thus appropriated to devotion, it is but reasonable to conclude that a part was assigned to petition and thanksgiving immediately addressed to the great Father of mercies. With respect to his family, we know that he carefully initiated

his pupils into the principles of Christian theology, and we cannot without violence bring ourselves to believe that he would withhold from his children that momentous instruction which he so sedulously imparted to persons more remotely connected with him. On the supposition, therefore, which is by no means supported by sufficient testimony, of his having neglected to summon his family to regular and formal prayer, I am far from certain that he can be convicted of any violent omission of duty ; for, having impressed their minds with a just sense of the relation in which they stood to their Creator, he might allowably withdraw his interference, and leave them to adjust their homage and their petitions to their own feelings and their own wants.

From the materials, which have been left to us on the subject, we have now completed the history of John Milton ;—a man in whom were illustriously combined all the qualities that could adorn, or elevate the nature to which he belonged ; a man, who at once possessed beauty of countenance, symmetry of form, elegance of manners, benevolence of temper, magnanimity and loftiness of soul, the brightest illumination of intellect, knowledge the most varied and extended, virtue that never loitered in her career nor deviated from her course ;—a man, who, if he had been delegated as the representative of his species to one of the superior worlds, would have

essential respect, between Milton and himself. If it could be proved that Milton in his latter days had contracted a general indifference for religion, a great point would be carried for the cause of infidelity.

suggested

suggested a grand idea of the human race, as of beings affluent with moral and intellectual treasure, who were raised and distinguished in the universe as the favourites and heirs of heaven.

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*Character of Maurice Morgann, esq.  
From the same.*

“I am reminded on this occasion of a beautiful passage in the ‘Essay on the dramatic character of sir John Falstaff,’ written by the late Maurice Morgann, esq. ‘Yet whatever may be the neglect of some, or the censure of others, there are those who firmly believe that this wild and uncultivated *Barbarian* (Shakespeare, so called by Voltaire) has not obtained one half of his fame. When the hand of time shall have brushed off his present editors and commentators, and when the very name of Voltaire, and even the memory of the language, in which he has written, shall be no more, the Apalachian mountains, the banks of the Ohio, and the plains of Sciola shall resound with the accents of this *barbarian*. In his native tongue he shall roll the genuine passions of nature: nor shall the griefs of Lear be alleviated, or the charms and wit of Rosalind be abated by time.’ p. 64.

“This essay forms a more honourable monument to the memory of Shakespeare than any which has been reared to him by the united labours of his commentators. The portrait, of which I have exhibited only a part, is drawn with so just, so discriminating, and so vivid a pencil, as to be unequalled, unless

it be by the celebrated delineation of the same great dramatist by the hand of Dryden.

“With the name of Maurice Morgann, who has fondled my infancy in his arms; who was the friend of my youth, who expanded the liberality of my opening heart, and first taught me to think, and to judge, with this interesting name so many sadly-pleasing recollections are associated, that I cannot dismiss it without reluctance. He was my friend: but he was the friend also of his species. The embrace of his mind was ample; that of his benevolence was unbounded. With great rectitude of understanding, he possessed a fancy that was always creative and playful. On every subject, for on every subject he thought acutely and deeply, his ideas were original and striking. Even when he was in error he continued to be specious and to please: and he never failed of your applause, though he might sometimes of your assent. When your judgment coyly held back, your imagination yielded to his seductive addresses; and you wished him to be right, when you were forced to pronounce that he was wrong. This is spoken only of those we's, which his fancy perpetually spun, and dipped in the rainbow: his heart was always in the right. With a mind of too fine a texture for business, too theoretical and abstract to be executive, he discharged with honour the office of under-secretary of state, when the present marquis of Lansdown was for the first time in power; and he was subsequently sent by that nobleman across the Atlantic as the intended legislator

legislator of Canada. His public and his private life were impelled by the same principles towards the same object; by the love of liberty and virtue to the happiness of man. If his solicitous and enlightened representations had experienced attention, the temporary and the abiding evils of the American contest would not have existed; and the mother and her offspring would still have been supported and supporting with their mutual embrace. From a long intercourse with the world he acquired no suspicion, no narrowness, no hardness, no moroseness. With the simplicity and candour, he retained to the last the cheerfulness and the sensibility of childhood. The tale of distress, which he never staid to investigate, passed immediately through his open ear into his responsive heart; and his fortune, small as his disinterestedness had suffered it to remain, was instantly communicated to relieve. His humanity comprehended the whole animated creation, and nothing could break the tenor of his temper but the spectacle of oppression or of cruelty. His failings (and the most favoured of our poor species are not without failings) were few, and untinged with malignity. High as he was placed by nature, he was not above the littleness of vanity; and kindly as were the elements blended in him, his manner would sometimes betray that contempt of others, which the wisest are, perhaps, the least prone to entertain, and which the best are the most studious to conceal. Though he courted praise, and was not nice respecting the hand which tendered it, or the form in which it

came, yet has he refused it in the most honourable shape, and when offered to him by the public. He has been importuned in vain to give a second edition of his essay on Falstaff: and his repeated injunctions have impelled his executrix to an indiscriminate destruction of his papers, some of which, in the walks of politics, metaphysics, and criticism, would have planted a permanent laurel on his grave.

“Such were his frailties and inconsistencies, the objects only of a doubtful smile: but his virtues and his talents made him the delight of the social, the instruction or the comfort of the solitary hour.

“Though he had been accustomed to contemplate the awful crisis of death with more terror than belonged to his innocent life, or to his generally intrepid breast, he met the consummation without alarm, and expired with as much serenity as he had lived. This event happened at his house in Knightsbridge, in the 77th year of his age, on the 28th of March, 1802.

Xαίρε! Vale!

“I shall never cease to think with a sigh of the grave in which I saw your body composed, till my own body shall require the same pious covering of dust, and shall solicit, with far inferior claims, yet haply not altogether in vain, for the same fond charity of a tear. C. S.”

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*The Life and Literary Works of Michel Angelo Buonarroti.*

The

The name of Michel Angelo has been written differently by different authors. Angelo is made Agnolo by the Tuscans, Angiolo by the Bolognese, and Anziolo by the Venetians. The Roman form Angelo is authorized by the academy della Crusca. Buonarroti he himself wrote four different ways.

Michel Angelo was descended from the famous countess Matilda, and had imperial blood in his veins; it could not, therefore, have been from that side that he derived his love of liberty, his genius and his virtue. His father was podesta, or governor of Chiufi, in old times the capital of Porfenna, and of Caprere, where Michel was born, on the 6th of March, 1474, under a benign aspect, when Mercury and Venus, according to Condivi, were in conjunction with Jupiter for the second time, plainly shewing that the child would be a very extraordinary genius, whose successes would be universal, but particularly in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. But as his nurse was both daughter and wife of a stone-mason, the chisel was his plaything, and his nursing had more to do than his nativity in making him a sculptor. His father wished to educate him for some learned profession, thinking that if he became an artist, according to his own early discovered propensity, it would degrade the dignity of his family; this propensity, however, he was resolute in pursuing, and the father, at length

wisely yielding to it, articted him, when he was fourteen, to Domenico Ghirlandaio and his brother David, for three years; they were to teach him the art and practice of painting, and to allow him six florins for the first, eight for the second, and ten for the third year. Domenico had a numerous school, and was the most eminent painter in Florence.

“Granacci was his constant friend and companion: they studied together, and probably helped each other in their pursuits. The first attempt Michel Angelo made in oil painting, was with his assistance: he lent him colours and pencils, and a print\*, representing the story of St. Anthony beaten by devils, which he copied on a pannel with such success that it was much admired. In this little picture, besides the figure of the saint, there were many strange forms and monsters, which he was so intent on representing in the best manner he was capable, that he coloured no part without referring to some natural object. He went to the fish-market to observe the form and colour of fins, and the eyes of fish; and whatever in nature constituted a part of his composition, he studied from its source. About this time he made a fac-simile of a picture, which his biographers have recorded to shew his skill in imitation. A head had been given him to copy, and he imitated it so well, that, to try his success, he returned his own copy instead of the original picture, to the person from whom it

\* Vafari says, this print was engraved by Martino Tedesco, but there remains some doubt who this German artist was: Mariette is of opinion that his name was Martin Schoen, whose prints are known by this monogram, M + S.

was borrowed, and the deceit was not immediately perceived, but having told one of his associates, who began to laugh, it was discovered. To add to the deception, he smoked his copy, so as to make it appear of the same age as the original.

“ Whatever might be the benefit of the instruction he derived from others, he rapidly surpassed his contemporary students, and adopted a stile of drawing and design, more bold and daring than Ghirlandaïo had been accustomed to see practised in his school; and, from an anecdote Vasari tells, it would seem Michel Angelo soon felt himself even superior to his master. One of the pupils copying a female portrait from a drawing by Ghirlandaïo, he took a pen, and made a strong outline round it on the same paper, to shew him its defects; and the superior style of the contour was as much admired as the act was considered confident and presumptuous\*. His great facility in copying with accuracy whatever objects were before him, was exemplified in an instance that forced a compliment even from Ghirlandaïo himself. His master being employed in S. Maria Novella, in Florence, Michel Angelo, taking advantage of his absence, drew the scaffolding, the desks, the painting utensils and apparatus, and some of the young men who were at work, with so much correctness and ability, says Vasari, that Ghirlandaïo, when he returned, was quite astonished, and said it was rather the performance

of an experienced artist than of a scholar.”

But Ghirlandaïo, was envious of his pupil's talents, and when any work of his was praised, would insinuate that he himself had touched it. At this time Lorenzo de Medici had opened a garden at Florence, well supplied with antique statues, &c. as a school for sculpture. He desired Ghirlandaïo to let any of his scholars study there, who were desirous of drawing from the antique. Michel Angelo, and his friend Granacci, availed themselves of this indulgence, and the Medici Garden became their favourite school. Emulation induced him to begin modeling in clay, and Lorenzo, who observed his progress, encouraged him.

“ He was, not long after, desirous to try his skill in marble, and being particularly interested with a mutilated old head, or rather a mask representing a laughing Faun, he chose it for his original. At that time there were many persons employed in the garden, making ornaments for a library which Lorenzo was decorating: from one of these workmen he begged a piece of marble sufficiently large for his purpose, and was also accommodated with chisels and whatever else was necessary to execute his undertaking. Although this was his first essay in sculpture, he in a few days brought his task to a conclusion; with his own invention supplied what was imperfect in the original, and made some other additions. Lorenzo visiting his garden as usual, found

\* This drawing Vasari had in his possession, and being in Rome in the year 1550, he shewed it to Michel Angelo, who recollected it with pleasure, and modestly remarked, “ I knew more of this part of my art when I was a young man than I do now in my old age.” *Vasari vita di Michel Angelo.*

Michel Angelo polishing his mask, and thought it an extraordinary work for so young an artist; nevertheless, he jestingly remarked, "You have restored to the old Faun all his teeth, but don't you know that a man of such an age has generally some wanting?" Upon this observation Michel Angelo was impatient for Lorenzo's absence, that he might be alone to avail himself of his criticism; and immediately, on his retiring, broke a tooth from the upper jaw, and drilled a hole in the gum to represent its having fallen out.

"When Lorenzo made his next visit, he immediately saw the alteration, and was delighted with the aptness and simplicity of his scholar; he laughed exceedingly, and related the incident to his friends as an instance of docility and quickness of parts\*."

This circumstance made Lorenzo resolve to take him under his own immediate patronage, and accordingly he sent for the father. The father was greatly averse to this new degradation, as he supposed it; to be a painter was bad for a Buonarroti, to be a stone-mason still worse; and he lamented that Granacci had led his son astray, for it was from him that Michel Angelo had first learnt his love for the arts. When, however, upon waiting on Lorenzo, he found that Michel was to live in the palace, and sit at the table of Lorenzo, he became soon sensible of the importance of the art which he had despised. Accordingly the young artist left Ghirlandajo, to reside with Lorenzo, and for his sake, an office in the

custom-house was given to his father, till something better should present itself.

Here he enjoyed every advantage that the best models, the best patronage, and the best society could afford. Unfortunately, after two years, Lorenzo died. His son and successor Piero, considered the arts, says Mr. Duppa, without any reference to genius or to intellect, and encouraged them only to administer to his idle pleasures. Under the patronage of this man, Michel Angelo was called upon to make a statue of snow! Piero considered him with "as much esteem as he had feeling to bestow," and the measure of this may be pretty well estimated from the boast he made, that he had two extraordinary men in his house, Michel Angelo, and a running footman who could keep up with a horseman when going full speed.

"In the house of Piero was a man of Cardiere, an improvisatore of great ability, who, in the time of Lorenzo, sung improvise to the lyre in the evenings while he was at supper. Being a friend of Michel Angelo, he told him of a vision that disturbed his mind: Lorenzo de' Medici, he said, had appeared to him in a dream, with his body wrapped in a black tattered robe, and commanded him to tell his son that shortly he would be driven from his house never again to return. Michel Angelo exhorted Cardiere to obey; but from his knowledge of Piero's disposition he was afraid, and kept it to himself. Another morning Michel Angelo being in the cortile of the palace, observed Car-

\* This mask was preserved in the Florence gallery when I visited that city in the year 1798. It has been engraved in Gori's edition of Codivi, but with little success.

diere terrified and sorrowful: he then told him Lorenzo had again appeared to him that night in the same habit as before, and suddenly awoke him by a slap in the face, demanding the reason why he had not told Piero what he had before seen. Michel Angelo then reproved him for not having made the communication, and said so much that he took courage, and, with that view, set out on foot for Careggi, a villa belonging to the Medici family, about three miles from Florence; but before he was quite half way, he met Piero returning. He stopped him, and related what he had seen and heard. Piero laughed, and telling his attendants Cardiere's story, they made a thousand jokes at his expence; and his chancellor, who was afterward cardinal di Bibbiena, said to him, 'You are out of your mind. Whom do you think Lorenzo wills best, his son or you? If his son, would he not rather have appeared to him, than to any other person, if it had been necessary to appear at all?' Cardiere, having thus discharged what he considered his duty, returned home, and so feelingly deplored the consequences, that Michel Angelo became persuaded the prediction would take place, and in a few days, with two companions, left Florence, and went to Bologna."

If there had been no other sign of coming calamity than Cardiere's dream, it is not very likely that Michel Angelo would have retired from Florence in consequence of it. But the signs of the times justified his retreat. He remained something more than a year at Bologna, during which time the Medici were expelled, and then, when the affairs of Florence were tranquillized, re-

turned to his father's house. At this time that passionate admiration of the remains of antiquity, was beginning to shew itself, which admires things because they are antique, and refuses all approbation to productions of equal or greater merit, if they are produced by a contemporary. Michel Angelo had produced the statue of a sleeping Cupid; it was sent to a proper person in Rome, who buried it in his vineyard, then dug it up, and reported the discovery. This man however carried the trick too far: he sold it to cardinal St. Giorgio, for two hundred ducats, like a rogue, and remitted thirty to the sculptor as the price of his statue. The truth was soon discovered, and the money recovered from the seller; but Michel Angelo's merit was acknowledged, and he was invited to Rome, as the proper theatre for talents such as his. At Rome he met with some encouragement; it happened, however, that Soderini was now chosen Gonfaloniere of Florence, and he returned to his native city under the patronage of this good man, who loved the arts as well as Lorenzo had done, but with better motives, for he loved liberty also. For him he executed his colossal statue of David, and made that famous cartoon, which the Medici, when they finally subverted the liberties of their country, suffered to be mutilated and destroyed.

From Florence he was invited back to Rome by Julius II. on his accession to the papal seat. That pope, who patronized the arts better than his successor, because he understood them better, gave Michel Angelo an unlimited commission to make him a mausoleum.

“ Having



“ Having received full powers, Michel Angelo commenced a design worthy of himself and his patron. The plan was a parallelogram, and the superstructure to consist of forty statues, many of which were to be colossal, interspersed with ornamental figures and bronze bas-relievs, besides the necessary architecture with appropriate decorations, to unite the composition in one stupendous whole.

“ When this magnificent design was completed, it met with the pope's entire approbation, and Michel Angelo was desired to go into St. Peter's to see where it could be conveniently placed. At the west end of the church, Nicolas V. had, half a century before, begun a new tribune, but the plan had not been continued by his successors; this situation Michel Angelo thought the most appropriate, and recommended it to the consideration of his holiness. He inquired what expence would be necessary to complete it; to which Michel Angelo answered, ‘ a hundred thousand crowns.’ ‘ It may be twice that sum,’ replied the pope; and immediately gave orders to Giuliano da Sangallo to consider of the best means to execute the work.

“ Sangallo, impressed with the importance and grandeur of Michel Angelo's design, suggested to the pope that such a monument ought to have a chapel built on purpose for it, where situation and light and

shadow might be so attended to, as to display every part to advantage; at the same time remarking, that St. Peter's was an old church, not at all adapted for so superb a mausoleum, and any alteration would only serve to destroy the character of the building. The pope listened to these observations, and to avail himself of them to their fullest extent, ordered several architects to make drawings for that purpose; but in considering and reconsidering the subject, he passed from one improvement to another, till he, at length, determined to rebuild St. Peter's itself; \* and this is the origin of that edifice which took a hundred and fifty years to complete, and is now the grandest display of architectural splendour that ornaments the Christian world.”

The prosecution of this work was suspended by Michel Angelo's resentment at being refused admittance to the pope with marked and meant insolence. Men of genius are sure to be the objects of envy, hatred, and malice in all ages, and this great man had his full share of their persecution. He was of an irritable nature, and immediately took post for Florence. Five couriers were immediately dispatched to bring him back: they did not overtake him till he was out of the papal states, and their authority of course useless. They requested him to write to the pope, and exempt them from blame. Accordingly he

\* To those who are curious in tracing the remote causes of great events to their source, Michel Angelo perhaps may be found, though very unexpectedly; to have thus laid the first stone of the reformation. His monument demanded a building of corresponding magnificence; to prosecute the undertaking money was wanting, and indulgencies were sold to supply the deficiency of the treasury. A monk of Saxony opposed the authority of the church, and this singular fatality attended the event; that whilst the most splendid edifice which the world had ever seen was building for the Catholic faith, the religion to which it was consecrated was shaken to its foundation.

wrote to this effect; that being expelled the anti-chambers of his holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, he had taken the only course left him to pursue, consistent with the preservation of that character which had rendered him worthy of his confidence. Neither would he return, for if he had been worthless to-day, he could be but of little value to-morrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which would neither be creditable to his holiness nor himself.

Upon this Julius wrote the following letter to the government of Florence.

“ Health and apostolic benediction to our dearly beloved Michel Angelo, who has left us capriciously, and without any reason we have been able to learn, is now in Florence, and remains there in fear of our displeasure, but against whom we have nothing to allege, as we know the humour of men of his stamp. However, that he may lay aside all suspicion, we invite him with the same affection that you bear towards us; and, if he will return, promise on our part, he shall be neither touched nor offended, and be reinstated in the same apostolic grace he enjoyed before he left us. Rome, the 8th of July 1506, 3d year of our pontificate. \*”

From the temper of this letter, Soderini concluded that the affair

would soon be forgotten, and Michel Angelo chose to remain at Florence. A second followed, in a more decisive tone, and the Gonfalonieri then said to him, “ You have done by the pope what the king of France would not have presumed to do, he must be no longer trifled with; we cannot make war against his holiness to risk the safety of the state, therefore his will must be obeyed.” Some Franciscans before this had proposed to Michel Angelo, to go to Turkey, and enter into the sultan’s service, to build a bridge between Constantinople and Pera. This offer he would now have accepted, but for the friendly and earnest dissuasions of Soderini. If a Turkish sultan could have been trusted, it is perhaps to be regretted that the opportunity was lost of attempting a greater work of architecture than ever yet has been achieved. He was, however, persuaded to return to the pope, then at Bologna; where cardinal Soderini, the Gonfaloniere’s brother, undertook to introduce him. The cardinal was ill at the time, and obliged to deputize monsignore, who performed his office awkwardly: The interview was honourable to both parties.

“ As Michel Angelo entered the presence-chamber the pope gave him an askance look of displeasure, and after a short pause, saluted him, ‘ In the stead of your coming to us, you seem to have expected

\* Julius pp. 11. Dilectis filiis Prioribus libertatis, et Vexillifero justitiæ populi Florentini.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Michael Angelus sculptor, qui, a nobis leviter et inconsulte discessit redire, ut accepimus, ad nos timet, cui nos non succensimus; novimus hujusmodi hominum ingenia. Ut tamen omnem suspicionem deponat, devotionem vestram hortamur, velit ei nomine nostro promittere, quod si ad nos redierit, illæsus inviolatusque erit, et in eâ gratiâ apostolicâ nos habituros, quâ habebatur, ante discessum.

Datum Romæ 8 Julii 1506. Pontificatus nostri III.

that we should wait upon you.' Michel Angelo replied with submission, that his error arose from too hastily feeling a disgrace that he was unconscious of meriting, and hoped his holiness would pardon what was past. The monsignore \* standing by, not thinking this a sufficient apology, endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by saying that great allowance was to be made for such men who were ignorant of every thing but their art; on which the pope hastily replied, with warmth, 'Thou hast vilified him, which I have not, thou art an ignorant fellow, and no man of genius, get out of my sight;' and one of the attendants immediately pushed him out of the room. The pope then gave Michel Angelo his benediction, and restored him to his friendship; and before he withdrew desired him not to quit Bologna till he had given him a commission for some work of art. In a few days he ordered a colossal statue of himself to be made in bronze."

Within five years the statue was broken in pieces by the mob, and the fragments cast into a piece of cannon!

When Michel Angelo returned to Rome, it was his wish to proceed without delay upon the mausoleum, which as he conceived, was to be the noblest monument both of Julius and himself; but the pope had now changed his mind, and ordered him to paint the walls and ceiling of the Sistine chapel in fresco. It has been villainously said, that this was the work of Bramante, who being jealous of Michel Angelo, persuaded the pope to employ him in a branch

of art, in which he expected that he would fail. Of this meanness there is not the slightest proof: Bramante and Michel Angelo were not friends, but the former had too much genius himself, to be capable of such pitiful envy. If the desire of advancing the reputation of his nephew Raffaello, be imputed to him as a motive, surely he must have seen that Raffaello would have derived far more from executing the picture well himself, than from any failure on the part of Michel Angelo. It is wicked to talk of rivalry in such men as these, men so truly great, are above all such base feelings. Michel Angelo's own conduct evinces this; fresco-painting, he said, was not his profession, and he recommended his holiness to give the commission to Raffaello, in whose hands, he said, it would do honour to them both. This could not have been said from any distrust of his own powers, no man of such mighty powers ever distrusted himself.

"It being now decided that he must make an attempt to execute this great undertaking, he commenced the cartoons, and the architect of St. Peter's had orders to construct a scaffolding for the work to be painted in fresco. When the scaffolding was finished he found it extremely objectionable, and in particular from certain holes pierced in the ceiling, for cords to pass through to suspend a part of the machinery. He asked the Architect how the ceiling could be completed if they were suffered to remain? To which he answered, It was impossible to avoid making them, and the remedy must

\* Vafari calls this dignitary a Bishop (il Vescovo,) but I have preferred the appellation of Monsignore, on the authority of Condivi.

be a subsequent consideration. This created a dispute, and Michel Angelo represented it to the pope as a defect which might have been avoided, if he had better understood the principles of mechanism. His holiness therefore gave him permission to take it down, and erect another in its stead. He then designed and constructed one so complete, that Bramante afterwards adopted it in the building of St. Peter's, and it is, most probably, that simple and admirable piece of machinery now used in Rome, whenever there is occasion for scaffolding to repair or construct the interior of public buildings. This invention Michel Angelo gave to the poor man whom he employed as his carpenter, and, from the commissions he received for making others on the same construction, he realized a small fortune\*."

Having finished this, he began to make designs for the sides of the chapel, to complete the design, but, unfortunately for the arts, Julius died. He left it in charge to two cardinals, the one of whom was his nephew, to see that his monument was completed. The cardinal nephew calculated the expence, and his arithmetic was conclusive; and the original design of the mausoleum was laid aside, and Michel Angelo received instructions to make another, on a limited scale, and at a stipulated price.

From this work to which he was applying himself with grateful feeling to the memory of Julius, Leo

X. sent him, little to the liking of the cardinal-executors, and less to his own, to build the façade of the church of St. Lorenzo, at Florence, which had remained unfinished from the time of his grandfather Cosmo.

"As soon as he arrived in Florence he made his arrangements for executing the façade, and went to Carrara to order the marble which might be necessary, and also such as he should want for the monument of Julius, that in Florence no part of his time might be unemployed. At this period the pope received information that good marble was to be obtained in the mountains of Pietra Santa †, in the Florentine state, equal in quality to that of the quarries of Carrara; and while Michel Angelo was there, he received a letter from his holiness, desiring that he would go to Pietra Santa, and examine how far this information was correct. He obeyed his orders, and in a short time after sent him the result of his investigation, which did not prove so favourable as had been represented to his holiness. The marble was more difficult to work, and of inferior quality; added to which there was no practical means of conveying it to Florence, without making a road of many miles to the sea, through mountains, to be cut at a considerable expence, and over marshes which would require to be traversed with fascines and rafts to make them passable. These objections, however, made but a slight impression

\* By his gains, Condivi says, he was enabled to give marriage portions with his daughters. "Distese Michel Angelo il ponte e ne cavò tanti canapi, che avendogli donati a un pover uomo, che l'aiutò su cagione, ch' egli ne maritò due sue figliuole, Così fece lenza corde il suo, così ben tessuto e composto, che sempre era più fermo quanto maggior peso aveva."

† Pietra Santa was the name of a castle, which gave this distinctive appellation to the mountains in its neighbourhood.

on the pope's mind, comparing them with the advantages which result from obtaining so valuable a material for building, in a territory which he could at any time call his own; Michel Angelo was therefore desired to proceed, and it is a mortifying reflection, that the talents of this great man should have been buried in these mountains, and his time consumed, during the whole reign of Leo X. in little other than raising stone out of a quarry, and making a road to convey it to the sea."

"To seek for reasons why Michel Angelo was not more fortunately employed during this reign, might afford a wide field of speculation; but if it should appear that the attachment of this pope to the arts, proceeded rather from their importance to the pomp and show of power, which was the delight of his mind, than from a more noble feeling of their worth; it is sufficiently satisfactory to account for his indifference and procrastination, to know, that wars, alliances, and subsidies, exhausted his treasury, and that the money was spent which was to have been appropriated to the façade of St. Lorenzo. At the death of Leo this part of the building was not advanced beyond its foundation, and the time of Michel Angelo had been consumed in making a road, in seeing that five columns were made at the quarry of Pietra Santa, in conducting them to the sea-side, and in transporting one of them to Florence; this employment, with occasionally making some models in wax, and some trifling designs for the interior of a room in the Medici Palace, appears to have been all the benefit that was derived from his talents,

during the whole of this pontificate. As the patronage of the great often depends upon the character of the man as well as upon his genius, it has been supposed that the independent spirit which resisted the impetuosity of Julius II. was ill calculated to conciliate the accomplished manners of Leo X.: however this may have been, there appears no evidence that Michel Angelo ever refused submission to his will, or opposed his authority with disrespect: but as the surest way to every man's feelings is through his heart, it is easy to conceive that he was not likely to have the affections of a prince, in whose mind there was no congeniality of sentiment with his own."

Under the pontificate of Clement VII. Florence for a short time resumed its ancient form of government, and made its last struggle for liberty. In such a struggle, however unfortunate its termination, it is glorious to have borne a part. The interests of that state were betrayed by France, and the emperor prepared to reinstate the Medici in their tyranny by force. The republic, feeble as its hopes were, resolved upon defence, and Michel Angelo was appointed military architect and master of the ordinance. Whatever this wonderful man did, he did well. The enemy, immediately on their arrival before the city, began to storm one of the bastions; two guns which he had placed upon a tower so annoyed them, that they were compelled to abandon the attack, and directed their artillery against this tower. Michel Angelo hung mattraffes of wool from the top; they were suspended from a bold projecting cornice, so that a considerable space

was left between them and the wall, and the artillery might have played till doomsday without producing any effect. The enemy saw that the conquest of Florence would not be so easy as they had expected, and had recourse to surer methods than those of assault.

“ Michel Angelo, after the most active service for six months, in which he defended the city, and repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy, was secretly told of treacherous plans to undermine the republic. He lost no time in making the communication known to the government, shewing at once the danger to which they were exposed, and how their safety might be provided for; but instead of attending to him with due respect, he was reproached with credulous timidity: offended with this treatment, he observed it was useless for him to be taking care of the walls, if they were determined not to take care of themselves. Depending upon the correctness of his information, and the perspicacity of his own judgment, he saw inevitable ruin to the common cause; this, added to the personal disrespect he received, determined him to give up his employment and withdraw from the city. As the nature of his information did not allow him to make a public declaration of his intention, he withdrew privately; but he was no sooner gone, than his departure created general concern. Upon his leaving Florence he proceeded to Ferrara, and from thence to Venice; where, as soon as he arrived, he was followed by the importunities of persons high in office, soliciting him to return, and not abandon the post committed to his charge: at the same time softening

by expletives the rudeness and inattention with which he had been treated. These solicitations, addressed to an ardent mind, and strong patriotic feelings, prompted him to obey the will of his country and his friends, and without delay he returned, and resumed his situation.”

A mercenary general sold the republic—he betrayed its plans to the enemy, and finally delivered it up to the Medici. “ Here,” says the author, “ ended the Florentine republic, after three centuries of varied and fluctuating fortune; yet, amidst civil dissensions, internal calamity, or external war, genius flourished; and whatever may be the cause, it is to this contracted territory that our enlightened times owe more than to all the states in Europe that assisted in its ruin.”

The diseases of the soul are as hereditary as those of the body. Clement V. had chosen for himself a lying name upon his election, he was as false and as cruel as the rest of his family. “ The general amnesty which he had promised to all those who had injured the pope, his friends and servants, his holiness professed most faithfully to observe, and willingly to forgive those who had been his enemies: but the injuries committed by the same persons in the affairs of the republic he knew of no justice to extenuate, nor mercy to forgive: he therefore imprisoned, banished, and put to death at his own discretion!” Michel Angelo secreted himself in the bell tower of the church of St. Nicholas. His house was eagerly searched, and not a trunk left unopened that could be supposed capable of containing him. After some days,

days, when all search had proved ineffectual, the pope publickly promised that if he would discover himself he should not be molested—on condition of his finishing the monuments of Giuliano de Medici, and his nephew Lorenzo, which he had begun. Michel Angelo accepted the terms, and as Mr. Duppa with his usual good feeling expresses himself, “with little respect for the persons his genius was to commemorate, and with less affection for his employer, he hastened to complete his labour.”

There was no work upon which he would so willingly have proceeded as upon the monument of Julius; but in this he was by various circumstances so often interrupted, that it became a cause of continual vexation to him. The plan for this monument was now a second time contracted on the score of expence, and an arrangement for its execution concluded, by which he was to be permitted to work for the pope in Florence four months in the year. Having worked there four months, he returned to Rome to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Urbino, who was now the representative of Julius. “But Clement, who was not in the habit of keeping promises, nor of permitting others to do so when it interfered with his inclination or his interest,” ordered him to paint the two end walls of the Sistine chapel. He had formerly made several studies for the west end, where he designed to have painted the fall of Satan: why this design was not now carried into effect does not appear, but he began the cartoon of the last judgment. It is almost sinful to regret any circumstances

which occasioned that wonderful picture, yet as the same genius would have been exerted on either subject, we are almost tempted to wish that the one had been preferred which was wholly mythological, and in which the superstitions of the Romish church could not have found a place. He procrastinated this work as much as he could, and secretly proceeded with the monument: Clement died. Paul III. who succeeded, wished to engage Michel Angelo in his service, who resolutely protested that he must devote himself to the fulfilment of his prior engagement. The duke of Urbino, however, was unwilling to offend the pope. The plan of the monument was once more changed, and three statues only instead of six were required from him, and thus it was at last completed. He then finished the last judgment, for which the pope with becoming liberality rewarded him with a pension for life, equal to 600*l*.

At this time San Gallo died, and Michel Angelo was appointed architect of St. Peter's, a situation which, however honourable, proved to him a source of vexation as long as he lived. He was not only a man of genius, and therefore the certain object of envy and malice, but also a man of integrity, and therefore hated by all the numerous persons employed about the building, who till his time had been accustomed to cheat the government with impunity. Paul understood his merits, and protected him.

“As men are generally malevolent in proportion to the disappointment of their mischievous hopes,

hopes, so the enemies of Michel Angelo grew inveterate from the ill success of their opposition: and to all those who could have any influence in injuring his reputation, they did not fail to use exertions to represent him as an unworthy successor of San Gallo. Upon the death of Paul III.\* an effort was made to remove him from his situation, but Julius III. who succeeded to the pontificate, was not less favourably disposed towards him than his predecessor; however they presented a memorial, petitioning the pope to hold a committee of architects in St. Peter's at Rome, to convince his holiness that their accusations and complaints were not unfounded. At the head of his party was cardinal Salviati, nephew to Leo X. and cardinal Marcello Cervino, who was afterwards pope by the title of Marcellus II. Julius agreed to the investigation, Michel Angelo was formally arraigned, and the pope gave his personal attendance. The complainants stated, that the church wanted light, and the architects had previously furnished the two cardinals with a particular example to prove the basis of the general position, which was, that he had walled up a recess for three chapels, and made only three insufficient windows; upon which

the pope asked Michel Angelo to give his reasons for having done so. He replied, "I should wish first to hear the deputies." Cardinal Marcello immediately said for himself and cardinal Salviati, "We ourselves are the deputies." Then said Michel Angelo, "In the part of the church alluded to, over those windows are to be placed three others." "You never said that before," replied the cardinal: to which he answered with some warmth, "I am not, neither will I ever be obliged to tell your eminence, or any one else, what I ought or am disposed to do; it is your office to see that the money be provided, to take care of the thieves, and to leave the building of St. Peter's to me." Turning to the pope—"holy father, you see what I gain: if these machinations to which I am exposed are not for my spiritual welfare, I lose both my labour and my time." The pope replied, putting his hands upon his shoulders, "Do not doubt, your gain is now and will be hereafter;" and at the same time gave him assurance of his confidence and esteem."

Julius III. was indeed one of the truest friends of Michel Angelo; he desired Condivi to write his life, and, as appears by Condivi's dedication, recommended him to

\* "Paul III. died on the 10th of November, 1549, after a pontificate of fifteen years and twenty-eight days. Among the most remarkable acts of his reign is the excommunication of Henry VIII. who was declared to be deprived of his crown and kingdom, his subjects absolved from all obedience, all acts of religion interdicted or forbidden to be performed or celebrated in his dominions, commanding all ecclesiastical persons to depart from his kingdoms, and the nobles to rise up in rebellion against him. This bull is dated the 30th of August, 1535. It was in the reign of this pope, in the year 1540, that the Jesuits were established, and the plan of that extraordinary society, confirmed; and on the first of November, in the year 1542, the celebrated council of Trent met to establish the truth of the gospel, to convince all men of transubstantiation, to prevent the further diminution of the papal authority, and to endeavour to do that which is impossible, reconcile the jarring opinions of contending interests."



imitate his virtue and his excellence. He said also that if it were possible he would gladly take upon himself his years, that the world might have a better chance of not being deprived so soon of a great man. Unfortunately for Michel Angelo, Julius died after a short reign of five years, leaving him an old man of eighty one. Cardinal Marcello, one of his enemies, was elected in his stead; he died within the month, and was succeeded by Paul IV.; whose two main objects were to be revenged on his enemies by the sword, and to root out heresy by means of the inquisition, of which he had long been the main patron. This man's religious feelings were offended at the naked figures in the last judgment, and he determined that the picture should be reformed. When Michel Angelo heard this; he desired that the pope might be told from him that what he wished was very little and might be easily effected; for if his holiness would only reform the opinions of mankind, the picture would be reformed of itself. Paul at last determined to destroy the picture altogether; luckily his cardinals persuaded him that it would be a sin to whitewash the wall, and he contented himself with ordering the figures to be dressed: thereby it is to be presumed expressing his opinion that when the trumpet sounds, the dead are not to rise till they have made themselves decent, for which purpose there will be a resurrection of shrouds and winding sheets also.

This was the barbarian who encouraged or instigated our bloody Mary in all her cruelties. Pius IV. made some little amends to him for the insults and injustices

he had received from his predecessor, but Michel Angelo was now going to receive the reward of a long life of integrity and virtue. He died on the 17th of February, 1563, in his eighty-ninth year. Public obsequies were decreed him at Florence; the work of envy was over; from that day the excellence of Michel Angelo has been acknowledged, and it will continue to be so, as long as stone and marble can endure, and as long as the engraver can preserve the conceptions of the painter.

“In the early part of his life, Michel Angelo not only applied himself to sculpture and painting, but to every branch of knowledge connected in any way with those arts, and gave himself up so much to application, that he in a great degree withdrew from society. From this ruling passion to cultivate his mind he became habituated to solitude, and happy in his pursuits, he was more contented to be alone than in company; by which he obtained the character of being a proud and an odd man, distinctions that never fail to be given to those with whom we wish to find fault for not resembling ourselves. When his mind was matured he attached himself to men of learning and judgment, and in the number of his most intimate friends were ranked the highest dignitaries in the church and the most eminent literary characters of his time. That princely cardinal, Ippolito de Medici, and the cardinal Bembo, Ridolfi, and Maffeo, were distinguished for their friendship towards him, and, as an Englishman, it gives me pleasure to find cardinal Pole amongst them, entitled, “suo amicissimo.” Ippolito de Medici

was particularly partial to him, and understanding that Michel Angelo admired a Turkish horse he possessed, he sent it to his house, with ten mules loaded with corn, and begged his acceptance of the gift as a mark of his esteem. Notwithstanding he ranked in the number of his acquaintance the most distinguished names of his time, he was also pleased with the harmless comedy of human life, and occasionally amused with the eccentric good nature of those who had little else to recommend them. But the person of all others who absorbed his affections and esteem, was that excellent and accomplished woman, the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara; her superior mind and endowments, and her partiality for his genius, impressed him with the most lively sense of esteem. For many years before her death she resided at Viterbo, and occasionally visited Rome for no other purpose than to enjoy his society. To her Michel Angelo addressed three sonnets and a madrigal, and wrote an epitaph, on her death, in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered with the most profound respect for her character. In her last moments Michel Angelo paid her a visit, and afterwards told Condivi he grieved he had not kissed her cheek as he did her hand, since there was then but little hope of his ever seeing her again. The same writer also observes, that the recollection of her death constantly produced dejection in his mind."

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*The Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson.*

*Written by herself. A Fragment.*

*From Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.]*

"The almighty Author of all beings, in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no less wisdom and goodness than he manifests power and greatness in their creation, but such is the stupidity of blind mortals that instead of employing their studies in these admirable books of providence, wherein God daily exhibitts to us glorious characters of his love, kindness, wisdom, and justice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderfull operations of the great God the common accidents of humane life, specially if they be such as are usuall, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldom employ any reflexion; for in things great and extraordinary some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forgett or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the haire of their heads.

"Finding my selfe in some kind guilty of this generall neglect, I thought it might be a meanes to stirre up my thankfulness for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected as much as I have heard or can remember of the passages of my youth, and the generall and particular providences exercis'd to me, both in the entrance and progresse of my life. Herein I meeete with so many speciall indulgencies as require

quire a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my improvement for God's glory. The parents by whom I receiv'd my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a witness of God's wonderfull workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I receiv'd in my person, each of them carries along with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodness, so I cannot reflect on them without deepe humiliation for the small improvement I have made of so rich a stock; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder: and first, as farre as I have since learnt, sett downe the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our Lord 1619-20, that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the English Isle: I was about 4 of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sr. Allen Apsley, leiftenant of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a sonne and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sonns, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of king James) if that quietnesse may be called a peace, which was

rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose dark womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.

“Whoever considers England, will find itt no small favour of God to have bene made one of its natives, both upon spirituall and outward accounts. The happinesse of the soyle and ayre contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they receiv'd a mention in history, conferrs some honour upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimite and virtue, which hath fam'd this island, and rays'd her head in glory, higher than the greate kingdomes of the neighbouring continent. Brittain hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that a man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever foreigne countries yield to increase admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forc'd to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and bene reckoned, almost in all ages, as valiant warriors as any part of the world sent forth: infomuch that the greatest Roman captaines thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and tooke greate glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and 'twas 200 yeares before the land could be reduc'd into a Roman province, which att length was done, and such of the nation, then call'd Picts, as scorn'd servitude, were

were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remain'd a perpetuall trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Brittaines that thought it better to worke for their conquerors in a good land, then to have the freedom to serve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetcht away, and wasted in the civill broyles of these Roman lords, till the land, almost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forc'd to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out againe, nor perswaded to lett their hosts inhabite with them, for they drove the Brittaines into the mountaines of Wales, and feat-ed themselves in those pleasant countries which from the new masters receiv'd a new name, and ever since retain'd it, being call'd England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various successe, but after about 2 or 300 yeares vaine contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and losse, and the Saxon Heptarchie melted into a monarchie, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was fainted for his ungodly chastitie, left an emptie throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it againe for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falsehood, layd here the foundation of his monarchie, in the people's blood, in which it hath swom about 500 yeares, till the flood that bore it was plow'd into such deepe furrows as had almost sunke the proud vessell. Of these Sax-

ons that remain'd subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's famely descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutuall marriages, that the distinction remain'd but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their valour grew terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely quitted themselves in their owne defence, but have shew'd abroad, how easily they could subdue the world, if they did not preferre the quiett enioyment of their owne parte above the conquest of the whole.

“ Better lawes and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enjoy'd, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocratie, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those formes, tyranny, faction, and confusion; yett is it not possible for man to devize such iust and excellent bounds, as will keepe in wild ambition, when prince's flatterers encourage that beast to breake his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and the people: but could never in any age so tread downe popular liberty, but that it rose again with renewed vigour, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the iust bounds wherein our kings were so well hedg'd in, the surrounding princes have with terror sene the reproofe of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves then subjects, and are only serv'd for feare, but not for love; where-

as this people have ever bene as affectionate to good as unpliant to bad soveraignes.

“Nor is it only vallour and generofity that renoune this nation; in arts wee have advanc’d equall to our neighbours, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnisht. Agriculture is as ingeniously practis’d: the English archery were the terror of Christendome, and their clothes the ornament: but these low things bound not their greate spirits, in all ages it hath yeilded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

“And to compleate the crowne of all their glorie, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, valour, witt, learning, iustice, wealth, and bounty, their pietie and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people here, out of the wast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the British king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that receiv’d the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdom: Henrie the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoke of from his own and his subjects necks. Here it was that the first christian emperor receiv’d his crowne: here began the early dawne of gossell light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God rays’d up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianisme, and a more plentiful harvest of devout confessors, con-

stant martirs, and holy worshippers of God; hath not grown in any field of the church, throughout all ages, then those whom God hath here glorified his name and gossell by. Yett hath not this wheate bene without its tares, God in comparifon with other countries hath made this as a paradise, so, to compleate the parallell, the serpent hath in all times bene busy to seduce, and not unsuccessfull, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

“No sooner was the faith of Christ embrac’d in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent christians, and slaughter’d multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to opose the name of Christ with open hostility; then the subtle serpent putt of his owne horrid appearance, and comes out in a christian dresse, to persecute Christ in his poore prophetts, that bore wittnesse against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrell hath bene more successfull to the devill, and more afflictive to the church then all open warres, and, I feare, will never happily be decided, till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversie, which att the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shared many perills, many feares, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

“From the place of my birth I shall only desire to remember the goodnesse of the Lord who hath caused my lott to fall in a good ground, who hath fed me in a pleasant

fant pasture where the well-springs of life flow to all that desire to drinke of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poore people perish among the heathen, where they never heare the name of Christ; how many poore christians spring up in countries enslav'd by Turkish and anti-christian tyrants, whose soules and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knowes what mercy 'tis to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not considered the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely 'tis too universall a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land, are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately past over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnifie God's loving-kindnesse and his speciall favour to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater return of duty from us then from all other people of the world.

“Nor is the place only, but the time of my comming into the world a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of poperie, nor in the dawne of the gospell's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguished, but when the sun of truth was exalted in his progresse and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the priviledge of beholding the admirable growth of gospell light in my dayes: and oh! that my soule may never forgett to blesse and prayse his name for the wonders of power and goodnesse, wisdom and truth, which have bene manifested in this my time.

“The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and vertuous in their owne conversation, and carefull instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leizure and abillity, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honour due from me in such a gratefull memoriall, and to increase my children's emproovement of the patterns they sett them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content my selfe to summe up some few things for my owne use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthily expresse.

“My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 7 or 800*l.* a yeare, in Suffex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence att a place called Pulborough; the famely out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a towne where they had bene seated before the conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of Sr. Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other famelies. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country, I never knew much of, by reason of my youth, at the time of his death, and my education in farre distant places, only in general I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had bene such a continued custome for my ancestors to take wives att home, that there was not  
 scarce

scarce a famely of any note in Suffex, to which they were not by intermarriages neerely related; but I was myselfe a stranger to them all, except my lord Goring, who living att court, I have sene with my father, and heard of him, because he was appoynted one of my father's executors, though he declin'd the trouble. My grandfather had seven sonnes, of which my father was the youngest; to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest, according to the custome of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good famely, and by her had only one sonne, whose mother dying, my uncle married himselfe againe to one of his own maides, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the sonne of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a greate while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a yeare to the eldest of his halfe brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a piece to the 3 for their lives. He died before I was borne, but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our famely; the rest of my father's brothers went into the warres in Ireland and the low countries, and there remain'd none of them, nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanelly, and their generations are worne out except two or three unregarded children. My father att the death of my grandfather being but a youth att schoole had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but putt himselfe into present

action, sold his annuitie, bought himselfe good clothes, put some mony in his purse, and came to London; and by meanes of a relation at court, got a place in the household of queen Elizabeth, where he behav'd himselfe so that he won the love of many of the court; but being younge tooke an affection to gaming, and spent most of the mony he had in his purse. About that time the earle of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quitt his idle court life, procur'd an employment from the Victualler of the Navie, to goe along with that fleete. In which voyage he demean'd himselfe with so much courage and prudence, that after his returne he was honor'd with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him, and he married her; but she not living many yeares with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserv'd a fatherly kindnesse, and some of her grand-children were brought up in his house after I was borne. He, by God's blessing, and his fidellity and industry, growing in estate and honor, receiv'd a knighthood from king James soone after his coming to the crowne, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood I cannot perfectly sett downe. After that growing into a familiarity with Sr. George Carew, made now by the king earle of Totnesse, a niece of this earls, the daughter of Sr. Peter Carew, who liv'd a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in  
love

love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procur'd a marriage betweene them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a sonne and a daughter, surviv'd her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widowhood a very disconsolate life, carefull for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the sonne and daughter, the deare pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himselfe of his employments abroad, and procur'd himselfe the office of victualler of the Navie, a place then both of credit and greate revenue. His friends, considering his solitude, had procur'd him a match of a very rich widow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this designe he chanc'd to see my mother, att the house of Sr. William St. John, who had married her eldest sister, and though he went on his journey, yett something in her person and behaviour, he carried along with him, which would not lett him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble famely, being the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiar Tregoz, in the county of Wiltz; her father and mother died when she was not above five yeares of age, and yett at her nurses, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honorable and excellent person, but married to a lady so ieaious of him, and so illnatured in her ieaious fits, to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers: the rest

of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were disperst to severall places, where they grew up till my uncle Sr. John St. John being married to the daughter of Sr. Thomas Laten, they were all againe brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautifull women found in any famely as these, but my mother was by the most iudgements prefer'd before all her eldest sisters, who, something envious att it, us'd her unkindly, yett all the suiters that came to them, still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation then the rest, hapned to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discretely, that my mother could not but entertaine him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindnesse for her, perswaded her to remooove herselfe from her sisters envie, by going along with her to Isle of Jersey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the towne, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learne the language, that minister having bene, by the persecution in France, driven to seek his shelter there. Contracting a deare friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better then our more superstitious service, that she could have bene contented to have liv'd there, had not a powerfull passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her returne she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had profess'd so much love to her, in her absence had bene, by most vile practices and treacheries, drawne out of his



his fences, and into the marriage of a person, whom when he recover'd his reason he hated: but that serv'd only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only adde that my mother liv'd in my uncle's house, secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindnesse of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seem'd to have but one soule. And in this kindnesse she had some time a greate follace, till some mallicious persons had wrought some jealoufies which were very groundlesse in my uncle, concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate iniured innocence, she was herselfe not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdraw herselfe into the island, where the good minister was, and there to weare out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixt upon it in her owne thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sr. William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he perswaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholly made her conforme chearfully to that gravity of habitt and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person; who was then 48 yeares of age, and she not above 16. The 1st yeare of their marriage was crown'd with a sonne, call'd after my father's name, and

borne at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's which belong'd to my father's employment in the navie: the next yeare they remov'd to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieutenant, and there had 2 sonns more before me and 4 daughters, and two sonns after: of all which only three sonns and two daughters surviv'd him at the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third yeare of his age, after he had three yeares before languisht of a consumption that succeeded a feaver which he gott in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhee.

“ He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewail'd by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never convers'd with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficiall; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it wan him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envie and mallice it was his custome to overcome with obligations. He had greate naturall parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightning of them by study of dead writings, but in the living bookes of men's conversations he soone became so skilfull that he was never mistaken but where his owne good would not lett him give credit to the evill he discern'd in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but for all that deserv'd it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such

such compassionate kindnesse their restraint, that the affection of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armies, and when through the ingratitude and vice of that age many of the wives and children of queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decayed fortunes till he was dead: many of these valliant seamen he maintained in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshin'd the rest, it was the generous liberallity of his mind, wherein goodnesse and greatnesse were so equally distributed that they mutually embelish't each other. Pride and covetousnesse had not the least place in his brest. As he was in love with true honor, so he contemn'd vaine titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper yeares he refused a barondry, which the king offer'd him. He was severe in the regulating of his famely, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his rooffe. There was nothing he hated more than an insignificant gallant, that could only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidellity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not

the least of his vertues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne or succeeding times. The large estate he reapt by his happie industry\*, he did many times over as freely resigne againe to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of itt at his death in the king's hands. All his vertues wanted not the crowne of all vertue, piety and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate famely could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty then he and my mother, who seem'd to be act'd by the same soule, so little did she grutch any of his liberallities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindnesse to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married; which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she lay'd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to

\* Mrs. Hutchinson, though a republican, does not fail justly to appreciate loyalty. The noble family of Bathurst, in which that of Apstey is merged by repeated marriages, will with good title claim this as their appropriate virtue of inheritance.

comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poore people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquir'd a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life\*. She was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was filled with distressed famelies of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children, was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekeday lectures and a greate lover and encourager of good ministers, and most dilligent in her private reading and devotions.

“ When my father was sick she

was not fatisfied with the attendance of all that were about him; but made herself his nurse, and cooke, and phisitian; and through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserv'd him a greate while longer then the phisitians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length when the Lord tooke him to rest she shew'd as much humility and patience, under that greate change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentifull and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the yeare 1659. The privelledge of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often revolv'd with greate thankfullnesse for the mercy, and humilliation that I did no more emprove it. After my mother had had three sons she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the weomen at my birth told her I was one, she received me with a great deale of ioy; and the nurse's fancying, because I had more complexion and favour then is usuall in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavour'd to nurse me. As soone as I was wean'd a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse, and I was taught to speake French and English together. My

\* This anecdote of sir Walter Rawleigh will no doubt attract the notice of the observant reader: it merits to be borne in mind, as it will account for a passage in the memoirs, where Mrs. Hutchinson is represented as acting the part of a surgeon in the siege of Nottingham-castle: and as the treatment sir Allen Apsley and his lady gave their prisoners forms a striking contrast with that which it will appear at the end of the history was practised by some of his successors, at a time when mildness seemed most requisite, and was most professed. Perhaps prejudice will render it incredible that in the Bastile of Paris, which has become a proverbial expression to signify cruel durance, the conduct of the murdered governor resembled that of sir Allen Apsley; it is nevertheless true.

mother, while she was with child of me, dreamt that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a starre came downe into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dreame signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vaine prophecies, wrought as farre as it could its own accomplishment\*: for my father and mother fancying me then beautifull, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spar'd no cost to emprove me in my education, which procur'd me the admiration of those that flatter'd my parents. By that time I was foure yeares old I read English perfectly, and having a greate memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeate them exactly, and being caref's'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 yeares of age, I remember I had att one time 8 tutors in severall quallities, languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my booke, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it preiudiced my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather

animated me then kept me back, and every moment I could steale from my play I would employ in any booke I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hower allow'd me to play, and then I would steale into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learne Latine, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers who were at schoole, allthough my father's chaplaine that was my tutor was a pitifull dull fellow. My brothers, who had a greate deale of witt, had some emulation at the progresse I made in my learning, which very well pleas'd my father, tho' my mother would have been contented, I had not so wholly addicted myselfe to that as to neglect my other quallities: as for musick and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertaine such as came to visitt me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions then their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myselfe with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a greate deale of

\* This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labors, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.

witt; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing roome, I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter againe to greate admiration of many that tooke my memory and imitation for witt. It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied my selfe to it, and to practise as I was taught: I us'd to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked: I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amorous sonnetts or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there was none of them but had many lovers and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these I have\*  
\* \* \* \* \*—Any one mention'd him to me, I told them I had forgotten those extravagancies of my infancy, and knew now that he and I were not equall: but I

could not for many yeares heare his name, without severall inward emotions \* \* \* Five years after me my mother had a daughter that she nurs'd at her owne brest, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my† \* \* \* \* \*

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*The Character of Colonel Hutchinson.—Written by his Widow.*

[From *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*]

“To my Children.”

“They who dote on mortall excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things fraile, their adored idols are taken from them, may lett loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assay'd to such mourners, commonly all objects are remov'd out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew their griefe; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivions curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view'd together with that which was most excellent; but I that am under a command not to grieve att the common rate of desolate woe-

\* At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

† This sentence appears to relate to some amour in which Mrs. H. was disappointed. Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

men\*, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more iust to your deare father nor consolatory to myselfe then the preservation of his memory, which I need not guild with such flattering commendations as the hired preachers doe equally give to the truly and ticularly honorable; a naked undrest narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantiall glorie, then all the panegyrics the best pens could ever consecrate to the vertues of the best men.

“Indeed that resplendant body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick cloud, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world’s weake eies, which I feare hath but few people in it so vertuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could make so large a progresse in the race of piety, honor, and vertue; but I am allmost stopt before I set forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himselfe more then

my unperfect arithmetick can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskillfull pen cannot describe. I feare to iniure that memory which I would honor, and to disgrace his name with a poore monument; but when I have beforehand layd this necessary caution, and ingeniously confes’d that through my inability either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefitt of all, and particularly his owne posterity, I must withhold a greate parte from them, I hope I shall be pardon’d for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightfull lovelinesse in it.

“Let not excesse of love and delight in the streame make us forgett the fountaine, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flow’d back into their owne spring; there lett us seeke them, thither lett us hasten after him; there having found him, lett us cease to bewaile among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortall; his soule convertt with God so much when he was here, that it reioyces to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his vertues were recorded in heaven’s annalls, and can never perish, by them he yett

\* The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises instead of depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader’s taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authorefs’s judgment and modesty to observe, that having shown her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.

teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive: 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive againe, nor would wee have them; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquisht them: our coniunction, if we had any with him, was undissoluble, if wee were knitt together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still, if wee were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodness, wee are so still; what is it then wee waile in his remoove? the distance? faithlesse fooles! sorrow only makes it; let us but ascend to God in holy ioy for the greate grace given his poore servant, and he is there with us. He is only remov'd from the mallice of his enemies, for which wee should not expresse love to him in being afflicted, wee may mourne for ourselves that wee come so tardily after him, that wee want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our tears did not putt out our eies wee should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of vertuous examples and precepts to light us through the darke world. It is time that I lett in to your knowledge that splendour which while it cheares and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glorie to God alone, who is the father and fountaine of all light and excellence.

“ Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest

treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, vertuous, honourable life, I would put his picture in the front of his booke\*, but my unskillfull hand will iniure him. Yet to such of you as have not seene him to remember his person, I leave this—

“ HIS DESCRIPTION.

“ He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportion'd shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hayr of a light browne, very thick sett in his youth, softer then the finest silke, curling into loose greate rings att the ends, his eies of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thinne, his mouth well made, and his lipps very ruddy and gracefull, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yett it was in such a manner as was not unbecomming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mold of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was rays'd and sharpe, but withall he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and maiesty mixt with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feete excellently well made, he was quick in his pace and turnes, nimble and active and gracefull in all his mo-

\* The editor is happy to have it in his power to do this in a manner that will be gratifying to the lovers of the arts. The original pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, with their two children, were found by him in their house at Owthorpe, and are now deposited, along with the manuscript, at Messrs. Longman's and Co.

tions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper yeares made any practise of it, he had skill in fencing such as became a gentle man, he had a greate love to musick, and often diverted himselfe with a violl, on which he play'd masterly, he had an exact eare and iudgement in other musick, he shott excellently in bowes and gunns, and much us'd them for his exercise, he had greate iudgment in paintings\*, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of vallue in all kinds, he tooke greate delight in perspective glasse, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the worke—he tooke much pleasure in improovement of grounds, in planting groves and walkes, and fruitetrees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds†; of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soone left it of; he was wonderful neate, cleanly and gentle in his habitt, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anie thing that was costly, yett in his plainest negligent habitt appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more addresse than force of body, yett the courage of his soule so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversa-

tion was very pleasant for he was naturally chearfull, had a ready witt and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withall very rationally, so that he was seldom overcome, every thing that it was necessary for him to doe he did with delight, free and unconstrain'd, he hated ceremonious complement, but yett had a naturall civillity and complaisance to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings and iourneyes, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatick, and had a long sicknesse and distemper occasion'd thereby two or three yeares after the warre ended, but else for the latter halfe of his life was healthy tho' tender, in his youthe and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weaknesse and tooth akes, but then his spiritts carried him through them; he was very patient under sicknesse or payne or any common accidents, but yett upon occasions, though never without iust ones, he would be very angrie, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yett he was never outrageous in passion; he had a very good facultie in perswading, and would speake very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his iudgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himselfe, but his inven-

\* There remained some few of these at Owthorpe unspoiled, but many were spoiled by neglect, at the death of the last possessor.

† Many traces of his taste, judgment, and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.



tion was so ready and wisdom so habituall in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himselfe of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not talkative yett free of discourse, of a very spare diet, not much given to sleepe, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else soe, in all his naturall and ordinary inclinations and compofure, there was something extraordinary and tending to vertue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spiritt and power in him that is not to be found in any copie drawne from him: to summe up therefore all that can be sayd of his outward frame and disposition wee must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnisht lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent vertues reign'd there awhile, till he was called back to the pallace of the universall emperor\*.

“ HIS VERTUES.

“ To number his vertues, is to give the epitome of his life †, which was nothing elce but a progresse from one degree of vertue to another, till in a short time he arriv'd to that height, which many longer lives could never reach, and had I but the power of rightly

disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive than all the rules of the best moralists, for his practice was of a more divine extraction, drawne from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spirit; therefore in the head of all his vertues, I shall sett that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royall blood that runs through the whole body of vertue, and every pretender to that glorious famely, who hath no tincture of it, is an imposter and a spurious bratt. This is that sacred fountain which baptizeth all the gentile vertues, that so immortalize the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated and take a new name and nature; dig'd up in the wildernesse of nature, and dipt in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the Paradise of God.

“ By Christianitie I intend that universall habitt of grace which is wrought in a soule by the regenerating spiritt of God whereby the whole creature is resign'd up into the divine will and love, and all its actions design'd to the obedience and glory of its maker. As soone as he had improv'd his naturall understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercis'd himselfe in, were principles of religion, and the first knowledge he labour'd for was a

\* Is not here Plato's system pourtray'd in language worthy of that sublime and eloquent philosopher?

† Highly panegyricall as the character Mrs. Hutchinson here gives of her husband may appear, yet every point of it will be completely exemplified in the narrative; but if the widow's fondness for his memory should have led her into some excess, who will blame it?

knowledge of God, which by a diligent examination of the scripture, and the severall doctrines of greate men pretending that ground he at length obtain'd. Afterward when he had layd a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of man's inventions in God's worship which his spirit burnt up in the day of their triall. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints\*. He hated persecution for religion, and was allways a champion for all religious people against all their greate oppressors. He detested all scoffes att any practice of worship though such a one as he was not persuaded of. Whatever he practiz'd in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience sake. As he hated out-sides in religion so could he worse endure those apostacies and those denials of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries, which timorous men practice under the name of prudent and just concessions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him as the fountaine of all his vertues, and diffusing itselfe into every streame, that of his prudence falls into the next mention. He from a child was wise, and sought to by many that might have bene his fathers for councell, which he could excellently give to himselfe and

others, and whatever crosse event in any of his affaires may give occasion to fooles to overlooke the wisdom of the designe, yett he had as greate a foresight, as strong a judgment, as cleare an apprehension of men and things as no man more. He had rather a firme impression than a greate memory, yett he was forgettful of nothing but injuries. His owne integritie made him credulous of other mens, till reason and experience convinc'd him, and as unapt to believe cautions which could not be receiv'd without entertaining ill opinions of men, yett he had wisdom enough never to committ himselfe to a traytor, though he was once wickedly betray'd by friends whom necessity and not mistake forc'd him to trust†. He was as ready to heare as to give councell, and never pertinacious in his will when his reason was convinc'd. There was no opinion which he was most settled in either concerning divine or humane things but he would patiently and impartially heare it debated. In matters of faith his reason allwayes submitted to the word of God, and what he could not comprehend he would believe because 'twas written, but in all other things, the greatest names in the world could never lead him without reason: he would deliberate when there was time, but never lost an opportunity of anie thing that was to be done by tedious dispute. He would heare as well as speake, and yett never spoke impertinently or unseasonably. He

\* Saints. An expression commonly used in that time to signify good and religious people.

† It is not known what peculiar transaction this refers to, though it may be conjectured to refer to the false protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Cooper at the restoration; whom he and many others trusted much against their will.

very well understood himselfe his owne advantages, naturall parts, gifts, and acquirements, yett so as neither to glorie of them to others, nor overvalue himselfe for them, for he had an excellent vertuous modesty, which shut out all vanity of mind, and yett admitted that true understanding of himselfe which was requisite for the best improovement of all his talents; he no lesse understood and was more heedfull to remarke his defects, imperfections, and disadvantages, but that too only to excite his circumspection concerning them, not to damp his spiritt in any noble enterprize. He had a noble spiritt of government, both in civill, military, and œcumenical \* administrations, which forc'd even from unwilling subjects a love and reverence of him, and endear'd him to the soules of those rejoyc'd to be govern'd by him. He had a native maiesty that struck an awe of him into the hearts of men, and a sweete greatnesse that commanded love. He had a cleare discerning of men's spirits, and knew how to give every one their iust weight, he contemned none that were not wicked, in whatever low degree of nature or fortune they were otherwise: where-ever he saw wisdom, learning, or other vertues in men, he honor'd them highly, and admir'd them to their full rate, but never gave himselfe blindly up to the conduct of the greatest master. Love itselfe, which was as powerfull in his as in any soule, rather quick'ned then blinded the eies of his iudgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most deare to him. His

soule ever reign'd as king in the internall throne, and never was captive to his sence; religion and reason, its two favour'd counsellors, tooke order that all the passions kept within their owne iust bounds, there did him good service, and further'd the publick weale. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisdom that he enjoyed, as he was a greate lover of that which advanc'd it, learning and the arts, which he not only honor'd in others, but had by his industry arriv'd to be himselfe a farre greater schollar then is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainments, but he no lesse evidenc'd his wisdom in knowing how to ranke and use them, then in gaining them. He had witt enough to have bene subtle and cunning, but he so abhord dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatnesse of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him from any, to retire into the shadow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant vertue in him, as which is so in its owne nature. He was as excellent in iustice as in wisdom—the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world could not prevaile on him to pervert iustice even to an enemy. He never profess'd the thing he intended not, nor promis'd what he believ'd out of his owne power, nor fail'd the performance of anie thing that was in his power, to fullfill. Never fearing anie thing he could suffer for the truth, he

\* Œcumenical—Domestick.

never at any time would refreine a true or give a false witneffe; he lov'd truth fo much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries. He was fo juft to his owne honour that he many times forbore things lawfull and delightfull to him, rather then he would give any one occasion of scandall. Of all lies he moft hated hipocrifie in religion, either to complie with changing governments or perfons, without a reall perfwafion of confcience, or to practife holy things to gett the applaufe of men or any advantage. —As in Religion fo in Friendship, he never profest love when he had it not, nor disguiz'd hate or averfion, which indeed he never had to any party or perfon, but to their fins: and lov'd even his bittereft enemies fo well, that I am witneffe how his foule mourn'd for them, and how heartely he desired their converfion. If he were defective in any part of iuftice, it was when it was in his power to punifh thofe who had iniur'd him, whom I have fo often knowne him to recompence with favours inftead of revenge, that his friends us'd to tell him if they had any occasion to make him favourably partiall to them they would provoke him by an iniury. He was as faithfull and constant to his friends as mercifull to his enemies: nothing griev'd him more than to be oblig'd, where he could not hope to returne itt. He that was a rock to all affaults of might and violence, was the gentleft eafie foule to kindneffe, that the leaft warme sparke of that melted him into anie thing that was not finfull. There never was a man more ex-

actly iuft in the performance of duties to all relations and all perfons. Honor, obedience, and love to his father, were fo naturall and fo lafting in him, that it is impoffible to imagine a better fonne than he was, and whoever would pray for a bleffing in children to any one, could but wifh them fuch a fonne as he\*. He never repin'd at his father's will in anie thing, how much foever it were to his preiudice, nor would endure to heare anie one fay his father was not fo kind to him as he might have bene, but to his dying day preferv'd his father's memory with fuch tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children ſhe brought his father, as he could not have bene more dearly concern'd in all their intereft if ſhe had bene his owne mother—which all things confider'd, although they were deferving perfons, was an example of piety and goodneffe that will not eafily be matcht. For coniugal affection to his wife, it was fuch in him, as whofoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindneffe, and religion, to be practiz'd in that eftate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man had a greater paffion for a woman, nor a more honourable efteme of a wife, yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that iuft rule which it was her honour to obey, but manag'd the reins of government with fuch prudence and affection that ſhe who would not delight in fuch an honourable and advantageable fubjection, muft have wanted a reasonable

\* This we fhall find called in queftion by his mother-in-law, and will be difcuff'd in the courfe of the hiftory.

soule; he govern'd by perswasion, which he never employ'd but to things honourable and profitable for herselfe; he lov'd her soule and her honor more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fooles: if he esteem'd her att a higher rate then she in herselfe could have deserv'd, he was the author of that vertue he doted on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shade. So liberall was he to her and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of sever'd purses: his estate being so much at her dispose that he never would receive an account of anie thing she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceast to be young and lovely, he began to shew most fondness, he lov'd her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot expresse, yet even this, which was the highest love he or anie man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he lov'd her in the Lord as his fellow creature, not his idoll, but in such a manner as shew'd that an affection bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He lov'd God above her and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glorie chearefully resign'd them. He was as kinde a father, as deare a brother, as good a master, and as faithfull a friend as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevail'd on him to indulge vice in

any the dearest person, but the more deare any was to him, the more was he offended at any thing that might take of the lustre of their glorie. As he had greatese-verity against errors and follies pertinaciously persued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spiritt that can be imagin'd to those who became sensible of their errors and frailties, although they had bene never so iniurious to himselfe.

“ Nor was his soule lesse shining in honour than in love. Pietie being still the bond of all his other vertue, there was nothing he durst not doe or suffer, but sin against God, and therefore as he never regarded his life in any noble and just enterprize, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surpriz'd, amaz'd, nor confounded with greatese difficulties or dangers, which rather serv'd to animate then distract his spirits: he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixt his purpose to entertaine both honourably, so that no accident ever disinay'd him, but he rather reioic'd in such troublesome conflicts as might signalize his generosity. A truer or more lively vallour there never was in anie man, but in all his actions, it ever marcht in the same file with wisdom. He understood well, and as well perform'd when he undertooke it, the military art in all parts of it: he naturally lov'd the employment as it suited with his active temper, more then any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that lov'd his conduct; and when he commanded souldiers, never was man more loved and revered by all that were under him: for he would

would never condescend to them in anie thing they mutinously fought, nor suffer them to seeke what it was fitt for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercis'd his authority no way but in keeping them to their iust duty, they ioy'd as much in his commands, as he in their obedience: he was very liberall to them, but ever chose iust times and occasions to exercise it. I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or lesse proud: he never disdain'd the meanest person nor flatter'd the greatest; he had a loving and sweete courtesie to the poorest, and would often employ many spare howers with the commonest souldiers and poorest labourers, but still so ordering his familiarity as it never rays'd them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him: he ever preserv'd himselfe in his owne rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that iust decorum which his honour oblig'd him to keepe up. He was as farre from envie of superiors as from contemning them that were under him: he was above the ambition of vaine titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevail'd upon him to advance one step that way; he lov'd substantiall not ayrie honor: as he was above seeking or delighting in emptie titles for himself, so he neither denied or envied any man's due precedency, but pittied those that tooke a glorie in that which had no foundation of vertue. As little did he seeke after popular

applaufe, or pride himselfe in it<sup>d</sup> if at any time it cried up his iust deserts; he more delighted to doe well then to be prays'd, and never sett vulgar commendations at such a rate, as to act contrary to his owne conscience or reason for the obtaining them, nor would forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever look'd on things as they were in themselves, not through the dimme spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was farre from a vaine affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that iust care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as carefull to avoyd the appearances of evill as evill itselfe; but if it were evill spoken of for truth or righteousness sake, he rejoyc'd in taking up the reproach; which all good men that dare beare their testimony against an evill generation must suffer. Though his zeale for truth and vertue, caus'd the wicked with the sharpe edges of their malicious tongues, to attempt to shave of the glories from his head, yett his honor springing from the fast roote of vertue, did but grow the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cut it\* of. He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankfull heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compasse for the exercise of his greate heart. He lov'd hospitallity as much as he hated riott: he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he tooke very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those

\* Samson and Dalilah,

things that were of meere pleasure, he lov'd not to aime at that he could not attaine: he would rather weare clothes absolutely plaine, then pretending to gallantry, and would rather chuse to have none then meane iewells or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity: he would rather give nothing then a base reward or present, and upon that score, liv'd very much retir'd, though his nature were very sociable and delighted in going into and receiving company; because his fortune would not allow him to doe it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride or vaine glory, nor diminish a general affability, curtesie, and civillity, that he had allwayes to all persons. When he was most exalted he was most mercifull and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquisht any enemy, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertain'd thoughts of love and kindnesse as soone as he ceast to be in a posture of opposition. He was as farre from meanness as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and shew'd his noble spiritt more in adversity then in his prosperous condition: he vanquisht all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast at him were theirs, not his, shame.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meate, drinke, apparell; pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoy'd, and herein his temperance

was more excellent then in others, in whom it is not so much a vertue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure; in him it was a true, wise, and religious government of the desire and delight he tooke in the things he enjoy'd. He had a certeine activity of spiritt which could never endure idlenesse either in himselfe or others, and that made him eager for the time he indulg'd it as well in pleasure as in businesse; indeed, though in his youth he exercis'd innocent sports a little while, yett afterwards his businesse was his pleasure; but how intent soever he were in anie thing, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something elce.— He had as much modesty as could consist with a true vertuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. Neither in youth nor riper age could the most faire or enticeing weomen ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familiarity or vaine converse or dalliance with them, yet he despis'd nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and vertuous weomen he lov'd, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandall or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhor'd, and though he sometimes tooke pleasure in witt and mirth, yett that which was mixt with impurity he never would endure. The heate of his youth a little inclin'd him to the passion of anger, and the goodnesse of his nature to those of love and grieve, but reason was never dethron'd by them, but  
continued

continued governess and moderator in his soul\*.”

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*Memoirs of Lope de Vega.*

[From Lord Holland's Account of his Life and Writings.]

“The wonders of Lope de Vega's life consist indeed more in the number of his productions than the singularity of his adventures; yet at an early period of life he was not exempt from that spirit of enterprise which pervaded all ranks and descriptions of his countrymen. His friend and encomiast Perez de Montalvan relates that at about the age of thirteen or fourteen he was impelled by restless a desire of seeing the world, that he resolved to escape from school; and having concerted his project with a school-fellow, they actually put it into execution. They had taken the precaution of providing some money for their expedition, but they had not been equally provident in calculating the duration of their finances; for, after buying a mule at Segovia, it was not till their arrival at Astorga that they perceived that the scantiness of their purse would not permit them to proceed any farther on their travels. This unforeseen difficulty disconcerted our young ad-

venturers, and they resolved to abandon their scheme as hastily as they had undertaken it. They had returned as far as Segovia, when the necessity of procuring money compelled them to offer some trinkets to sale at a silversmith's. The tradesman was a cautious Spaniard: he suspected that they had stolen the trinkets, and prudently conducted them before the magistrate of the place. He was fortunately a man of moderation, and confined the exercise of his authority to appointing a constable to conduct them back to Madrid.

“The admiration and surprise with which the wisdom of this decision and the small expence attending its execution are mentioned by Montalvan, are striking proofs that vexatious and expensive practices had already infected the administration of police in Spain.

“Lope, according to his biographers, betrayed marks of genius at a very early age, as well as a singular propensity to poetry. They assure us that at two years old these qualities were perceptible in the brilliancy of his eyes; that ere he attained the age of five he could read Spanish and Latin; and that before his hand was strong enough to guide the pen, he recited verses of his own composition, which he had the good fortune to barter for prints and toys with his playfellows. Thus even in his childhood he not only wrote po-

\* In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, “All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another assay.” And accordingly she proceeded to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characterisick*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written: “This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp.”

J. H.  
(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

etry,



etry, but turned his poetry to account; an art in which he must be allowed afterwards to have excelled all poets antient or modern. The date however of his early productions must be collected from his own assertions, from probable circumstances, and the corresponding testimony of his friends and contemporaries; for they were either not printed at the time, or all copies of the impression have long since been lost.

“He was born at Madrid on the 25th of November 1562: and as he informs us in the *Laurel de Apolo* that his father was a poet, we may conjecture that his example had its effect in deciding Lope’s early propensity to versification. He implies, however, in the same passage, that the discovery of his father’s talent was accidental and after his death. The exact period when that event happened is uncertain; but Lope was an orphan when he escaped from school, and before that time he had by his own account not only written verses, but composed dramas in four acts, which, as he tells us, was then the custom:

*El capitan Virues, insigne ingenio,  
Puso en tres actos la comedia, que antes  
Andaba en quatro como pies de nino,  
Que eran entonces ninas las comedias.—  
Y yo las escribí de onze y doce anos  
De a quatro actos, y de a quatro pliegos,  
Porque cada acto un pliego contenia.*

Plays of three acts we owe to Virues’ pen,  
Which n’er had crawl’d but on all fours  
till then;

An action suited to that helpless age,  
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the  
stage.

Such did I write ere twelve years yet had  
run,

Plays on four sheets, an act on every  
one.

“Upon his return to Madrid he abandoned this mode of composition, and ingratiated himself with the bishop of Avila by several pastorals, and a comedy in three acts called *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. In his prologue to the *Pelegrino*, where he enumerates the plays he had then published, this comedy is not mentioned; from which we must infer that he did not print it, or that it is there inserted by some other name; as it is extremely common for Spanish plays of that period to have two titles. His friend Montalvan represents the production of this comedy as an epoch in the annals of the theatre, and a prelude to the reform which Lope was destined to introduce. It is probable that during this interval, between school and university, he composed several juvenile poems, which he may have retouched at a period when his name was sufficient to make any performance acceptable to the public. But the obscurity in which this part of his life is involved seems to prove that his efforts for literary fame were not hitherto attended with any extraordinary success. He shortly after studied philosophy at Alcala; and Montalvan makes a pompous relation of the satisfaction and delight which the duke of Alva experienced in receiving the young poet among the crowds that thronged to pay him court, and of the eagerness with which he engaged him in his service upon his return from the university. A passage in the eclogue to Claudio implies that this event did not take place till after the unsuccessful expedition of the Armada. At any rate it does not appear what wonders he had hitherto perform-

ed to render his incense so peculiarly acceptable at so powerful a shrine, and the subsequent events of his life seem to contradict Montalvan's improbable relation. He wrote however his *Arcadia* at the instance of the duke of Alva. It is a mixture of prose and verse; of romance and poetry; of pastoral and heroic; the design of which was avowedly taken from Sannazaro, though its execution is pronounced by the Spanish critics to be decidedly superior to the model.

“Soon after he had executed the command of the duke of Alva, he left his service and married. The duties of matrimony did not interfere with his favourite studies, which he seems to have cultivated with increased enthusiasm, till an unfortunate event compelled him to quit Madrid and his newly-established family. A gentleman of considerable rank and importance having indulged his wit at the expense of Lope and his compositions, the poet was incensed, hitched his critic into verse, and exposed him to the ridicule of the town in a poem called *a Romance*. His antagonist took fire, and challenged him to a contest in which he hoped to meet a poet to greater advantage than in a war of wit; but Lope de Vega had not neglected his fencing-master in his education, and accordingly

Tomando ya la espada, ya la pluma,

Now taking up the sword, and now the pen,

wounded his adversary so severely, that his life was despaired of, and Lope compelled to fly. He fixed upon Valencia as the place of his retreat. Here he probably first

formed a friendship with Vicente Mariner a Latin poet of that town, whose muse was as prolific as that of Lope himself, and not more parsimonious of her praise. He wrote panegyrics on most contemporary poets, and composed those on Quevedo in Greek. Among the millions of lines preserved in the king of Spain's libraries, are to be found several to the honour and memory of Lope, and one written in answer to his enemies, which, if it does not leave a favourable impression of the manners or of the poetry of the author, proves that he made common cause with talents so congenial to his own. The unhappy critic who had ventured to attack the phoenix of Spain, was sufficiently refuted by being called an ass.

Voce onager, vultuque onager, pedibusque finuque,  
Ut nil non onagri nunc tua vita refert.

An ass in voice, face, feet, and senses too,  
Nothing remains that is not ass in you.

“It is to be hoped that the two bards employed themselves better at Valencia than in composing such strains as these.

“Lope returned to Madrid in a few years, when all apprehensions of evil consequences from his adventure were allayed. He was probably soothing his imagination with prospects of domestic happiness, which his late absence had suspended, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife. The residence of Madrid, which he had so lately regarded as the summit of his wishes, now became insupportable; and scenes which had long been associated in his mind with ideas of present comfort and future reputation served only to remind him of their  
loss.

loss. To fly from such painful recollections he hastily embarked on board the memorable Armada, which was then fitting out to invade our coasts. The fate of that expedition is well known; and Lope, in addition to his share in the difficulties and danger of the voyage, saw his brother, to whose society he had run for refuge in his late calamity, expire in his arms. If there be any truth in the supposition that poets have a greater portion of sensibility in their frames than other men, it is fortunate that they are furnished by the nature of their occupations with the means of withdrawing themselves from its effects. The act of composition, especially of verse, abstracts the mind most powerfully from external objects. The poet therefore has always a refuge within reach; by inventing fictitious distress, he may be blunting the poignancy of real grief; while he is raising the affections of his readers, he may be allaying the violence of his own, and thus find an emblem of his own susceptibility of impression in that poetical spear which is represented as curing with one end the wounds it had inflicted with the other. Whether this fanciful theory be true or not, it is certain that poets have continued their pursuits with ardour under the pressure of calamity. Some indeed assert that the genius of Ovid drooped during his banishment; but we have his own testimony, and what, notwithstanding all such criticisms, is more valuable, many hundreds of his verses, to prove that this event, however it might have depressed his spirits, riveted him to the habits of composition, and taught him to seek for consolation where he had hitherto

only found amusement. Thus, in an eclogue which the friendship of Pedro de Medina Medivilla consecrated to the memory of Lope's wife, the lamentations of the husband are supposed to have been actually furnished by our author. Two or three odes on the same subject are to be found in his works, and he informs us himself that during his unfortunate voyage he composed the *Hermosura de Angelica*, a poem which professes to take up the story of that princess where Ariosto had dropped it. The motive he assigns for this choice is curious. He found in Turpin that most of her remaining adventures took place in Spain, and, thinking it for the honour of his country, related them in twenty cantos.

“To complete what Ariosto had begun was no light undertaking, and the difficulty was not diminished by the publication only two years before of the poem on the same subject called *Las Lagrimas de Angelica*. This was written by Luis Barahona de Soto, and has always been esteemed one of the best poems in the Spanish language. It is mentioned with great praise by the curate in the examination of *Don Quixotte's* library.

“Such was the employment of Lope during this voyage of hardships, which, however alleviated, seem never totally to have been forgotten. The tyranny, cruelty, and above all the heresy of queen Elizabeth, are the perpetual objects of his poetical invective. When in 1602 he published this poem, written on board the Armada, he had the satisfaction of adding another on the death of a man who had contributed to complete the discomfiture of that formidable expedition.

The *Dragontea* is an epic poem on the death of sir Francis Drake; and the reader is informed, by a note in the first page, that wherever the word dragon occurs, it is to be taken for the name of that commander. Tyrant, slave, butcher, and even coward, are supposed to be so applicable to his character, that they are frequently bestowed upon him in the course of the work without the assistance of an explanatory note.

“He returned a second time to Madrid in 1590, and soon after married again.

“In 1598, on the canonization of St. Isidore, a native of Madrid, he entered the list with several authors, and overpowered them all with the number if not with the merit of his performances. Prizes had been assigned for every style of poetry, but above one could not be obtained by the same person. Lope succeeded in the hymns; but his fertile muse, not content with producing a poem of ten cantos in short verse, as well as innumerable sonnets and romances, and two comedies on the subject, celebrated by an act of supererogation both the faint and the poetical competition of the day, in a volume of sprightly poems under the feigned name of Tomé de Burguillos. These were probably the best of Lope’s productions on the occasion; but the concurring testimonies of critics agree that most of his verses were appropriate and easy, and that they far excelled those of his numerous competitors. This success raised him no doubt in the estimation of the public, to whom he was already known by the number and excellence of his dramatic writings. Henceforward the licences prefixed to his books do not

confine themselves to their immediate object, the simple permission to publish, but contain long and laboured encomiums upon the particular merit of the work, and the general character and style of the author. This was probably the most fortunate period of his life. He had not, it is true, attained the summit of his glory, but he was rising in literary reputation every day: and as hope is often more delightful than possession, and there is something more animating to our exertions while we are panting to acquire than when we are labouring to maintain superiority, it was probably in this part of his life that he derived most satisfaction from his pursuits. About this time also we must fix the short date of his domestic comforts, of which, while he alludes to the loss of them, he gives a short but feeling description in his *Eclogue to Claudio*:

Yo vi mi pobre mesa in testimonio,  
Cercada y rica de fragmentos míos,  
Dulces y amargos rios  
Del mar del matrimonio,  
Y vi pagando su fatal tributo,  
De tan alegre bien tan triste luto.

“The expressions of the above are very difficult, if not impossible, to translate, as the metaphors are such as none but the Spanish language will admit. The following is rather a paraphrase than a translation.

I saw a group my board surround,  
And sure to me, though poorly spread,  
’Twas rich with such fair objects crown’d,  
Dear bitter presents of my bed!  
I saw them pay their tribute to the tomb,  
And scenes so cheerful change to mourning  
and to gloom.

“Of the three persons who formed

ed this family group, the son died at eight years and was soon followed by his mother; the daughter alone survived our poet. The spirit of Lope seems to have sunk under such repeated losses. At a more enterprising period of life, he had endeavoured to drown his grief in the noise and bustle of a military life; he now resolved to sooth it in the exercise of devotion. Accordingly, having been secretary to the Inquisition, he shortly after became a priest, and in 1609 a sort of honorary member of the brotherhood of St. Francis. But devotion itself could not break in upon his habits of composition; and as he had about this time acquired sufficient reputation to attract the envy of his fellow poets, he spared no exertions to maintain his post, and repel the criticisms of his enemies. Among these the Spanish editors reckon the formidable names of Gongora and Cervantes."—

“Before the death of Cervantes, which happened on the same day as that of Shakespeare, the admiration of Lope was become a species of worship in Spain. It was hardly prudent in any author to withhold incense from his shrine, much less to interrupt the devotion of his adherents. Such indeed was their intolerance, that they gravely asserted that the author of the *Spongia*, who had severely censured his works, and accused him of ignorance of the Latin language, deserved nothing short of death for such literary heresy. Nor was Lope himself entirely exempt from the irritability which is supposed to attend poets; he often speaks with peevishness of his detractors, and answers their criticisms, sometimes in a querulous, and some-

times in an insolent tone. The word Vega in Spanish signifies garden. In the title-page of his book was engraved a beetle expiring over some flowers, which he is upon the point of attacking. That the emblem might not be misunderstood, this distich was also subjoined.

Audax dum Vegæ irrupit scarabæus  
in hortis,  
Fragrantis perit victus odore rosæ.

At Vega's garden as the beetle flies,  
O'erpower'd with sweets the daring insect dies.

“The vanity of the above conceit is at least equal to the wit.

“But in the prologue to the *Pelgrino*, and in some posthumous poems, he most unreasonably complains of the neglect, obscurity, and poverty in which his talents have been left. How are the expectations of genius ever to be fulfilled, if Lope, laden with honours and with pensions, courted by the great, and followed by the crowd, imagined that his fortunes were unequal to his deserts?

“He seldom passed a year without giving some poem to the press; and scarcely a month or even a week without producing some play upon the stage. His *Pastores de Belen*, a work in prose and verse on the Nativity, had confirmed his superiority in pastoral poems; and rhymes, hymns and poems without number on sacred subjects had evinced his zeal in the profession he embraced. Philip IV., the great patron of the Spanish theatre, to which he afterwards is said to have contributed compositions of his own, at the era of his accession found Lope in full possession of the stage, and in the exercise of

unlimited authority over the authors, comedians, and audience. New honours and benefices were immediately heaped on our poet, and in all probability he wrote occasionally plays for the royal palace. He published about the same time *Los Triumphos de la Fe*; *Las Fortunas de Diana*; three novels in prose (unsuccessful imitations of Cervantes); *Circe*, an heroic poem, dedicated to the count duke of Olivarez; and *Philomena*, a singular but tiresome allegory, in the second book of which he vindicates himself in the person of the nightingale from the accusation of his critics, who are there represented by the thrush.

“Such was his reputation that he began to distrust the sincerity of the public, and seems to have suspected that there was more fashion than real opinion in the extravagance of their applause. This engaged him in a dangerous experiment, the publication of a poem without his name. But whether the number of his productions had gradually formed the public taste to his own standard of excellence, or that his fertile and irregular genius was singularly adapted to the times, the result of this trial confirmed the former judgment of the public; and his *Soliloquies to God*, though printed under a feigned name, attracted as much notice and secured as many admirers as any of his former productions. Emboldened probably by this success, he dedicated his *Corona Tragica*, a poem on the queen of Scots, to pope Urban VIII., who had himself composed an epigram on the subject. Upon this occasion he received from that pontiff a letter written in his own hand, and the

degree of doctor of theology. Such a flattering tribute of admiration sanctioned the reverence in which his name was held in Spain, and spread his fame through every catholic country. The cardinal Barberini followed him with veneration in the streets; the king would stop to gaze at such a prodigy; the people crowded round him wherever he appeared; the learned and the studious thronged to Madrid from every part of Spain to see this phoenix of their country this ‘monster of literature;’ and even Italians, no extravagant admirers in general of poetry that is not their own, made pilgrimages from their country for the sole purpose of conversing with Lope. So associated was the idea of excellence with his name, that it grew in common conversation to signify any thing perfect in its kind; and a Lope diamond, a Lope day, or a Lope woman, became fashionable and familiar modes of expressing their good qualities. His poetry was as advantageous to his fortune as to his fame: the king enriched him with pensions and chaplaincies, the pope honoured him with dignities and preferments: and every nobleman at court aspired to the character of his Mæcenas, by conferring upon him frequent and valuable presents. His annual income was not less than 1500 ducats, exclusive of the price of his plays, which Cervantes insinuates that he was never inclined to forego, and Montalvan estimates at 80,000. He received in presents from individuals as much as 10,500 more. His application of these sums partook of the spirit of the nation from which he drew them. Improvident and indiscriminate charity ran away  
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with these gains, immense as they were, and rendered his life unprofitable to his friends and uncomfortable to himself. Though his devotion gradually became more fervent, it did not interrupt his poetical career. In 1630 he published the *Laurel de Apolo*, a poem of inestimable value to the Spanish *philologists*, as they are called in the jargon of our day, for it contains the names of more than 330 Spanish poets and their works. They are introduced as claimants for the Laurel, which Apollo is to bestow; and as Lope observes of himself that he was more inclined to panegyric than to satire, there are few or any that have not at least a strophe of six or eight lines devoted to their praise. Thus the multitude of Castilian poets, which at that time was prodigious, and the exuberance of Lope's pen, have lengthened out to a work of ten books, or *sylvas*, an idea which has often been imitated in other countries, but generally confined within the limits of a song. At the end of the last *sylva* he makes the poets give specimens of their art, and assures us that many equalled Tasso, *and even approached Ariosto* himself; a proof that this celebrated Spanish poet gave the preference to the latter. After long disputes for the laurel, the controversy at length ends, as controversies in Spain are apt to do, in the interference of the government; and Apollo agrees to refer the question to Philip IV., whose decision, either from reserve in the judge, or from modesty in the relator, who was himself a party concerned, is not recorded. Facts however prove that our poet could be no loser by this change of tribunal. He con-

tinued to publish plays and poems, and to receive every remuneration that adulation and generosity could bestow, till the year 1635, when religious thoughts had rendered him so hypochondriac that he could hardly be considered as in full possession of his understanding. On the 22d of August, which was Friday, he felt himself more than usually oppressed in spirits and weak with age; but he was so much more anxious about the health of his soul than of his body, that he would not avail himself of the privilege to which his infirmities entitled him, of eating meat; and even resumed the flagellation, to which he had accustomed himself, with more than usual severity. This discipline is supposed to have hastened his death. He fell ill on that night, and having passed the necessary ceremonies with excessive devotion, he expired on Monday the 26th of August, 1635.

“The sensation produced by his death, was, if possible, more astonishing than the reverence in which he was held while living. The splendour of his funeral, which was conducted at the charge of the most munificent of his patrons, the duke of Sesa, the number and language of the sermons on that occasion, the competition of poets of all countries in celebrating his genius and lamenting his loss, are unparalleled in the annals of poetry, and perhaps scarcely equalled in those of royalty itself. The ceremonies attending his interment continued for nine days. The priests described him as a saint in his life, and represented his superiority over the classics in poetry as great as that of the religion which he professed was over the heathen.”

*Character of Dr. Beattie, and his Writings, from his Life by Sir William Forbes.*

They who have perused, with any degree of attention, the preceding narrative of the life of Dr. Beattie, and his letters to his friends, will not require much to be said to give them a sufficient idea of his character.

That he was a poet and a philosopher of real and original genius, his writings, in the possession of the public, are the strongest testimonies. The sweetness and harmony of his numbers, the richness of his fancy, and the strictness of moral inculcated in his poetical compositions, are such as will long secure to him a high degree of reputation. His best and most valuable poem is his "Minstrel;" in the delineation of whose character it is generally, and I believe with truth, understood that he depicted his own.

His essays on "Poetry and Music," on "Memory and Imagination," on "Fable and Romance," "The Theory of Language," and some others are strongly calculated to give pleasure, as well as instruction, to every enlightened and cultivated understanding; and do equal credit to the elegance of Dr. Beattie's taste, and the correctness of his judgment. Eminently skilled in the languages of antiquity, he had formed that taste, and matured that judgment, on the purest models of Greek and Roman literature. He had studied, also, with

attention, the most classical compositions in our own language. Nor was he unacquainted with the works of the celebrated authors of France and Italy. His memory was uncommonly strong, and his knowledge of books was extensive; so that to him might, without impropriety, be applied, what Johnson says of his friend Gilbert Walmley; "His studies had been so various, that I am not able to name a man of equal knowledge. His acquaintance with books was great; and what he did not immediately know, he could at least tell where to find." What Johnson likewise says of his obligations to Walmley, I may, with equal truth, apply to myself in respect to Dr. Beattie; "Such was his amplitude of learning, and such his copiousness of communication, that it may be doubted, whether a day now passes in which I have not some advantage from his friendship\*.

There were, indeed, few branches of science with which he was not in some degree conversant, except mathematics, geometry, and mechanics; for which he used to say, he not only had no turn, but that every application to them brought on his head aches. His chief acquirements were in moral science. In religion, his favourite books, besides the English liturgy†, were Butler, Clarke, Secker, Porteus. Of the classics, Homer, Horace, Cæsar, and, above all, Virgil.

His prose writings were far

\* Johnson's lives of the English Poets. Vol. iii. p. 36. Life of Smith.

† It is deserving of notice, that although Dr. Beattie had been brought up a member of the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and regularly attended her worship and ordinances when at Aberdeen, he yet gave the most decided preference to the church of Eng-



from being calculated merely to amuse the fancy and delight the imagination; they were admirably fitted to improve and mend the heart. Of his celebrated "Essay on Truth," which laid the foundation of his fame as an author, an analysis will be found in the appendix. In that essay, as has been shown by his correspondence with his philosophical friends, it was his professed aim to combat the fashionable philosophy of the sceptics of his day; and it may be said, I believe with justice, that this work of Dr. Beattie's did much towards bringing that philosophy into the discredit in which it is now sunk.

Of his "Evidences of Christianity" mention has already been made; and it is perhaps the most popular, as it is certainly among the most useful, of his prose writings.

As a teacher of ethics, some idea

may be formed of his abilities, as well as of his system, from his "Elements of Moral Science," which he published originally for the use of his pupils, but which may be perused with advantage by every one who wishes to gain some knowledge of the subject without toiling through elaborate systems of moral philosophy. Those, however, who had the benefit of his tuition, can best tell of his merit as an instructor of youth. Some of them I have heard expatiate with delight, on the unwearied pains he bestowed, not by the mere formal delivery of a lecture, but by the continued course he pursued of examination and repetition, to imprint the precepts of philosophy and religion on the minds of the youth committed to his charge\*. As a professor, not his own class only, but the whole body of students at the university, looked up to him with esteem and veneration.

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land, generally attending the service of that church when any where from home, and constantly when at Peterhead. He spoke with enthusiasm of the beauty, simplicity, and energy of the English liturgy, especially of the litany, which he declared to be the finest piece of uninspired composition in any language.

\* I have been enabled to give the following interesting and satisfactory account of his mode of teaching, by two gentlemen who had been his pupils, to whom I applied for that purpose, and who, without any mutual communication, furnished me with the substance of the following detail, nearly in similar words.

The ordinary session, or term of teaching, commences in Marischal College on the first day of November, and ends the first week of April. During that term, the professor of moral philosophy teaches in his class three hours every week day, viz. at eight o'clock in the morning, at eleven in the forenoon, and at three in the afternoon, except on Tuesdays and Fridays, when there is no teaching in the afternoon. Dr. Beattie began his course of prelections with "Cicero de Officiis." Of that excellent treatise, he generally made his students carefully read and translate a part every day, at the hour of meeting in the morning. On the passage then read, the professor commented at the next hour of meeting, comparing it with the other systems of the ancient Heathen philosophers. He also, from time to time, examined them on the subject of these lectures; and at the end of this introductory course, he dictated to them an abstract of the whole, which they committed to writing in the class.

He then entered on the study of *Pneumatology*, subdivided into *Psychology*, and *Natural Theology*; *Speculative* and *Practical Ethics*, *Economics*, *Jurisprudence*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Logic*: of all which branches of philosophy, he, in the same manner, dictated in the morning an abstract, on which, as on a text-book, he commented at his lectures in the forenoon and afternoon, in the clearest, most lively, and most engaging manner,

examinin-

The profound piety of the public prayers, with which he began the business of each day, arrested the attention of the youngest and most thoughtless : the excellency of his moral character, his gravity blended with cheerfulness, his strictness joined with gentleness, his favour to the virtuous and diligent, and even the mildness of his reproofs to those who were less attentive, rendered him the object of their respect and admiration. Never was more exact discipline preserved than in his class, nor ever any where by more gentle means. His sway was absolute, because it was founded in reason and affection. He never employed a harsh epithet in finding fault with any of his pupils; and when, instead of a rebuke, which they were conscious they deserved, they met merely with a mild reproof, it was conveyed in such a manner, as to throw not only the delinquent, but sometimes the whole class, into tears. To gain his favour was the highest ambition of every student; and the gentlest word of disapprobation was a punishment, to avoid which, no exertion was deemed too much.

His great object was not merely to make his pupils philosophers,

but to render them good men, pious christians, loyal to their king, and attached to the British constitution; pure in morals, happy in the consciousness of a right conduct, and friends to all mankind.

Nor did he confine his care of his students solely to their instruction while they attended his course of lectures. It was his peculiar delight to assist them in finding situations for their future establishment in life; which he had it often in his power to promote, by being frequently applied to by parents and others to procure for them schoolmasters and teachers, whom his knowledge of the genius and abilities of the young men, who had been his pupils, peculiarly enabled him to discover and recommend.

No stronger proof need be required of the high degree of estimation in which Dr. Beattie's talents and virtues were held by men of learning, both at home and abroad, than his having been spontaneously elected an honorary member of the following societies: "The Zealand Society of Science;"—"The American philosophical Society at Philadelphia;" "The literary and philosophical Society of Manchester." Dr. Beattie

examining his pupils, as he went along, on the attention they had paid to, and the benefit they had derived from, his lectures. At first he was wont to dictate the abstract of his prelections in Latin, from which his pupils, who were tolerable proficient in classical learning, derived much advantage; as they acquired thereby the habit of speaking and writing that language more readily than they had been accustomed to. But as many of his students were far from being masters of Latin, which he himself spoke and wrote with great fluency, he found it necessary to discontinue this practice, and to dictate the abstract of his whole course in English. After the publication of the "Elements of Moral Science," which comprehended the whole of this abstract, it became unnecessary for him to spend, as formerly, one hour each day in dictating notes to his students. He continued, however, in reading the Greek and Latin classics, to make them translate as literally as the genius of the English language would permit; which, in his opinion, was not at all incompatible with that intelligence and taste, wherewith even a philosopher peruses those excellent originals, when he wishes to enter fully into their beauties, and duly to estimate their respective and various merits.

was also a fellow of "the royal society of Edinburgh."

The style of his lectures may be judged of by that of the compositions which he has given to the world: and in both cases the best quality of it was, that it was the style of a man who spoke and wrote in "simplicity and in earnest." The language in which he was to write he studied profoundly. He has himself said, that the qualities at which he chiefly aimed were perspicuity, simplicity, and elegance; and knowing how well these were attainable by the genuine purity of the English language, he was a decided enemy to all innovations in writing, by the introduction of new words and affected phraseology. Of all our English writers, Addison was the author whom he most admired; whose style, therefore, he most carefully studied, and which he adopted as his model in composition. In his earlier writings the effect of this admiration is visible: but afterwards, when success had taught him a little more confidence in his own powers, he seems occasionally to lose sight of his model, and to break forth into a fulness of expression which reminds us of the force and freedom of the prefaces of Dryden. One undoubted excellence of his style is variety, its power of expressing whatever he thought or felt, and of communicating to the reader the same thoughts and the same sentiments. On moral subjects, it is grave and manly: on subjects of science and philosophy, it is pure and perspicuous to a degree that has seldom been equalled: but on subjects where his heart or his imagination are interested, it rises to greater

richness and elevation, and abounds in those delicate but undefineable touches of fancy and of feeling which characterize the works of the masters in composition, and which are never attainable by ordinary writers. Yet in thus aiming at simplicity, he was far from losing sight of sublimity of diction, of which many striking instances in his prose writings will occur to every attentive reader.

Throughout the whole course of his life, Dr. Beattie was most exemplary in the discharge of the relative duties of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, and a friend. Of his conduct towards his unhappy wife, it is impossible to speak in terms of too high commendation. It has already been mentioned, that Mrs. Beattie had the misfortune to inherit from her mother that most dreadful of all human ills, a distempered imagination, which, in a very few years after their marriage, showed itself in caprices and folly, that embittered every hour of his life, while he strove at first to conceal her disorder from the world, and if possible, as he has been heard to say, to conceal it even from himself; till at last from whim, and caprice, and melancholy, it broke out into downright insanity, which rendered her seclusion from society absolutely necessary. During every stage of her illness, he watched and cherished her with the utmost tenderness and care; using every means at first, that medicine could furnish, for her recovery, and afterwards, when her condition was found to be perfectly hopeless, procuring for her every accommodation and comfort that could tend to alleviate her sufferings. When I reflect on the many  
sleepless

sleepless nights and anxious days which he experienced from Mrs. Beattie's malady, and think of the unwearied and unremitting attention he paid to her, during so great a number of years, in that sad situation, his character is exalted in my mind to a degree which may be equalled, but I am sure can never be excelled, and makes the fame of the poet and the philosopher fade from my remembrance.

The strictness and regularity of Dr. Beattie's piety was shown, not merely by a regular attendance, while his health permitted, on the public ordinances of religion, but by the more certain and unequivocal testimony of private devotion. I have been informed by his niece, Mrs. Glennie, that after he had retired at night to his chamber, she frequently overheard his voice rendered audible in the ardour of prayer. And she has also told me, that even throughout the day, when she knew his spirits to be more than usually depressed, while he thought himself alone, she could occasionally perceive that he was offering up his orisons to heaven with the utmost fervour. His pious resignation to the divine will, under some of the hardest trials that "flesh is heir to," was indeed but too severely proved during the greatest part of his life; but it is consoling to know that it was not tried in vain.

Great tenderness of heart, and the keenest sensibility of soul, qualities very frequently the concomitants of genius, were eminently conspicuous in the character of Dr. Beattie. They rendered him "tremblingly alive" to the sorrows and the sufferings of others, and produced in him the warmest

emotions of friendship, with an earnest desire to perform every service in his power to all within his reach.

It must not be dissembled, at the same time, that Dr. Beattie was not altogether free from prejudices; but they were most commonly prejudices of an amiable kind. He loved virtue wherever he found it; and as he had the happiness of numbering among his friends some of the best and most accomplished characters of the age in which he lived, he returned their kindness with ardour and enthusiasm. If there was an affection of his nature more strong than any other, it was that of gratitude. To those, therefore, who had spontaneously undertaken to promote his interest, he thought he never could declare too strongly the sense he entertained of their kindness. This sentiment, which on every occasion he proclaimed so loudly, he did not confine to mere expressions of gratitude for favours conferred on him: it led him to form a judgment even of their writings, if they were literary characters, which could not but be considered as sometimes a good deal exaggerated. In the same manner, instances might be produced where he had carried antipathies to particular persons, and to their writings, somewhat beyond the measure of due discretion. In both cases, however, it was very readily allowed that he never uttered a syllable, either of commendation or dislike, which he himself did not believe to be perfectly well founded.

It is a curious circumstance, that although when at school and college he had been admired and loved by his companions for his mild and gentle

gentle disposition, it was remarked by his most intimate friends, at a more advanced period of life, that he had become not a little irritable by a continued application to metaphysical controversy. This habit, however, respected authors rather than men; and as it gave little or no disturbance to those around him, was easily overlooked by his friends, in the multitude of his amiable qualities, and was often rather a subject of pleasantry to them than otherwise.

In his disposition he was humane and charitable. And it has been told of him by his family, that no suppliant, to his knowledge, ever went from his door unsatisfied.

I have already remarked, that he was a passionate admirer of the beauties of nature; delighting to walk out into the fields, sometimes in the company of a friend, but more frequently by himself, either when oppressed by those violent head-aches, to which he had been subject from his youth, or when struggling under the weight of domestic affliction. In those solitary walks it was that he was wont to indulge in silent and profound meditation on the studies on which he was engaged. In committing his thoughts to paper, afterwards, he was laborious in the extreme; very rarely making use of an amanuensis, but constantly and repeatedly transcribing his works in his correct, neat, and beautiful hand-writing.

Dr. Beattie was fond of society; and, while Mrs. Beattie's health permitted her to appear, he saw a good deal of company, and much enjoyed the pleasure of having his friends with him at his table, chiefly at dinner, except when he had musical parties at night. But he had

a great dislike to cards, which, however, he expressed in the gentlest manner, by saying with much good humour, that he never had capacity sufficient to learn any game. To chess he had a real aversion, as occasioning, in his opinion, a great waste of time, and requiring an useless application of thought.

His conversation on moral and literary subjects was in the highest degree instructive and entertaining; and so much was his company valued and sought after, that in his best days he was not able to comply with half the invitations he received from persons eminent for their rank, character, and learning. In the midst of a select party of his private friends, and in his little domestic circle, he was uncommonly cheerful, animated, and pleasant, indulging himself in frequent sallies of playful but innocent mirth. He was even fond of the amusement of a pun; in which, however, it must be confessed he was not always very successful. He wished, indeed, to be thought to possess a certain degree of wit and humour, especially when in company with some of our mutual friends, such as major Mercer and Mr. Arbuthnot, who were endowed with more of these qualities than almost any man I ever knew, but in which doctor Beattie followed them "*haud passibus æquis.*"

His mornings, during the winter season of the university, were chiefly employed in attendance on his class, and in taking the exercise necessary for his health, sometimes on horseback, but more frequently on foot, for he took particular delight in walking. The evening, when not engaged with company, was his time for serious study:

study: but after supper he dedicated his hours to the amusement of his family, by reading aloud such books of entertainment as came occasionally in his way, or in social conversation; and to the young people around him he was always exceedingly indulgent. During the summer, as he was not engaged with the business of the college, he could afford to devote more of his hours to study; yet still he dedicated a considerable portion of his time to exercise, and to the society of his friends. As an exercise, he was fond of archery, and used it long enough to arrive at some dexterity in the practice, until he grew so corpulent that it fatigued him, and this obliged him to lay it aside.

Although Dr. Beattie's acquaintance in early life had been of the humblest sort, and even after his removal from the parochial school of Fordoun to Aberdeen, had been of a rank very inferior to that in which he came afterwards to be introduced, yet he shewed no awkwardness of behaviour in the most exalted and polished circles. And it must be recorded to his praise, that notwithstanding he had been caressed by the great and the learned in England, in a degree beyond most authors of his day, he returned to his native country unspoiled by prosperity, and as humble and unassuming in his manners as he had left it.

To a very correct and refined taste in judging of poetry, painting, and music, he added the rare

accomplishment of some actual practice in each. Of his skill in poetical composition enough has been already said. Of music he was remarkably fond. He loved all kinds of good music, but especially that of the old school, and the simple but enchanting melodies of our own country. His favourite masters were Corelli, Handel, Purcell, Pergolesi, Geminiani, Avifon, Jackson. He not only understood music, but he occasionally amused himself by composing basses and second parts to some of his favourite airs. He was delighted with the organ, on which he often played simple harmonies; and he performed with taste and expression on the violincello. He sung a little; but his voice was loud, and deficient in mellowness. In his best days, he was a regular attendant, and an useful director, of the weekly concert at Aberdeen, where he was generally, at the same time, a performer on the violincello\*. In the other sister art of painting, he excelled in drawing grotesque figures and caricatures of striking resemblance; although in this last talent he very sparingly indulged himself, and at an early period of life laid it entirely aside. Once in company with a few friends he drew three or four of these for our amusement, as we sat at table, which I carried away with me, by his permission; and I presume they are the only specimens of his excellence in that species of design now existing. I believe I may say,

\* His musical entertainment was once unluckily suspended, by his accidentally cutting the tendon of the middle finger of the left hand, so necessary in the use of that instrument. But in time he arrived at the dexterity of performing all the stops, readily and accurately, with the three remaining fingers. Although he ceased to perform any longer in public, he continued to amuse himself and his friends in private as before, until after the death of his sons.

that although I have known many who could practise two of the sister arts variously combined, such as poetry and music, or painting and poetry, Dr. Beattie is the sole instance, of my acquaintance at least, of a person who possessed the happy talent of being able to practise, with some success, in all the three.

It has been sometimes said, I believe, that Dr. Beattie, in the latter part of his life, indulged rather too much in the use of wine. In one of his letters he intimates that he found it necessary as a medicine. "My health," says he, (writing to Mr. Arbuthnot), "for these ten days past, has been declining very fast. With the present pressure upon my mind, I should not be able to sleep, if I did not use wine as an opiate. It is less hurtful than laudanum, but not so effectual." Wine used for this sad purpose might sometimes possibly exceed its due limits. Had this really been the case, who would be much surprised, when it is considered that, in the decline of his life, almost every day was embittered by the unfortunate derangement of his wife, by the loss of both his sons, by his own increasing maladies of body, and the deepening depression of his mind? Who would wonder (though every one would lament) if, under such extraordinary circumstances, recourse should sometimes be had to the cordial powers of wine to blunt the edge of pain, and deaden the sense of sufferings, too acute to be borne? Over failings arising from such sources as these, (even if they had been real) the hand of pity and charity would draw the veil of silence and oblivion. Yet I must

solemnly declare, that although I have often seen him in the hours both of melancholy and gaiety, and although he has occasionally resided at our house for weeks together, I never once saw him disposed to any excess of this kind.

In his person, Dr. Beattie was of the middle size, though not elegantly, yet not awkwardly formed, but with something of a slouch in his gait. His eyes were black and piercing, with an expression of sensibility, somewhat bordering on melancholy, except when engaged in cheerful and social intercourse with his friends, when they were exceedingly animated. As he advanced in years, and became incapable of taking his usual degree of exercise, he grew corpulent and unweildy, till within a few months of his death, when he had greatly decreased in size. When I last saw him, the diminution of his form was but too prophetic of the event that soon followed.

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*Character of Bennet Langton, Esq.*

*From the same.*

BENNET LANGTON, esq. of Langton, in the county of Lincoln, LL.D. a gentleman no less eminent for his virtues than for his ardent love of literature. Inheriting a paternal fortune that rendered him independent of any profession, he devoted himself to the study of letters, which he cultivated with uncommon assiduity, first at the grammar schools of Henington, Reading, and Beverly, afterwards at Trinity-college, Oxford. His favourite study was Greek,

Greek, in which he became very learned; he was an excellent Latin scholar, and had even acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew. He had a thorough acquaintance with the French language, and read also the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

But his successful and extraordinary acquirements in literature were by no means the most remarkable parts of Mr. Langton's character. His exemplary piety, his singular humility, and unwearied endeavours in the exercise of the great duties of charity and benevolence, were his brightest ornaments. It was the emphatic testimony of Dr. Johnson in his favour, "I know not who will go to heaven if Langton does not: fir, I could almost say, *Sit anima mea cum Langtono\**," and when Mr. Boswell, to whom the doctor made the remark, mentioned a very eminent friend of theirs as a virtuous man, Johnson's reply was, "Yes, fir, but he has not the evangelical virtue of Langton." On another occasion he said to Mr. Boswell, with a vehemence of affectionate regard,—“The earth does not bear a worthier man than Bennet Langton †.”

His acquaintance with Dr. Johnson commenced in a manner somewhat singular. When Mr. Langton was no more than sixteen years of age, and before he went to the university, having read, with a high degree of admiration, Dr. Johnson's celebrated "Rambler," which was first published about that period, he travelled to London, chiefly with a view of becoming

acquainted with its author. In this he succeeded; and Johnson being struck with his great piety, love of learning, and suavity of manners, conceived a warm affection for him; while he, on the other hand, was charmed with Dr. Johnson, whose ideas and sentiments he found congenial with those he had early imbibed at home. From that period, notwithstanding a considerable disparity of years, a most intimate friendship took place between them, which lasted, without the slightest interruption, as long as Johnson lived. When the death of his inestimable friend drew near, Mr. Langton attended him constantly, and soothed some of his last hours with the most pleasing and affectionate assiduity. Once, when Mr. Langton was sitting by his bedside, Dr. Johnson is said to have seized his hand, and to have exclaimed with great emphasis—*“Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.”*

Nor did this amiable person, with all his attachment to literature, shut himself up in his library, or pass his time in literary indolence. Having engaged in that constitutional defence of his country, the militia, he laid aside his classical studies for a time, and resolved to make himself thoroughly master of military tactics. In this pursuit he employed himself with such assiduity, that in no long period he became an excellent officer. He acquired the esteem and admiration of his brother officers, not only by his worth and learning, but by his elegant manners, and an inexhaustible fund of entertaining conversation; while he procured the love

\* Boswell's Life of Johnson, 3d ed. vol. IV. p. 294.

† Ibid. vol. III. p. 175.



of the soldiers by his mildness and humanity, which were so great, that he was never in a single instance betrayed into passion, nor ever heard to utter an oath.

So high stood his reputation for integrity and knowledge, that many years after he had left Beverly, where he had received a part of his education, a considerable number of the most respectable voters of that borough came to him, and invited him to offer himself a candidate at the ensuing election, promising him their support; to which they were induced without any personal acquaintance, merely from the high opinion they entertained of his character. An offer, however, which, from motives of conscience, he thought proper to decline.

Mr. Langton was a member of the literary club\*; and at the time of his death was the only original member remaining. It consisted of some of the most eminent persons of the age; and among them Mr. Langton had the happiness to number among his intimate friends Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Beauclerck, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Dr. Warton, Mr. Chamier, Mr. Boswell; all of whom paid the debt of nature before him. In January, 1785, his majesty, thinking him the fittest person to succeed Dr. Johnson, did Mr. Langton the honour to appoint him professor of ancient literature in the royal academy.

He married the countess dowager of Rothes, by whom he had a numerous family, and died on the 10th

of December, 1801, in the 65th year of his age.

It is with peculiar delight that I contemplate the character of this pious and worthy man, whose virtues I revere, and whose example I could wish to imitate. I was happy in his friendship and unre-served epistolary intercourse during the long period of nearly thirty years.

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*Anecdotes of George Morland.*

[From Mr. Haffell's *Memoirs of his Life.*]

AT the time Morland resided at Paddington, he may be said to have been at the very summit of his merit, and also of his extravagances. He kept at this time no less than eight saddle-horses at livery, at the sign of the White Lion, opposite to his house, and was absurd enough to wish to be considered as a horse-dealer, but unfortunately he did not know *quid humeri ferrent, quid non*,—wherein his real strength lay.—Frequently, horses for which to-day he would give a purse of thirty or forty guineas, he would sell on the day following for half that sum, or perhaps for less; but as the honest fraternity of horse-dealers knew their man, and would take his note at two months, he could the more easily indulge this propensity, and appear for a short time in cash, until pay-day came, when lo! a picture was produced as a *douceur* for a renewal of the notes. Such was

\* For an account of this elegant literary society, see Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. I. p. 433.

the practice until he had accumulated debts to an enormous amount, and brought himself to the brink of that fatal precipice from which he fell

“ Never to hope again.”

This was one source of calamity which neither his industry, for which he was remarkable, nor his talents, which were rare and transcendent, were by any means adequate to counterpoise. His wine-merchant, too, who was a gentleman in the discounting line, would sometimes obtain a picture worth fifty pounds for the renewal of a bill. Can it then be wondered at, when thus beset by picture-dealers, horse-dealers, wine-merchants, attorneys, and a whole string of *et ceteras*, that he should at length have sunk under such accumulated burthens of misery and mischief? This was in reality the fact; he heaped folly upon folly with such dire rapidity, that a fortune of ten thousand pounds per annum would have proved insufficient for the support of his waste and prodigality.

It has been already observed, that no man was more accessible to flattery than Morland, and the more gross and strong the mode wherein it was served up, the more highly was it relished. An ostler, or post-boy, applauding his observations, was sure to be touched in the palm with half-a-crown, or perhaps to receive a pair of leather breeches, little the worse for wear: his acquaintances of this cast were so numerous, that there was scarcely a driver on the north road, within fifty miles of London, that was not

known to him; nor was there a blood-horse of any note, whose pedigree and performances he could not relate with astonishing facility.

There was an inn at Highgate, a favourite resort of his, where these princes and sovereign judges of the whip generally stopped upon their return to the country, to refresh themselves and their horses. Here our artist used regularly to take his stand, and here, indeed, he was completely at home; receiving the compliments of every one that offered them, in return for which he always, although very imprudently, considered it as his duty to pay the reckoning.

Frequently, with a pipe in his mouth, he would parade before the door of the house, and hail the carriages as they passed in succession before him; and from being so well known, he was generally greeted, in return, by a familiar salute from the postillion. The consequence he attached to this species of homage, as an illustration of his great merit, in so very active a scene, is almost beyond belief.

Among those qualifications, which determine the justness of this artist's character, his knowledge of the horse has been admired as clear and unclouded; and, in truth, it constituted one of his favorite studies. Calling upon the writer hereof one morning, Mr. Stubbs's work upon the anatomy of this animal accidentally caught his eye, and so strongly rivetted his attention, that he was induced to request the loan of it; which was readily granted. This work he investigated very minutely, and pronounced it to be the best production he had ever seen upon the subject.

An objection has been taken to Morland, that he could not draw a blood-horse with fire and accuracy. Compared with Gilpin or Stubbs; the charge may possibly be true, for the latter of these gentlemen was the very god of Morland's idolatry; but those who assert that he could not display the correct form of the race-horse, or the hunter, must have been ignorant of the pictures which he adorned with those beautiful figures, viz. the *First of September Morning*, and the *few Hunting pieces*; engraved by Bell. The energy and spirit emanating from the eye of the horse, corresponding to the fire of his passion, in the first of these pieces, is, perhaps, as lively a touch; and in as fine a tone of coloring, as any pencil has ever exhibited.

Before Morland sought the *pig-stye*, he was seldom out of the *stable*; as he degraded himself in life, the efforts of his pencil declined in the same proportion; and after his faculties had become impaired, which was some time antecedent to his death, his pictures became washy; meagre, and unfinished; indeed, a disorder in his hands had rendered him incapable of painting; at least for three years before his death. In this dilemma he had recourse to the chalk and crayon style of drawing; in which he proved as successful as at any former period of his life.

It will be thought a little singular, that whilst his drawings were so meritorious, and of which in this work we have given specimens, his pictures should fall so far short of his original excellence: such is; nevertheless, the undoubted fact.

Upon his return from Leicester-shire, he found his picture and

horse-dealing friends very solicitous to renew their visits; this; however, he would not encourage, but from that moment studiously avoided all society; and with only a single crony to hawk his pictures about the town; was invisible for months together; even to those truly sincere friends who lamented his unpardonable mismanagement; and would have zealously promoted his welfare.

So strongly was the mind of this ill-fated artist impressed with the idea that he should come to inhabit a gaol before his dissolution, that he actually visited the King's Bench prison *incog.*, to ascertain what kind of a *gusto* he might have for confinement; yet, so great was his dread of the foreseen reality, that he declared nothing short of absolute necessity should ever compel him to yield himself up to the myrmidons of the law.

It was now that he began to feel the ill effects of having prematurely involved himself in debt; if he was seen to walk the streets, he was sure to be dogged, or at least he thought himself dogged, by some lurking creditor, before he could reach his habitation, where, although he made use of every precaution, he was nevertheless frequently discovered; but, whenever he surmised this to be the case, he would suddenly decamp without beat of drum, and in a few days after, his trusty dependents, or HANGERS ON, would be dispatched to fetch away his implements. Thus incessantly harassed by the apprehension of being lodged in a prison, he thought it best to run the gauntlet through the four counties adjacent to the metropolis.

Amongst the particular excellencies

encies of Morland in the favourite branches of his professional pursuit, we should not forget to enumerate his peculiar, and very nice discrimination of the female form in the fashions of the time in which he lived, so as to give precisely what was proper, without any outrage to nature, or rendering his objects uncouth, in forming comparisons of them with the fashions of other times. Any prejudice in favour of a particular fashion was by him disdained; and what may seem paradoxical, although he dressed his females in the habit of the day, most of them are, nevertheless, just such as they will be seen and admired in a century hence.

An early study of the works of Sir Joshua had taught him the art of avoiding the *superfluous*, and that in order to portray an elegant figure upon the canvass, it was absolutely necessary to hit off a free, easy, and unconstrained air.

Modern habits and costume may suit the dauber of an hour, but a superior ambition should animate the painter, who, like Zeuxis, aspires to paint always for immortality. Such an artist must make his subjects a species of *non-descript*, by rendering them *à-la-mode*, but at the same time contrive them so that they should never be altogether out of fashion.

It is with the attitude and motion of an elegant woman, as it is with the fleeting images of fancy, her turn and contour must be caught instantly by the phrensy-rolling eye of the painter's imagination, or, like the airy vision, it vanishes to rise no more.

We have before stated that Morland at his outset in life, and whilst under the instructions of his father,

accompanied the old gentleman on a trip to Margate, and that he started there as a portrait-painter, although many of his pieces remained unfinished. In this line, however, he was successful in a certain degree, although the portraits which the writer has seen are not highly to be commended, at least, if that flattery which characterizes the pencil of modern artists, is to be infallibly considered as a criterion of excellence.

We do not by any means, here, wish to insinuate that artists of the present day compromise their reputation by infusing the resemblance of knowledge or merit into the subjects they delineate; on the contrary, we are inclined to think, that, without proper attention to some little degree of complaisance in this respect, a portrait-painter of the present day must feel the bitter pangs of proud neglect.

Morland had become from habit so very strict a copier of nature, that even if the depredations of disease had distorted the features of the person who sat to him, there is every reason to believe that he would have made a merit of copying a defect; if he could but have produced a correct likeness; for it was impossible for him to resist the impulse that might seize him at the moment, as frequently with the gravest face he has been seen to paint the most ludicrous subject. Of his severity in this particular some notice is taken in another part of this work; we allude here to his satirical touches upon the infamous productions of sign-daubers: let it only be remembered, that when an opportunity offered of producing a sign to his cottage inn, it was sure to be the face of some of his acquaintance,

quaintance; when he would convert the visage of his most intimate friend into that of a dog, a cat, a lion, or any other animal that best suited his whim.

Morland, from his natural predilection for rural scenery, was neither calculated for, nor did he in any degree court this department of the art. What he performed was in his younger days, and obtruded upon him by the necessities of his father. Sometimes, indeed, he would spontaneously begin a portrait, but this was more to evince his ability, than from his inclination to gratify the party he portrayed. His best portraits were very much in the style of Rembrandt, and it is worthy of note, that he fell into the same error with that celebrated artist—of painting his subjects older than they were.

A picture of Mr. John Baynes, which Morland painted, may be said more to resemble Rembrandt's manner than even his own. In this piece he has shown a familiar knowledge of that master's practice; the colouring and touching are similar, and we find as great a body of materials as were used in general by Rembrandt.

The portrait of Mr. Baynes is in appearance considerably older than that gentleman, and the *tout ensemble* is most certainly deficient in what a portrait ought to be; still as a painting it has infinite merit. Portrait-painting, however, it must be candidly acknowledged, was not *his forte*, and he relinquished it in time to make himself a painter of the scenery of his own country, and to qualify himself for that department in which he blazed forth, in

the sequel, with unrivalled splendor.

Rural scenery, although a vast art; yet, it must be allowed, has its limits; and however excursive the soaring fancy of man may be, he must, in order to please, be accurate in his delineations and imitations as a painter.

In copying nature we are sometimes led to copy a defect, and indeed it is no very easy task to cull all that may please the eye, and avoid every thing formal or distorted. It is by sketching resemblances of nature in the field, and by comparing them with those of the painter's representations, that we shall be enabled to determine the proper choice. The artist from habit may ascertain what will please, but nature all prolific, has so many little, and comparatively uninteresting parts, that a well instructed taste is absolutely necessary to make the selection.

Morland, at his very outset, shewed a precocity of judgment; he knew that general ideas were more pleasing than local or confined subjects, and this principle he made his guide, uniting to rural scenery all the characteristic costume and excellencies of the rustic.

In delineating the portraits of 'the human face divine,' his sagacity prevented him from copying the deformities of nature; it was no particular landscape that could afford him entire satisfaction; a voluptuary in his art, he retained only the richest part of what he saw; having sipped the sweets of the flower that was before him, his imagination, ever wild, instantly winged its flight, and sought a fresh repast.

From the scenery, which he could so charmingly represent in his tableaux, an apparent presumption arises, that his mind was in a continual state of serenity; his rural subjects possess a repose, a tranquillity scarcely ever exhibited in the works of any other English painter. Fond of partial effects, or the accidents of nature, our countrymen appear anxious only to produce what is termed *effect*, not seldom giving a drawing with a patch of light in the centre of a *dark spot*. This ridiculous affectation, since the introduction of the new style adopted by Mr. Turner, has risen to such a height, as to disregard the distinct delineation of every particular object, so that the mind is left to find out, whether such an object is intended for a castle, a rock, or a mill-stone.

A great writer of antiquity, Longinus, and a more modern author, upon the sublime and beautiful, have both observed, that obscurity constitutes an essential character of the sublime. Waving the discussion of this point, the affectation of many modern artists certainly possesses sublimity, but unfortunately this sublimity, or species of 'darkness visible,' has fairly absorbed all the beauty which we expect to find in this department of the art. But to resume our subject, clouds, according to the new method, are made to fall with such cumbrous weight upon the hills, as might induce us to believe, that our little island was in the act of being incorporated with the sky; and as if it were fully determined to introduce a new mythology, woods are distinguished by a lump of colour, without form, whilst, from its sud-

den lustre and forked appearance, the representation of a river can be compared to nothing but the zig-zag evolutions of a flash of lightning!

Murky effects like these are beneath the painter of distinguished merit; this is not the grand style, if we may be permitted to apply this term to landscape-painting, but a vile, fumbrous, and affected manner, void of acute discrimination.

We have already remarked how much the mind of Morland was at variance with his productions; it remains now to consider how very different the character of his mind, as exemplified in his paintings, appears, when compared with that of other artists in the same department. The mind of Morland, estranged from all that was laudable, preyed only upon all that was trifling, whilst his productions were always guided by reason, and clearly beamed forth the intellect of the man, as far as it related to the art which he professed.

From the habits which Morland had contracted, it may not, perhaps, be digressing from the subject, to shew what it was that created so wide a difference between the man and his works; like to that which appears in the productions of Salvator Rosa; the exuberances of whose pencil were only equalled by his manners; and, indeed, they had so great an affinity, that the mind of such a painter might be denominated that of an outlaw.

Morland, as we have already seen, was from his infancy initiated in the arts, and by acquiring a refined taste when young, although depraved in morals and manners himself,

himself, as he advanced in life, he was not able to vitiate the perfections that are so much extolled in his works: hence we may infer the important consequences which attend an early direction of the studies of youth.

Salvator Rosa, savage and romantic from the earliest dawn of his reason, was in the character of his pictorial parts the very prototype of our artist: extravagant in all he attempted, he made the art itself subservient to the subject he represented.

Enthusiastic, but not dignified, all his productions bore a strong resemblance to the character of the man. An uncultivated wild was his forte; his figures, which were generally banditti, were adapted to the country in which they were placed; even his most serious subjects, his hermits and his saints, were little better than assassins in disguise; and what strongly proves that his studies were not commenced at such an early age as to ensure perfection in his art, his method of *handling* also bears the same irregular character as his figures; yet, a lofty, capacious genius may be traced through all his works. We may fitly exclaim, *Ex pede Herculem!* and, except in Zuccarelli and Marco Ricci, perhaps there was never any thing like the full majesty of Salvator's handling—grand, but unadorned.

Morland, from early tuition, was taught to shun what, from his most ardent natural character, he would otherwise have fallen into,—those strong, glaring errors, which are constantly to be seen in the works of Salvator Rosa.

Rosa of Tivoli, who painted from the country in which he lived,

was likewise much in the style of Morland. Cattle was his forte; but aiming in general at powerful effect, and endeavouring to imitate the worst parts of Jacimo Basan, he greatly tarnished the beauties of his pencilling, and his perfections lie buried and obscured under masses of shadow.

There are several other masters who have traced the same path which Morland chose, and from their admirable designs he profited much;—for brilliancy and clearness of colouring he appears to have followed Cuyp;—for truth and accuracy of delineation, Paul Potter; for grouping and placidity of subject, Berghem.

In the repose visible in the pictures of Morland, the last of these masters is significantly traced, yet there does not appear Berghem's knowledge in the painting of cows;—every animal, this one excepted, Morland had diligently studied: and why he should neglect this picturesque object, is beyond the reach of our conjecture: perhaps, if we have a Berghem in England, he is to be found in the curious and accurate abilities of Mr. Ibbetson.

A continued series of embarrassments from the year 1793, to the hour that Morland was secured within the rules of the King's Bench, obliged him to make sudden and frequent excursions into the country; his greatest elongation from the metropolis was, we believe, to the city of York. It is much, however, to be regretted that circumstances had not driven him to the westward, where lake scenery, and its picturesque appendages, would have given a new scope to his laborious and skilful pencil.

pencil. His natural predilection for coast and water views when in the Isle of Wight bears us out in this conjecture, and justifies the reasons of our regret.

Morland's frequent visits at the back of that island made him known to every publican and fisherman that resided in these parts. There was in particular a small public-house at Fresh Water Gate, called the Cabin, which may be termed his favourite resort; near that spot he made innumerable sketches, and indeed through all the tract extending from thence to *Black Gang Chine, Undercliffe, Steephill, Bouchurch*, and as far as *Shanklin*.

Accident once brought Morland and the writer hereof together at the latter village, when the artist drew from his pocket a sketch-book, filled with the most exquisite treasures.

The following anecdote may be inserted, perhaps not improperly, in this place. A mutual friend, at whose house Morland resided when in the Isle of Wight, having set out on a journey to London, left an order, upon his departure, with his acquaintance at Cowes, to give Morland his own price for such drawings or pictures as he should think proper to send. The gentleman intrusted with this commission, although highly respectable both in his moral and professional character, had, nevertheless, a very incompetent knowledge of, and as little true relish for, the fine arts.

Morland's pictures, however, were always sent in with an accompanying solicitation for cash, in proportion, or according to the nature of the subject; these demands were regularly complied with, until, at length, a small but

highly-finished drawing was transmitted, with a demand of cash as usual, in the ratio of its merit. Struck with the apparent disparity between the *size* of the drawing, and the *sum* demanded, which seemed out of all proportion, the conscientious agent positively refused to advance a shilling upon it, until he had transmitted the drawing to his friend, who was then in London. This was accordingly done, and instructions were immediately sent back to take the drawing, and as many others as the artist might offer at the same price. Upon the receipt of this liberal and explicit order, the agent at Cowes hastened to find out Morland, and instantly paid the money, but not without observing, that he thought his friend must be deranged in his intellects.

At the present period, however, there is not a single sketch in that collection, but what would produce three times its original cost. So much for the want of a just and true discrimination as to the nature, value, and merits of the fine arts!

During Morland's stay at Yarmouth, he and his fellow-travellers were apprehended as spies, when the former, in his vindication, produced several drawings which he had just finished at Cowes; but these the lieutenants ingeniously decyphered, as confirmations of their guilt, and our travellers were escorted by a strong body of soldiers and constables to Newport; where being brought, and separately examined before the bench of justices, they were at length discharged, after a strict injunction to paint and draw no more during their abode in that island.

Upon



Upon his return to London, 1799, Morland took lodgings at Vauxhall, and painted several pictures of ships in distress, wrecks, and other subjects, apparently from scenes off the Isle of Wight, many of which he treated in his usual masterly manner; but, notwithstanding all the labour he lavished upon them, few will ever be deemed so pleasing as those executed in his more tranquil style. His land storms are, nevertheless, pregnant with spirit and fine partial effect, and accidents of a more familiar nature.

However the eye may be pleased with his other pieces, yet they do not excite those sensations of horror which his sea tempests never fail to present to the mind; still, his coast scenery and light breezes may be considered his best pictures. Conformity to truth and beauty, grounded upon the immutable laws of nature, constitutes the grand predominating feature of his best works, and from a strict adherence to this principle he pleased every class of individuals.

Pictures adapted to please only one class of persons, frequently owe their favourable reception to accident, or to some local circumstance; but where ideas apparently contrasted, yet still natural, can be combined upon the easel, and assimilated to the capacity of every observer, this effect certainly and decisively demonstrates the consummate skill of the artist.

Morland possessed abilities sufficient to reconcile contradictions—his pictures instantaneously struck, and equally delighted the correct eye of the connoisseur, as well as of the uninformed spectator. His superior genius, apparent in his

grander compositions, may be resembled to the Moon,

“Stooping from her meridian heaven,  
Downward to the waves.”

The mutability of human affairs brings us now to the painful task of following Morland into the hands of a bailiff, and through the troubles and mortifications of a prison, to which his depravity, still more wretched, had brought him! Yet, even thus fallen, and wallowing in the very sty of filth and debauchery, his talents still preserved him some friends, whose recommendation and security procured him the rules of the Bench. This ill-fated artist seemed to have possessed two minds—*one*, the animated soul of genius, by which he soared in his profession—and the other, that debased and grovelling propensity, which condemned him to the very abyss of dissipation. Thus may he be justly compared to the beautiful flower, which contains within itself the two opposite powers of healing and charming the senses, and that of blasting and destroying life!

“Within the infant rind of this small  
flower,  
Poison hath residence, and medicine  
power;  
For this being smelt, with that sense  
cheers each part,  
Being tasted, stays all senses with the  
heart.  
Two such opposing powers encamp  
there still,  
In man, as well as herbs—grace and  
rude will.  
And where the latter is predominant,  
Full soon the canker Death eats up that  
plant.”

Too truly, alas! was this verified, and too prominently illustrated in the case of the unfortunate

Morland. Sunk in this *barathrum*, or cavern of misery, he had the fullest latitude for indulging the influence of "rude will," to its utmost extreme: here he could mingle with such companions as were best adapted to his wayward fancy—here, in his own way, he could reign, and here could revel. When the writer hereof beheld him thus surrounded by the very "lowest of the low," in a place rendered by dissipation and indolence, more like a brothel-house than the residence of unfortunate genius, he has often been tempted to exclaim, in the language of the poet,

"When I behold a genius *bright* and *base*,  
Of tow'ring talents, but terrestrial aims,  
Methinks I view her thrown from her  
high sphere,  
The glorious fragments of a soul im-  
mortal,  
With rubbish mix'd, and glittering in  
the dust."

And often has he turned his eye from the melancholy spectacle, with tears of tender pity—with sensations of disgust.

His constant companion and favorite in this *Castle of Indolence*, was a personage who went under the familiar nick-name of "*My Dicky*," (of whom he painted a most excellent portrait,) as he had a familiar nick-name for all whom he honoured with the luxury of his levee festivities.

Even here, in this miserable abode, that spirit of industry which ever distinguished him in his profession, was not extinguished, and his exertions were certainly not from compulsion, (at least it has been so asserted) for, by a single day's attention, he could with ease have procured a week's competent provision; the fact is, that amidst

all his seeming contempt for it, and through all the various frolics and mischances of his life, he still loved and idolized the art.

Whilst in this place, he painted several pictures for Mr. Jones, the marshal, which we believe are still in his possession; also several for Mr. Graham; a considerable number for dealers; and a still larger number for private gentlemen. The late Mr. Spencer, of Bow-street, had a pretty large collection painted by Morland, during the time of his confinement. One of these was a straw-yard, very highly finished; and to give any degree of interest to such a subject, it was indispensably necessary, that very particular attention should be bestowed on every part of it. On one of the upper rails of the rack, on which a raven is placed, there appears written, in large characters,

"NO MORE STRAW-YARDS FOR  
ME.

G. MORLAND."

"This was, perhaps, one of the first symptoms of his slighting, or appearing to slight, the art, although it might merely express his distaste for one particular subject. In proportion, however, as his customers flocked round him, he neglected one essential part—the finishing; some who had purchased his works unfinished, procured some *second hand* to glaze up the fore-grounds, but this has chiefly lain among the picture-dealers, whose skill in supplying half worn landscapes, with new skies, and in cracking and varnishing historical pictures to produce the appearance of antiquity, can only be rivalled  
by

by certain of the productions of the new school of landscape painting.

“Morland, whilst in confinement, retained still a strong tincture of the same vanity by which he had ever been distinguished, and which often placed him in awkward or ridiculous situations. Shutting his eyes upon his own absurdities, he thought the world would be equally complacent, for, although it was a fact of general notoriety, that he was confined within the rules of the King’s Bench, he would be conceited enough, when upon a day-rule in term-time, to ride from house to house, in the country round London, where he would strenuously contradict the report of his imprisonment, and afterwards, with a celerity which he was famed for when on horseback, return to town and exhibit himself at every wretched low pot-house he had formerly resorted to.

“Unluckily, upon one of these occasions, *Little Flamegan*, habited as his servant, has been known to betray his master, by putting in his claim to a share of the conversation, which he would usher in with—‘*Give me leave, Mr. Morland—I remember when I was an officer in the Fleet,*’ &c.

“Morland, when distressed, was not barren in expedients. Upon some occasions he might even be considered as witty. The writer remembers once, a brother artist coming in carelessly, the slovenliness of whose dress was an exact contrast with Morland’s, begged leave to sit down, saying he was ‘*a-hungry and a-tired*’—to which Morland instantly replied—‘*Very badly attired indeed!*’”

“A whimsical story has been circulated respecting his readiness at finding out resources, and which wears every apparent mark of authenticity.

“Upon his departing from Deal where he had been making sketches of the coast, he returned to town on foot, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Williams, the engraver. The extravagant humours of the preceding evening, distressing to relate, had rendered the exchequer pennylefs. Morland felt a craving appetite for some refreshment, but the great difficulty was how to procure it. Observing a low-built house by the road-side, over which was placed an animal intended for a bull, Morland, who was seldom at a loss for entering a public-house, soon introduced himself, and under pretence of enquiring his way, expressed his surprise to the landlord, that he did not renew his sign, which time, it seems, had nearly defaced. Boniface alledged his inability to get it repaired on account of the charge, at the same time observing, that it was good enough for his humble dwelling, but, upon Morland’s offering to paint him a new one for five shillings, he immediately acquiesced, and commissioned him to make a trial of his skill. Here, however, a new difficulty occurred: Morland was without utensils, which could not be procured at a smaller distance than Canterbury, to which place (not without some difficulty) the landlord was persuaded to send. In the mean time the travellers had bespoke a dinner, and had exhausted several pitchers of good ale, with at least a *quantum sufficit* of spirits, all which could

could only be paid for by painting the sign.

“ The reckoning, however, before the bull was finished, instead of five shillings, the sum contracted for, had increased to *ten*, and the chagrined landlord reluctantly suffered the travellers to depart upon Morland’s explaining who he was, and promising to call and pay the landlord at a future day.

“ About three years before his death, Morland received a severe stroke from the palsy, which so heavily shook his whole frame, both intellectual and corporeal, that sometimes whilst in the act of painting, he would fall back senseless into his chair—at other periods, he would sleep for hours together. His left hand, also, was so much inflamed as to disable him from holding the implements of his profession.

“ One consequence of this disorder was, that he found himself compelled to draw in pencil and in chalk, some of which he used to tint lightly. From hence the country has been enriched with drawings of a superior description, and in a style at once bold, original, and new.

“ These may be even termed a school of arts to direct the liberal studies of young draughtsmen, as many of them have been engraved in chalk, which approximates the nearest to his own style, and which appears to be the best method of imparting to his works the spirit which they obviously require.

We come now to conclude this “ strange, eventful history ;” but first order obliges us to pursue the subject of this narration briefly to the moment of his death. The last

insolvent act restored him to society ; he still, however, continued at his former residence in St. George’s Fields, chiefly associating with the lowest myrmidons of legal drudgery, until a family disagreement caused him to separate from his wife, when he took up his residence with a sheriff’s officer in Rolls-buildings, for whom he afterwards painted several pictures, and in whose official capacity he once degraded himself so far as to become coadjutor.

“ At length he was taken in execution by a Marshalsea-court writ, to the house of Mr. Attwell, Air-street, where having swallowed a large quantity of spirits, this unfortunately produced a fever, and speedily terminated his existence, we are sorry to add, in the very extreme of wretchedness, penury, and distress.

“ Thus departed George Morland! that remarkable and excellent master of his art, whose professional life, contemplated from the brilliant side, will doubtless prove to his brethren of the palette, that however inspired by genius, without sedulous application, perfection must not be expected: and may the rising generation be instructed from his fate, that genius itself, however original, or all the high qualities found in a consummate artist, will never shield the possessor from misery, unless accompanied by that prudence, temperance, and integrity which can alone insure respect, esteem, and admiration!”

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*Account of the King of Sardinia and his Ministers, in 1759. From Mr.*

*Mr. Dutens's Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement.*

The king of Sardinia is the natural ally of the king of England; they have nothing to fear from each other, and a good understanding is useful to both. An English minister, therefore, is always well received at that court, and has no difficulty in making himself esteemed. Mr. Mackenzie lived at Turin in a splendid style, and his lady gave most magnificent entertainments; they had grand assemblies, balls and fêtes, so that their house soon became the most agreeable rendezvous of the first company. The chevalier Ossorio was then prime minister at that court: the count de Mercy was minister plenipotentiary from the Empress Queen: M. de Chauvelin was ambassador from France: the marquis de Carraccioli, envoy extraordinary from the king of Naples: and the rest of the diplomatic corps, though of an inferior rank, were respectable.

The chevalier Ossorio was by birth a Sicilian. He had followed king Victor when he renounced the title of king of Sicily: and after having been his minister, and having served his son, king Charles-Emanuel, at different foreign courts (among others at that of London, where he remained fifteen years); he had been appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, which was considered as the highest and most important office at that court. The chevalier Ossorio possessed great genius and talents, much more, indeed, than were necessary for the government of a state which is not of the first rank in Europe; his views were too great for the

policy of his court, but they were always prudently moderated by king Charles-Emanuel. His two rivals in power and influence were the marquis de Breille, master of the horse, who had been governor to the duke of Savoy; and the count de Bogin, minister of war, who had made himself so necessary to the king in his department that nothing could be done without him.

The marquis Solar de Breille was of high birth, and there was in his favour the merit of very long services in the army and the ministry; besides that of having succeeded extremely well in the education of the duke of Savoy; whom he had rendered an accomplished prince. He possessed the entire confidence of his pupil, and the esteem of the king; with whom he was not a favourite, but who was just to his merit. He had seen more of the world, and to better purpose, than any nobleman I ever knew: he had passed his childhood with his father, when he was minister from the king of Sardinia at London, and his youth at Paris with his uncle who was ambassador there; he had served under prince Eugene; and had successively been minister from the king his master at Naples, Rome, and Vienna, and had been employed on many other occasions. He possessed great wit, vivacity, and politeness, and though he was nearly eighty years old, his memory never failed him. The advantage which he had had of living in the habit of intimacy with all the great men of this day, rendered his conversation brilliant, interesting, and instructive: and I frequently enjoyed the pleasure of experiencing

experiencing this; for during the long stay that I made at Turin, he honoured me with his favour; and I sometimes spent three hours in his company at once, which seemed to have glided by like so many moments.

His conversation frequently turned upon curious anecdotes, which serve to correct the mistakes of the authors of his time. He set but little value upon Voltaire as an historian, and condemned him for having frequently followed his own conceits, and preferred probability to truth. He gave me two examples of this, which I cannot help repeating. Some person having, one day, contradicted him relative to some particulars of the imprisonment of Alexis, the son of the czar Peter, and having cited Voltaire as an authority:—"Allow me, Sir," replied the marquis de Breille, with quickness, "to be better informed upon that subject than Voltaire; I was then minister from the king, my master, at the court of Naples, and it was I who was directed secretly to solicit the imprisonment of that unfortunate prince."

Talking with him once upon the death of the same Peter the Great, I quoted the will of that prince which had been produced before the senate of Russia; and added, that Voltaire, in his History, had denied its authenticity. "I have a better authority to produce," replied the marquis, "than Voltaire and his History." When I was ambassador at Vienna, I was upon a very intimate footing with the Russian ambassador, who told me more than once, that he was alone with the empress Catharine in the czar's chamber when that prince

died. Before his death was made public, Catharine wished to be certain whether he had not left a will: and finding none in his cabinet, they agreed to make one, which she dictated to this same Russian nobleman, who was devoted to her; and that is the will which has been since printed. I promised the Russian ambassador to keep this anecdote secret," added the marquis; "and I should not have related it, had I not known that he has been dead many years."

At another time we were speaking of the avarice of the famous duke of Marlborough; and I told him that I could not believe a story which I had been told, of his having one night, when alone in a room with some person, extinguished one of two candles which were burning in his chamber. "It is, nevertheless, true," said the marquis; "I was the person: prince Eugene had sent me to inform him of some disposition he had made for an attack the next morning. The duke of Marlborough was then asleep, and they awoke him. I was admitted to his bedside; a valet-de-chambre placed two candles upon the night-table, and withdrew. At the beginning of the conversation, which seemed as if it would last for some time, the duke, while he was listening to me, and without saying a word, put the extinguisher upon one of the lights, and continued attending to what I had been directed to relate to him."

The marquis de Breille might truly be called the living history of half a century: he was one of the few who had the opportunity of seeing the machinery of the grand springs of the balance of Europe,

Europe, during a very long period; and he was better qualified than any other person, to estimate their power. I must now leave him to turn to the count de Bogin, whom you will find in a very different situation from that in which one might expect to see him.

The count de Bogin had passed through all the gradations in the war-office to the head of the military department. He was a man of lofty character, and of unshaken firmness in the exercise of his official duties: he courted nobody; and in all his arrangements thought only of doing what was right, without troubling himself to consider whether such a nobleman would be pleased, or such a one dissatisfied: he was precisely the man, in short, whom the king of Sardinia wanted. The revenues of this prince being too slender to reward a numerous nobility who were all devoted to his service, and his natural goodness of heart leading him to cover the good wishes of every one, he availed himself admirably of the authority of his minister, to reconcile the inadequacy of his means with his inclination to confer favours.

Charles-Emanuel III. was certainly one of the best and the wisest princes of Europe. He governed his kingdom like the father of a family; it may be said that he personally administered justice in his dominions. One of the means which he adopted to know whether justice was rendered to all his subjects, was to set apart two hours every morning and evening for private audiences, to which every individual was admitted without distinction. At these hours, I have seen assembled in his anti-

chamber, merchants, artizans, and peasants; each was admitted and heard in turn. If any of them had cause of complaint against the corruption of a judge, or the oppression of a minister, and adduced proof of his charge, the king caused the most prompt and the most impartial justice to be afforded him. I myself was witness to one instance of this spirit of equity, which I will relate.

The count de Bogin had served the king for twenty years with the greatest success, and enjoyed an influence which extended even to the other departments. The severity of his character made him hated by the nobility as much as he was feared. The king was accused of placing too much confidence in him, and even of allowing himself to be governed by him, when the event which I am going to mention occurred very opportunely to prove the contrary. The count had purchased a small villa, two leagues from Turin, to which he frequently retired. He had for a long time wished to enlarge the gardens of this estate; but a road which led to the house of a man named Talpon, one of the king's valets, and which divided some meadows that he was desirous of obtaining, opposed his design. He requested Talpon to part with this road, which he agreed to; reserving to himself, however, the right of passing through the estate of the count, whenever another road, which led to his house, should be rendered impassable by the snow, which was sometimes the case. Two or three years had elapsed without Talpon's having any occasion to avail himself of this right, when it happened,

pened, that his own road became wholly obstructed by the snows. Conceiving he might avail himself of the privilege which he had reserved for himself, he rode through the count's estate on horseback; but the minister, perceiving him at a distance, sent to forbid his passage. Talpon desired the minister might be informed who it was; and that, by virtue of their agreement, he was travelling through the old road, because the other was impassable: but the count persisted in his refusal; and Talpon was obliged to return to Turin, burning with rage. He repaired instantly to the king, related to him the injustice and the ingratitude of the count, and concluded by saying: "Judge, sire, how he acts towards your other subjects, when he treats me thus; me, whom he knows to have access to your majesty." The king directed Talpon to preserve the most perfect silence on the affair, promising to do him justice. He sent immediately for the intendant of his roads; and though he was brother-in-law of the count de Bogin, he charged him to inquire into the truth of the matter. This man knew that it was the king's custom, on such occasions, to inform himself privately of the circumstances, that he might be sure his ministers did not impose on him: he did not dare, therefore, to disguise the truth; but some days after, reported to the king, that the relation which Talpon had given of his rights, and of the affront he had received, was a faithful account. The king then directed, that without speaking to his brother-in-law, he should set a hundred men to work the next day,

to restore the former road to Talpon's house; which was done. Judge of the astonishment of the minister when, walking in the morning, he saw a hundred men digging in his garden. Full of surprise and anger, he sent to demand the reason of so strange an appearance: they replied, "that it was by order of the king, and this was all they knew about the affair." He set off for town, and found his brother-in-law, who soon explained the whole mystery. The minister felt that it would be most prudent to submit in silence, and therefore said nothing. The king, on his part, never mentioned the subject, and Talpon was put in possession of his former road. I saw him some days after, quite proud of the victory which he had gained over a minister so high in favour. The nobility were delighted at the mortification which count de Bogin had received, considering it as a presage of his disgrace; but they were deceived. The king, who knew his ability, continued to treat him as before: and was satisfied with giving him this lesson of moderation. After the death of king Charles, the count de Bogin withdrew from public business, and I often visited him in his retreat. I scarcely ever saw a man more engaging and more polite, and whose conversation was more interesting. To a profound knowledge of the affairs of Europe, he joined the greatest clearness in his ideas, and in his expressions; he was also a good husband, and a good friend, upright in his conduct, and loved best by those who knew him intimately: so that, if his administration did not generally please, it must be attributed



attributed more to the necessity of circumstances, than to the natural disposition of the minister.

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*Characters of the Prince de Kaunitz, and some other Persons of the Court of Vienna. From the same.*

The court of Vienna is rendered magnificent by the number of noblemen and princes of the first families of Germany, of which it is formed. It is by no means uncommon to see sovereign princes at the court of Vienna, who have served in the armies of the emperor. I have seen a brother and a nephew of the king of Poland, a brother of the empress of Russia, and the princes of Hesse, of Anhalt, and of Saxony, among a crowd of courtiers. Prince Esterhazy and prince Lichtenstein are more powerful subjects than any of the great subjects of the kings of France, England, or Spain; their revenues are as considerable as the richest among them, and their privileges are more extensive. I have been at the house of prince Esterhazy, in Hungary. He had two hundred guards encamped before his castle; the captain of his guards dined with him. After dinner an excellent band of music played while he took coffee, and he had two companies of comedians constantly in his retinue, one German and the other Italian. I know of no such establishment belonging to any other subject in Europe. I was at Presburg when he gave a ball and supper to the empress, at a league from the city. The supper was of three hundred covers; and the refreshments at the ball were served up by fifty of

his guards, to whom he had, on that occasion, given uniforms embroidered with gold. The duke of Wirtemberg was formerly attached to the house of Austria, and during one campaign brought ten thousand men to its assistance. There is a very good anecdote upon this subject. Being entrusted with a separate command, he entered Lower Lusatia with ten thousand men; where having established himself, he took some prisoners. Upon this he wrote to the king of Prussia to propose an exchange of prisoners. The king, who at that time had prince Louis, the brother of the duke of Wirtemberg, in his service, returned him this answer: "Sir, I have received your letter, by which I learn that you are carrying on war against me: your brother is charged with my answer." He had ordered prince Louis, with five thousand men, to drive the duke his brother, and his ten thousand men, out of Lusatia.

The circle I most frequented was that of the prince de Kaunitz, who was himself its greatest attraction. His constant occupations, added to the consideration of twenty-five years of a happy, wife, and irreproachable administration, naturally induced those who visited him to study his inclination and his amusement, and to render his leisure agreeable to him. Mesdames de Thein and de Wallstein, the countess de Berger, and some other very respectable ladies, the duke de Braganza, and lord Stormont, were the principal persons who formed this society; a few foreigners and others, whose wit and talents supplied the deficiency of high birth, were also admitted.

Among

Among the latter, Langier, physician to the king, was conspicuous for his taste, the delicacy and pleasantry of his wit, and the fertility of his imagination. Nobody had more deeply studied the art of being happy; and none knew better how to enjoy happiness himself, or to make others acquainted with it. He used to say, "at twenty-five we kill pleasure, at thirty we enjoy it, at forty we husband it, at fifty we hunt after it, and at sixty we regret it." He was the St. Evremond of Vienna, with this difference; that his hero, the duke de Braganza, possessed more fine qualities and fewer faults than the count de Grammont.

Prince Kaunitz was certainly one of the greatest ministers who ever governed a great empire. The wisdom and integrity of his administration were in no respect inferior to those of Sully: like him he had taken the reins of government in difficult times, immediately after a long and expensive war! like Sully, he had organized and arranged the finances, paid the debts of the state, and established the public credit so firmly, that when I was at Vienna, the interest of money in that capital was below four per cent. His moderation induced him to resign this department, in order to employ himself wholly in that of foreign affairs; which embraced the government of the Austrian possessions in Flanders, Italy, and other distant parts. He possessed the confidence of the public to such a degree, that even during the war, he never was in want of money. The baron de Frise, banker to the court, told me, that he frequently transacted the most important affairs with

the prince de Kaunitz in a few words; so much reliance did he place upon the firmness of his measures in every thing that he undertook. The prince would acquaint him that he wanted so many millions, upon such and such funds, which would be received at such a time, the baron required no more; he wrote to madame Nettine, at Bruffells, to M. de la Borde, at Paris, and elsewhere; the money was advanced, and the funds never failed to be received at the appointed time.

The prince de Kaunitz himself told me, that one day, in a council of finance, he proposed a tax, for which the farmers-general offered a price very much below its value. The council thought it most advisable, however, to accept their bidding; prince Kaunitz alone objected to it, and took upon himself the care of raising the tax. It produced two millions of florins more than the price offered for it, without any difficulty; and on the first day of the year, he waited on the empress with the surplus, which he told her he had brought for her New-year's gift.

Under the administration of prince Kaunitz, agriculture and manufactures flourished, the public roads were improved, commerce increased; and neither cabal nor envy has been able to blacken a single action of the longest ministry that has ever been known under an arbitrary government. In a word, the strongest proof that can be given of the propriety of his government, is, that his rivals or enemies have never imputed either vices or errors to him; but have been obliged to obtrude into the sanctuary of his retirement, to discover

discover some of his singularities in private life for subjects of reproach. One of these envious persons, whom, by the bye, prince Kaunitz had frequently served, had the indiscretion one day, at the prince's own table, to attempt to entertain me with some frivolous observations of this nature. He was desirous even to treat him with ridicule; when I interrupted him, saying: "Sir, the greatest praise that can be bestowed upon a minister who has been five-and-twenty years at the head of affairs, is, that there is nothing more to reproach him with than what you have mentioned."

The prince de Kaunitz was a man of deep penetration, and possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind: he had spirit and genius, and was so well versed in the duties of his office, that he frequently dictated to several secretaries at the same time. He was serious in public, but amiable, mild, and cheerful, among his friends. He respected virtue and truth; and he had so decided an aversion for vice and falsehood, that he never entered into conversation with an unprincipled man, however high his rank, unless it was absolutely necessary. He kept me standing a long time one night, at his parting, to talk to me, without having any thing material to say. When I was going to leave him, he called me back: "Do not quit me," said he: "there is prince \*\*\* waiting to talk with me; but he is such a liar, that his conversation is painful to me, and I do not wish to have any thing to say to him."

Among the ladies who at that time graced the court of Vienna,

the princesses of Lichtenstein, (and particularly the princess Charles,) the princess d'Auersperg, and the duchess d'Artemberg, were the most remarkable. The last, though she was the first female subject of the empress in Flanders; was no more than a foreigner at Vienna, whither she seldom came. She was perfectly beautiful; but so reserved, that she was charged with being haughty. The duke de Braganza escorted her every where, and was a great admirer of her. He presented me one day to the duchess, at the house of prince Kaunitz, to be her partner at play; and the turn of his introduction appeared both new and gallant. "Madam," said he, "permit me to have the honour of presenting to you one of my friends, to whom I owe a thousand obligations;" and turning suddenly round to me, said, "Now, Sir, I conceive our obligations are mutual."

The prince de Ligne, one of the principal noblemen of Flanders, was also at Vienna at that time. It would require a volume to describe him, and even then nobody would comprehend his character; let it suffice to say, that every feature of it would appear either amiable or agreeable. His society was delightful, particularly when he was seconded by chevalier de Boufflers; and the Chevalier was very well pleased with Vienna.

I had the pleasure of supping frequently with them, at the houses of the countess Esterhazi, the countess Lignowski, and some other persons of distinction. Nothing could be more brilliant and more animated than their conversations: both amused themselves with writing verses, and succeeded well;

and particularly the chevalier de Boufflers, who was justly considered the most pleasing poet of France. He had been six months at Vienna, and thence he proposed proceeding to join the army in Poland. Since that time he has travelled in Switzerland; whence he wrote letters to his mother which have been printed, and which contain many interesting strokes of wit and humour.

The mother of the chevalier de Boufflers, was a lady of great wit; but she must not be confounded, nor even compared, with the countess de Boufflers, mentioned in the second part of these memoirs. The latter was superior to the other in figure, in charms, in wit, and in talents. The marchioness, however, was very amiable: she spent much of her time in Lorraine; and it is even said, that Stanislaus, king of Poland, though very far advanced in years, was greatly captivated with her. He knew, too, that his chancellor, who was much younger than himself, was in love with her; and one day, when the chancellor came to see her, he withdrew, kissing her hand several times, and looking tenderly at her, said, "*My chancellor will tell you the rest.*"

The archduke Maximilian was admitted coadjutor of the Teutonic Order, of which prince Charles was grand master; and upon that occasion the most brilliant fêtes were given at court. I will not undertake to describe them all; but I cannot pass over in silence a masked ball which was given at the house of the late prince Eugene, at a seat about a league from the city. Though the house was extremely large, a hall of four

hundred feet in length was added along the whole front of the building. This was illuminated with more than a hundred thousand glass lamps; and next to the illumination at St. Peter's, at Rome, was the finest I ever saw. The apartments were lighted up with eighteen thousand wax candles; there was six thousand persons at the ball; and the director of the fête told me, that he had prepared supper for ten thousand. Every thing had been so well attended to, that physicians, and surgeons, had been provided, in case of accidents.

The empress afterwards wished to go with her whole family to Presburg; and the archduchess Maria Christina went on before to receive them. I went thither with lord Algernon Percy, and Mr. Greville, son of lord Warwick. Prince Esterhazi and count Palfy distinguished themselves among the great nobles of Hungary, who received the empress at their houses. I have already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the entertainment which the prince gave on the occasion.

Presburg is a very handsome city, situated upon the Danube, and is the capital of Hungary: it is the place where the states meet, and where the government of the kingdom resides. The archduchess Maria Christina, stayed there with her husband, prince Albert of Saxony, who was captain-general of Hungary.

That princess kept her court at Presburg, which was more brilliant than that of many kings in Europe, and she did the honours of it with charming affability and grace. She was the handsomest of all the sisters; and danced with

so much nobleness, ease and lightness, that nobody can imagine a more delightful sight, than her exercises of this kind. At night the persons of rank went to court, where the whole company assembled in a large hall. The ladies of the archduchess, and the archduchess herself, arranged the parties. Nothing could surpass the politeness with which the guests were received there. The empress once said to the duke de Braganza, "The sight of this hall always affects me to such a degree, that I am sometimes ready to shed tears: a long time ago a very interesting scene took place here." I asked the duke, the same night, what that event was; and he related to me the following circumstance:—When the empress queen was so closely pursued by her enemies that there was hardly a city in Germany in which she could remain with safety, she retired to Presburg, and assembled her states. She was then young, of a fine figure, and of dazzling beauty. She appeared in the midst of the palatines of Hungary in a black robe, but with all the splendour of her personal charms: her son, who was then two or three years old, was in her arms. When she had taken her place upon the throne, and the assembly had become silent, she rose, and giving her son to one of her ladies of honour, addressed them in the Latin language, (which she spoke extremely well), and represented to them, in pathetic terms, her unfortunate situation. She was so deeply affected while she was delivering this discourse that she drew tears from the eyes

of those brave nobles: but when she said that she had no resource except in their zeal, and that she had come to implore their help, the Palatines could restrain their feelings no longer; but without suffering her to conclude, they all rose at the same instant, and drawing their swords, cried out with an unanimous voice, *Moriemur pro Rege nostra Maria Theresia.*—*We will die for our king Maria Theresia\**; and they immediately brought into the field an army which re-established her on the throne of her ancestors.

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*Anecdotes of the King of Prussia and General Guischard. From the same.*

From Wittemberg we went to Potsdam, which is upon the road to Berlin. It is at Potsdam that the king of Prussia generally resides; and he was there at that time. We had given in our names at the gates of the city; but the king having perceived us from the windows of the castle, alighting at the inn, sent a footman to enquire who we were. I gave him our names in writing; and we then went to see the lord Marschal, for whom we had letters; as well as for M. de Cat, secretary of the cabinet, and for Quintus Icilius, one of the king's friends. I had taken these precautions in the idea that I should find some difficulty in being presented to the king; who frequently refuses to see foreigners, though of the highest rank, especially when he is at Potsdam. The lord Marschal wrote to procure us the honour of being presented, without

\* This was the expression which the Palatines made use of in spite of grammar; so strongly are they attached to the idea of being governed by kings.

however acquainting us with the success of the attempt. He talked to us of the frequent refusal of the king to see foreigners; and mentioned the answer of an Englishman on that subject, who had come to him one day, without any letter of recommendation, to ask him to present him to the king of Prussia. His lordship told him that it was not such an easy matter, and that many great noblemen had been refused, "Faith!" said the Englishman, "it is not that I care much about it; but as I have already seen five kings, I should have been glad to make up the half-dozen."

The king sent an answer that he would see lord Algernon Percy, without saying a word about me. I was not at all satisfied at seeing my attempt frustrated. I had a great curiosity to see the king of Prussia, and had proposed to pass through Berlin solely for that purpose. I applied to the Abbé Bastiani, who dined and supped every day with the king, and was considered as a sort of favourite: he made some attempts, but in vain. I then employed M. de Cat, who was not more fortunate. I went to see Quintus Icilius (of whom I shall say more hereafter); but he was in disgrace, and could not assist me: so that I almost despaired of success. I had perceived, from the conversation of those who were well acquainted with the king, that praise was not displeasing to him; and as his extraordinary merit offered a vast field for my fancy, I resolved not to be sparing of my applause. He was fond of being thought a good architect, and had built a great deal at Potsdam and its environs. I immediately wrote some verses, in which

I extolled Potsdam to the skies: I compared the city to nothing less than ancient and modern Rome, and the king himself to the two Cæsars; to Julius as a great captain, and to Augustus as the builder of so many magnificent edifices. I had these verses lying upon my table one day, when the abbé Bastiani came to visit me: he saw them, thought well of them, and said he would shew them to the king. The king was pleased with them. He asked some questions concerning me, and my friends took the opportunity of telling him that I had come to Potsdam on purpose to see him. He made no reply, and nobody dared to question him. The next day I went to see the new castle which he had built, at the distance of two leagues from Potsdam. The keeper gave me a book; in which, he said, those who came to the castle wrote their names, and that the king cast his eye over the book when he came to walk there. I wrote my name, and added an eulogium upon the architect: the king saw it two days after and smiled.

At length, while I was at Berlin, where I had gone to spend a week, I received a letter from the abbé Bastiani, informing me that the king had read the verses which I had addressed to him; and that it appeared to him, from the observations he had been able to make, that my flattery was delicate and pleasing. I returned to Potsdam, where I had scarcely arrived an hour, when I received a note from M. de Cat, secretary of the cabinet, informing me that the king would see me the next morning at eleven o'clock, and directed me to apply to the baron de Coccei to present me. This was the very  
person

person whom I have already said that I saw at Turin disguised as a Saxon merchant. He waited upon me; and conducted me to the king, who was alone. I found his countenance dignified and noble, his eyes large, his look quick and piercing, his air engaging, and a great facility of expression. He asked me several questions relative to my travels, and the different courts I had visited; and he particularly inquired at what time I had been at Turin. I mentioned designedly the year when the baron de Coccei was there. He immediately turned towards the baron; and seemed by his manner of looking at him, to ask if I had been informed of the object of his mission (which I have mentioned in the second part.) The baron bowed, in sign of the affirmative; upon which the king looked steadfastly at me, but in such a manner that I read in his eyes that he asked me the same question. To this I replied by a tacit "Yes, Sire;" and this mute dialogue was so expressive, that none of us mistook each other. The king went on more openly, asking me some questions relative to the subject; particularly about lord Bute and Mr. Mackenzie, to whom he attributed in part the ill success of his negotiation. As he took leave of me, the king said, "I have only one friend in England, and that is lord Chesterfield: I beg you will make my compliments to him."

I went to thank the abbé Bastiani for the pains he had taken in facilitating my presentation; and upon that occasion the abbé said to me, "It seems to me that you know the king as well as we do, who have been so many years about him; there was nothing but the manner in

which you have praised him that could have procured you the honour of an audience."

The abbé Bastiani was very polite and obliging. Knowing that the king was fond of praise, he had availed himself of it, and at that time stood better with him than any other person. He shewed me several letters and epistles in verse which he had addressed to the king; and a large manuscript in reply to the *System of Nature*, in which that prince took the part of religion against the author of a system so contrary to the interest of the state. The abbé was canon of Breslaw. He was very desirous of being the bishop, and thought he had some reasons to believe that he should obtain his desire: but the king contrived to amuse him with vain hopes; for he had twice appointed to that bishoprick, since the abbé had paid his court to him. However, he did not despond, painful as was the part he had to perform at Potsdam. Perhaps the pliancy of his disposition rendered his task less difficult.

Quintus Icilius told me, that the king once consulted him upon a little treatise on morality for the young nobility, which he wished to have printed. He contented himself with saying, rather drily, that it was good. "The abbé Bastiani is coming," said the king, "I want to know his opinion."—"You will do very right, Sire."—"Do you not think him a good judge?"—"Oh! very good."—"And that he will give me his sincere opinion?"—"I hope he will." The abbé came. "Bastiani," said the king, "here is a little work of mine, upon which I wish to consult you."—"Sire,

you overwhelm me with honour." "But I wish you to tell me your opinion freely."—I know that is the way to please your majesty."—"It is a treatise upon morality, for the use of the young nobility." The king had scarcely read two lines, when the abbé exclaimed, that he never heard any thing so fine. "Stop," then said the king, "till I read farther on." "But, Sire, this beginning alone is equal to the best treatise we have on the subject." The king went on: the abbé seemed as if he was in extasy; and exhibited such transports, that the king was obliged to stop from time to time, to give free course to his praises. At last the reading was finished: the abbé fell on his knees before the king; and seizing his hands, which he kissed and bathed with his tears, "Sire" cried he, "allow me, in the name of all your subjects, to return you a thousand thanks, for the good you have done to them and to their posterity, by giving them so divine a work!" The king had too much understanding not to perceive that the abbé had overshot his mark, and probably did not esteem him the more for it. Quintus himself bowing his head, and, looking at the abbé, said within himself; "Ah! poor Quintus, thou art but a novice; there is thy master, and the master of all who wish to stand well with kings."

It is proper that I should inform my readers who this Quintus Icilius was. His father was a potter at Magdebourg, and was named Guischart. I do not know by what accident the king happened to see him, when he was only ten

or twelve years old. He was pleased with his repartees, and thought he perceived in him the germ of future talents: he therefore sent him to study in Holland; and young Guischart profited so well by the lessons of his masters, that he soon made a great proficiency. He applied himself particularly to the study of the classics, and to acquiring a knowledge of the tactics of the ancients: he even wrote a work upon that subject, which he dedicated to the king of Prussia; and as he appeared very fond of the Romans, the king, on the following occasion, gave him a Roman name. One day, when his majesty made a great promotion, he appointed, at his levee, all the officers who were present; and among others, he said that some battalions should be commanded by Quintus Icilius. Every body stared; and was anxious to know who this new colonel was, that they had never heard of before. The king perceiving their embarrassment, told them that their curiosity should soon be satisfied. The troops were accordingly drawn up, the king directed every officer to place himself at his new post, and taking Guischart (who had never seen an engagement) by the hand: "Gentlemen," said he, "this is Quintus Icilius;" and he placed him at the head of three battalions,\* which he afterwards employed at Dresden and in the environs, and in operations in which there was not much fighting.

Quintus Icilius, for a long time enjoyed the greatest favour with the king: he had talents and information; and though a pretty

\* The king probably gave him his name of an ancient Roman who had commanded the tenth legion, because Quintus frequently spoke with enthusiasm of the tactics of the Romans.



good courtier, he was not a servile flatterer. He fell in love with a young widow, who was very amiable and rich: she was fond of him, and they were engaged to be married. It was necessary, however to obtain the consent of the king; who did not like his friends to marry, because he said that he could then no longer venture to trust them with his secrets; for fear of their communicating them to their wives, who would not fail to divulge them. Quintus made several attempts to obtain this permission from the king, but in vain. "Why do you wish to leave me my dear Quintus?" said his majesty one day to him embracing him, "you are of service to me, I am attached to you; and I foresee, that if you marry, we must separate." This refusal vexed Quintus exceedingly. He scarcely ever spoke to the king. He continued to dine every day at his table, but always seemed in an ill humour. The king perceived it; was affronted, and resolved to be revenged in the manner which he thought delicate.

At table he had a custom of jesting with his guests. The Marquis d'Argens, who dined every day with him; had been his butt for twenty years: but he had left Potsdam six months before, on a visit to his native country; so that poor Quintus, in his absence, was most commonly the subject of the king's jokes, and one day he resolved not to spare him. Seeing him, therefore, in an ill humour, "Quintus," said the king, "I am strongly tempted to write your life."—"As you please, Sire," answered the other: "I am not afraid of any thing."—"That is

as it may happen," said the king: "suppose, for example, I should begin with these words: There was one Guischart, the son of a potter of Magdebourg."—"Well, sire, from the potter to the porcelain merchant there is only one step." Every body knows that the king of Prussia had established a manufactory of porcelain, which was sold for his advantage. The prince, a little offended, proceeded; "It happened that this Guischart had the honour of being admitted to a familiar intercourse with the king, wholly unworthy of it as he was."—"So much the worse, sire, for the king, who admitted him to it." All the guests were astonished at the boldness of Quintus. "Furthermore," continued the king, "though he had never seen an engagement, he had the command of three battalions; with which he did not engage the enemy, but pillaged and robbed."—"Oh! as for that, sire, you know that we divided the spoils between us." He alluded chiefly to the affair of count de Bruhl. The king understood him, but every body else was ignorant of his meaning. The king knit his brows, and every one present was embarrassed. At last, after some sharp sallies, followed by repartees as keen, the king concluded by saying: "Well, Quintus, what do you say? am I not a good historian?"—"Faith, sire, if I must tell you frankly, kings are generally but indifferent authors; they would do much better to occupy themselves with the government of their states, and leave literature alone; for it is very rare that they succeed in it." At these last words all the company cast their eyes

down upon their plates, and did not venture to look at the king. They expected, every moment, to see Quintus thrown out at the window: the king, however, subdued the anger which he really felt. This was at the conclusion of the repast. The company rose from the table, and went into an adjoining room to take coffee; with the exception of Quintus Icilius, who retired to his apartment. The king, not seeing him, asked, "Where is Quintus Icilius? Does not he come to take coffee?" they answered that he had retired. "What!" said he, "is he affronted? Let some one go to look for him, and let every thing be forgotten." They went to Quintus, but he refused to come. The king sent the abbé Bastiani, to tell him that he positively insisted upon seeing him. He still refused: "Tell the king," said he "that if he wishes to have buffoons at his table, he should pay them better." (The king, allowed him a pension of two hundred guineas.) The abbé Bastiani entreated him to reflect on the consequences of such an answer; but he persisted in it, and would send no other: and the abbé, though he was his friend, was obliged to convey it to the king; who only laughed at it, saying, "he will be in a better humour to-morrow." The next day, at four o'clock in the morning, Quintus Icilius left the palace of Sans Souci, and went to Potsdam. The king, being informed of the circumstance when he arose, was really offended; however he did not suffer his vexation to appear.

Some time having elapsed, Quintus wrote to the king to beg that

he would allow him to marry. He did not return any answer. Quintus sent another letter, which was equally ineffectual. He wrote six letters without the king's deigning to take any notice of them. At last, in reply to the seventh, the king wrote to him: "Quintus, you have offended me exceedingly; however if you will renounce marriage I pardon you, and restore you to my favour." To this letter Quintus replied: "Sire, I ask no other favour from your majesty, than permission to marry." The king granted him permission, but would never see him again.

It was a short time after this event that I arrived at Potsdam. I dined at the house of Quintus Icilius with his lady, who appeared to be very amiable. He himself related to me most of the above circumstances, which were afterwards confirmed by the lord Mareschal and the abbé Bastiani. He told me, that he had also solicited permission to retire to the estates of his wife: but that the king would never suffer him to leave Potsdam; so that he was, in fact, a prisoner in that city. I learnt, three years after, that he had been restored to the king's favour: but without enjoying the same confidence which he had formerly possessed. He died some years after this, and the king appeared greatly affected at his loss. He said to one of his generals: "See how my friends leave me: the time approaches, when you and I shall follow their example; you will leave me, or I shall leave you." He wrote to the widow of Quintus, to console her: he made her a present of three thousand crowns, secured to her a pension of twelve hundred,  
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took upon himself the education of her children, and purchased the library and cabinet of medals belonging to her late husband, for which he paid her the full value.

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*Sketch of the Character and Situation of the Cochinchinese.*

[From Mr. Barrow's Voyage to Cochinchina.]

“ In attempting to draw a very general sketch of the character of this nation, I am not unaware of the risk I incur of being drawn into error. To speak correctly of the manners and opinions of foreign nations; to trace the motives of their actions and the grounds of their prejudices; to examine the effects produced on the temper and disposition of the people by the civil and religious institutions: and to inquire into their ideas of moral right and wrong, their notions of taste, of beauty, of happiness, and many other subjects necessary to be investigated before a thorough knowledge can be obtained of their true character and real condition, require not only a long residence in the country, but an intimate acquaintance with all the various classes of society; and, after all, an accurate portrait is hardly to be expected. What can be more ridiculous than a Frenchman attempting to describe English manners, or more preposterous than a German dramatizing the English character? There are, however, certain strongly marked features which, prevailing in the mass of the people, may safely be set down as national characteristics; and from such only

the few observations I have to make on the Cochinchinese were derived. Some of them, indeed, might perhaps be entirely local, and applicable only to that part of the sea-coast on which we landed.

“ It is scarcely necessary to observe, what I apprehend is generally known, that Cochinchina, until a few centuries after the Christian æra, formed a part of the Chinese empire; and that the general features of the natives, many of the customs, the written language, the religious opinions and ceremonies still retained by them, indicate distinctly their Chinese origin. In the northern provinces, however, they are more strongly marked than in those to the southward. The same characteristics are likewise discernible, but in a fainter degree, in Siam, which is properly *Se-yang*, or the western country; in Pe-gu, probably *Pe-quo*, or the northern province; and in Ava and the rest of the petty states now comprehended under the Birman empire, where, however, from an intermixture with the Malays of Malacca and the Hindoos of the upper and eastern regions of Hindostan, the traces of the Chinese character are in many respects nearly obliterated. The Cochinchinese of Turon, notwithstanding the loose manners of the women, which I shall presently have occasion to notice, and the tendency which all revolutions in governments have to change, in a greater or less degree, the character of the people, have preserved in most respects a close resemblance to their original, though in some points they differ from it very widely. They perfectly agree, for instance, in the etiquette observed in marriage

riage and funeral processions and ceremonies, in the greater part of religious superstitions, in the offerings usually presented to idols, in the consultation of oracles, and in the universal propensity of inquiring into futurity by casting lots; in charming away diseases; in the articles of the diet and the mode of preparing them; in the nature of most of their public entertainments and amusements; in the construction and devices of fire-works; in instruments of music, games of chance, cock-fighting and quail-fighting. The spoken language of Cochinchina, though on the same principle, is so much changed from the original as to be nearly, if not wholly, unintelligible to a Chinese; but the written character is precisely the same. All the temples which fell under our observation were very humble buildings; and we saw no specimens either of the heavy curved roofs, or of the towering pagodas, so frequently met with in China; but it seems there are, in many parts of the country, monasteries that are amply endowed, whose buildings are extensive and enclosed with walls for their better security. The houses in general near Turon bay consisted only of four mud walls, covered with thatch; and such as are situated on low grounds, in the neighbourhood of rivers, are usually raised upon four posts of wood, or pillars of stone, to keep out vermin as well as inundations.

“The dress of the Cochinchinese has undergone not only an alteration, but a very considerable abridgment. They wear neither thick shoes, nor quilted stockings, nor clumsy fatten boots, nor petticoats stuffed with wadding; but always

go barelegged and generally barefooted. Their long black hair, like that of the Malays, is usually twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head. This, indeed, is the ancient mode in which the Chinese wore their hair, until the Tartars, on the conquest of the country, compelled them to submit to the ignominy of shaving the whole head except a little lock of hair behind.

“On the precepts of Confucius is grounded the moral system for the regulation of the conduct in this country as well as in China. Here, however, to the exterior forms of morality very little regard seems to be paid. In China these precepts are gaudily displayed in golden characters in every house, in the streets and public places; but here they are seldom seen and never heard. Were they, indeed, repeated in their original language, (and they will scarcely bear a translation,) they would not be understood. Their conduct, in general, seems to be as little influenced by the solemn precepts of religion as by those of morality. The Cochinchinese are, like the French, always gay and for ever talking; the Chinese, always grave and affect to be thinking: the former are open and familiar, the latter close and reserved. A Chinese would consider it as disgraceful to commit any affair of importance to a woman. Women, in the estimation of the Cochinchinese, are best suited for, and are accordingly entrusted with, the chief concerns of the family. The Chinese code of politeness forbids a woman to talk unless by way of reply, to laugh beyond a smile, to sing unless desired, and as to dancing, she labours under a physical

sical restriction which makes this kind of movement impossible. In Cochinchina the women are quite as gay and as unrestrained as the men. And as a tolerable accurate conclusion may be drawn of the state of their society, from the condition in which the female part of it is placed, and the consideration in which the female character is held among them, I shall be more particular in describing the situation here assigned to them, in so far at least as our limited means afforded us the opportunity of observing, than on other points.

“ In some of the provinces of China women are condemned to the degrading and laborious task of dragging the plough, and otherwise employed in various kinds of heavy drudgery. In Cochinchina it would appear likewise to be the fate of the weaker sex to be doomed to those occupations which require, if not the greatest exertions of bodily strength, at least the most persevering industry. We observed them day after day, and from morning till night, standing in the midst of pools of water, up to the knees, occupied in the transplanting of rice. In fact, all the labours of tillage, and the various employments connected with agriculture, seem to fall to the share of the female peasantry; whilst those in Turon, to the management of domestic concerns, add the superintendance of all the details of commerce. They even assist in constructing and keeping in repair their mud-built cottages; they conduct the manufacture of coarse earthen ware vessels; they manage the boats on rivers and in harbours; they bear their articles of produce to market; they draw the cotton

wool from the pod, free it from the seeds, spin it into thread, weave it into cloth, dye it of its proper colour, and make it up into dresses for themselves and their families. Almost all the younger part of the males are compelled to enrol themselves in the army; and such as are exempt from military service employ themselves occasionally in fishing, in collecting swallows' nests and the *Biches de mer* among the neighbouring islands, as luxuries for the use of their own great men, but more particularly as articles of export for the China market; in felling timber; building and repairing ships and boats, and a few other occupations which, however, they take care shall not engross their whole time, but contrive to leave a considerable portion of it unemployed, or employed only in the pursuit of some favourite amusement: for they are not by any means of an idle disposition. But the activity and industry of the women are so unabating, their pursuits so varied, and the fatigue they undergo so harassing, that the Cochinchinese apply to them the same proverbial expression which we confer on a cat, observing that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing. It is evident indeed, from the whole tenor of their conduct, that the men, even in the common ranks of life, consider the other sex as destined for their use; and those in a higher station, as subservient to their pleasures. The number of wives or of concubines which a man may find it expedient to take is not limited by any law or rule; but here, as in China, the first in point of date claims precedence and takes the lead in all domestic concerns.

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The terms on which the parties are united are not more easy than those by which they may be separated. To break a sixpence between two parting lovers is considered, among the peasantry of some of the counties in England, as an avowal and pledge of unalterable fidelity. In Cochinchina, the breaking of one of their copper coins or a pair of chop-sticks between man and wife, before proper witnesses, is considered as a dissolution of their former compact, and the act of separation.

“In China the men have sedulously and successfully inculcated the doctrine, that a well-bred woman should never be seen abroad; that she should confine herself constantly to her own apartments; that in the presence of even her nearest male relations she should not expose her neck and her hands, to prevent which her gown is buttoned up close to the chin, and its sleeves hang down below the knee: and so craftily have they contrived their precepts to operate, that the silly women have actually been prevailed on to consider a physical defect which confines them to the house as a fashionable accomplishment. Here, in this respect, there is a total difference with regard to the sex. So far from the Cochinchinese women being deprived of the free use of their limbs or their liberty, they have the enjoyment of both to the fullest extent. It certainly was not in Cochinchina where Eudoxus, in his travels, is said to have observed the feet of the women to be so small, that they might with propriety be distinguished by the name of the ‘Ostrich-footed;’ *fœminis plantas adeo parvas ut Struthopodes appellen-*

*tur*; as, by their bustling about with naked feet, they become unusually large and spreading; but the name might aptly enough be applied to the feet of the Chinese ladies, whose undefined and lumpish form is not unlike the foot of the Ostrich.

“Extremes often approximate. The same cause which in China has operated this total seclusion of the sex from society and the abridgment of their physical powers, has produced in Cochinchina a diametrically opposite effect, by permitting them to revel uncontrolled in every species of licentiousness. This cause is their being degraded in public opinion, and considered as beings of an inferior nature to the men. Thus situated, character becomes of little value either to themselves or to others; and, from all accounts, it appears they are fully sensible of its unimportance in this respect. The consequence of which is, that women of less scrupulosity or men of more accommodating dispositions, are not certainly to be met with in any part of the world than those in the environs of Turon bay. It is to be hoped, however, that the general character of the nation may not exactly correspond with that which prevails at one of the most frequented of its sea-port towns. The singular indulgence, granted by the laws of Solon, of permitting young women to dispose of personal favours, for the purpose of enabling them to procure articles of the first necessity for themselves or their families, is sanctioned by the Cochinchinese without any limitation as to age, condition, or object. Neither the husband nor the father seems to have any scruples in abandoning the wife or  
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the daughter to her gallant. Not Galba, when he politely fell asleep, (as we are told by Plutarch,) for the accommodation of Mæcenas, and rebuked his servant for officiously rattling the plates in order to awaken him that he might see what was going on, could possibly have been more at ease than a Cochinchinese husband, to whom may justly be applied the following lines of Horace, wherein he describes the dissolute manners of the Romans :

‘ Sed iussa coram non sine conscio  
Surgit marito ; seu vocat institor  
Seu navis Hispanæ magister  
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.’

‘ The conscious husband bids her rise,  
When some rich factor courts her charms,  
And calls the wanton to his arms,  
Then, prodigal of wealth and fame,  
Profusely buys the costly shame.’

“ These observations on the indifference, on the part of the men, for the honour and chastity of the sex, and the abandoned and profligate character of the latter which is the necessary consequence thereof, are by no means confined to the common people : they apply indeed more forcibly to the first ranks in society, the officers of government. These men, fully as debauched as the Chinese mandarins, carry not even that appearance of decency which those find it expedient to observe. Of the facility with which they are disposed to transfer their women to strangers our party had several curious instances. From the following, among many others, a tolerably good notion may be collected of the value put upon them in a pecuniary point of view. An officer of the Lion was one day

sent on shore to purchase a couple of bullocks for the use of the ship’s company. As the price had previously been fixed at ten dollars a-head, the officer had only to count down the money before one of the magistrates of the place, and receive his bullocks. The mandarin, taking up the dollars, dispatched a couple of his attendants, who shortly returned with a fine young girl, whom the magistrate handed over to the officer. Whether this gentleman’s modesty was too much shocked at so barefaced and indecent a transaction, or whether he had not a sufficient sum of money to make up the price of the bullocks, is immaterial to the purpose ; it is enough to observe that he preferred his duty to the purchase of the lady, to the affected astonishment of the mandarin, of whom he understood her to be either the wife or the daughter. Another gentleman, returning one day from the town to the river-side, was accosted by an elderly woman, who made signs to him to follow her into her cottage, where she presented him with her daughter, very nearly in that state in which she came out of nature’s hands ; and the eyes of the old lady sparkled with joy at the sight of a Spanish dollar.

“ There was little prepossessing in the general appearance and character of the Cochinchinese. The women had but slender pretensions to beauty ; yet the want of personal charms was in some degree compensated by a lively and cheerful temper, totally unlike the dull, the morose, and secluded Chinese. An expressive countenance, being as much the result of education and sentiment as a delicate set of features

tures and a fine complexion are of health, ease, exemption from drudgery and exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, could hardly be expected in Cochinchina. In point of fact, both sexes are coarse featured, and their colour nearly as deep as that of the Malay; and, like these people, the universal custom of chewing areca and betel, by reddening the lips, and blackening the teeth, gives them an appearance still more unseemly than nature intended. The dress of the women was by no means fascinating. A loose cotton frock, of a brown or blue colour, reaching down to the middle of the thigh, and a pair of black nankeen trowsers made very wide constitute in general their common clothing. With the use of stockings and shoes they are wholly unacquainted; but the upper ranks wear a kind of sandals or loose slippers. As a holiday dress, on particular occasions, a lady puts on three or four frocks at once, of different colours and lengths; the shortest being uppermost. A woman thus dressed appears in the annexed print, which represents a group of Cochinchinese, and may be considered as a fair specimen of their general appearance. Their long black hair is sometimes twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head, and sometimes hangs loose in flowing tresses down the back, reaching frequently to the very ground. Short hair is not only considered as a mark of vulgarity, but an indication of degeneracy. The dress of the men has little if any thing to distinguish it from that of the other sex, being chiefly confined to a jacket and a pair of trowsers. Some wear handkerchiefs tied round the head

in the shape of a turban; others have hats or caps of various forms and materials, but most of them calculated for protecting the face against the rays of the sun; for which purpose they also make use of umbrellas of strong China paper, or skreens of the leaves of the Borassus, or fan-palm and other kinds of the palm tribe, or fans made of feathers. Consonant with the appearance of their mean and scanty clothing, as frequently thrown loosely over their shoulders as fitted to the body; were their lowly cabins of bamboo. In short, nothing met the eye that could impress the mind of a stranger with high notions of the happy condition of this people.

“ There is, however, such a vast difference in the circumstances under which an European and the inhabitant of a tropical climate are situated, that the former, who for the first time finds himself among the latter, will be very apt to fall into error in attempting to form a comparative estimate of their respective conditions. To the one, fuel and clothing, and close and compact lodging are essential, not only to his comfort, but to his existence; to the other, fire is of no further use than a few embers to boil his rice, or to prepare an offering to his god. For splendid and massy fabrics neither his taste nor necessity incline him; and close thick clothing, so far from being a comfort, would be to him the most inconvenient of all incumbrances. Even the little which he occasionally finds it expedient to use, he frequently throws aside; for where nakedness is no disgrace, he can at all times, and in all places, accommodate his dress to his feelings



ings and his circumstances, without offence to others or embarrassment to himself; an advantage which is denied to the European.

“ Although we had neither expected to meet with an extensive city or magnificent palaces in the vicinity of Turon bay, yet as this spot was known to have been anciently the chief mart for the trade of this country with China and Japan, we felt rather disappointed on finding a few villages only, in the largest of which the number of houses did not exceed one hundred, and these chiefly thatched cottages. That it had suffered considerably from the late revolutions was evident from the ruins of larger and better buildings, than any which now appeared, and from the inequalities of surface indicating a former existence of walls and forts, and which, by our officer’s account who was taken prisoner, were still more visible and extensive at Faisoo; from the remains, also, of gardens and plantations of fruit trees and flowering shrubs, that were now run into wildernesses: but no traces appeared to indicate former opulence, or convey the impression of fallen magnificence. It is true, the vestiges of Oriental cities, when suffered to fall into decay, soon disappear. Their best houses, limited to a single story, constructed generally of wood or of bricks that have been dried only in the sun, require an unremitting attention to preserve them from mouldering into dust. Their city walls, constructed of light and imperfect materials, soon crumble into heaps of ruins, and are buried under a rapid and vigorous vegetation. The system on which their city walls are built is but ill calculated for

duration. The mass of loose earth heaped in the middle has a constant tendency to push out the brick or stone casing, which, tumbling into the ditch, is lost in a few years in the general surface. If the great and populous city of Pekin, the greatest and most populous perhaps on the whole globe, should by any accident be deserted, many centuries would not be required to blot out every vestige of its situation. It is, therefore, the less surprising that, in the days of Alexander, all traces of the supposed magnificent palaces of Troy had disappeared; and that the proud city of Babylon, once the mistress of the world, should for so many ages past have been laid prostrate in the dust.

“ The cottages of Turon were in general snug and clean, and sufficiently compact to protect the inhabitants from the heat of the sun at one season, and the heavy rains at the other. There appeared to be no want in the market of either cotton or silk stuffs for clothing; and the country produced a great variety and abundance of articles, which contribute to the sustenance of the multitude, as well as to the luxuries of the higher orders of the people. Almost every kind of domestic animal, except sheep, appeared to be plentiful. They had small horned cattle, short-legged hogs, kids, and great abundance of ducks and fowls. They eat dogs as in China, and frogs are a common article of food. The sea as well as the land is a never-failing source of sustenance to multitudes who dwell on the coast. Beside a great variety of good fish, they eat at least three different species of the *Balistes*, and as many of the genus *Chætodon*; one of the latter

latter of which, with its purple and yellow bandages and ocellated fin, is a very beautiful fish. The net is in common use, and so are wicker baskets, made like the wire mousetrap, into which fish running to the bait are prevented from getting out again; and we observed them taking vast quantities of flying fish, by letting down into the sea deep earthen jars with narrow necks, baited with pork or the offals of fish. Most of the genera of marine worms, belonging to that class which by naturalists is distinguished under the name of *Mollusca*, are used as articles of food by the Cochinchinese; as, for instance, various species of the *Medusa*, *Holothuria*, *Actinia*, *Ascidia* and *Doris*; some of which, as the *Biches de mer*, usually called *Trepan*, (a species either of *Holothuria* or *Actinia*,) is caught and prepared as an article of luxury and commerce. All the gelatinous substances derived from the sea, whether animal or vegetable, are considered by them among the most nutritious of all aliments; and on this principle various kinds of *Algæ* or sea-weeds, particularly those genera which are known by the names of *Fuci* and *Ulvæ*, are included in the list of their edible plants.

“In the populous islands of Japan the natives of the sea-coasts derive part of their sustenance from various kinds of sea-weeds, and from none more than that species of *Fucus* which is called *Saccharinus*. It would appear from Mr. Thunberg’s account of its leaves being used to ornament and embellish packages of fruit or other presents offered to strangers, that this plant is there in high estimation, being considered perhaps as the representative of

those resources of sustenance which the sea so amply supplies to such nations as from choice or necessity may be led to avail themselves of its various productions. The *Chin-chou* jelly of China may probably be made, in part, of the *Fucus saccharinus*; for it would appear, from samples brought to England, that the leaves from which this jelly is made are taken from three or four distinct species of this extensive genus. There is reason indeed to believe, that most of the species both of the *Fuci* and the *Ulvæ* might be employed for similar purposes. From the shores of Robben island; at the Cape of Good Hope, the slaves are accustomed to bring away baskets of a species of *Fucus*, whose leaves are sword-shaped; serrated, and about six inches long. These leaves being first washed clean and sufficiently dried to resist putrefaction, are then steeped in fresh water for five or six days, changing it every morning; after which, if boiled for a few hours in a little water, they become a clear transparent jelly, which, being mixed with a little sugar and the juice of a lemon or orange, is as pleasant and refreshing as any kind of jelly whatsoever. And as few countries perhaps can boast of a greater number of species of the *Fuci* and *Ulvæ* than are found on the coasts of the British islands, future generations may discover those nutritive qualities which many of them contain, and not limit the use of them as articles of food to a few species, which is the case at present; for excepting the *Esculentus* or *Tangle*, the *Saccharinus*, better known in Iceland than in Britain, the *Palmatum* or *Dulse*, which the Scotch say is not only rich and gelatinous but communicates

communicates to other vegetables with which it may be mixed the fragrant smell of violets, and that species of *Ulva* well known on the coast of Wales by the name of *Laver*, all the rest seem to be neglected.

“But the *Chin chou* of China, called more properly *Hai-tsai* or *sea-vegetable*, is not only used as an article of food, but is employed both in China, Japan, and Cochin-china, as a gummous or gelatinous substance, for giving additional transparency to large sheets of paper or coarse gauze used for windows or lanterns. The latter, made sometimes of slips of bamboo crossed diagonally, have frequently their lozenge-shaped interstices wholly filled with the transparent gluten of the *Hai-tsai*.

“The Cochinchinese collect likewise many of the small succulent or fleshy plants, which are usually produced on salt and sandy marshes, as the *Salicornia*, *Arenaria*, *Crithmum maritimum* or samphire, and many others, which they either boil in their soups or stews, or eat in a raw state to give sapidity to rice, which, in fact, is with them the grand support of existence. Of this grain they have the art of making a kind of vermicelli, usually called *Lock-foy*, which is perfectly transparent, and held on that account in high estimation both in Japan and China; to the latter of which it is exported in considerable quantity. It communicates to soup a gelatinous consistence, but at the same time preserves its form and transparency, qualities which would lead one to doubt if rice be the only ingredient in its composition. The Chinese *Lock-foy* is opaque.

“By the natives of warm cli-

mates animal food is seldom ranked among articles of the first necessity, and is sparingly used. And though fish is the common sustenance of those who inhabit the sea-coasts, yet rice made more gustable by a little salt, a pod of capsicum or pepper, or a leaf of some of the acidulous maritime vegetables above-mentioned, furnishes a grateful meal to the great mass of Oriental nations. All beyond this article and its accompaniments, even the areca nut and betel leaf, as well as opium and spirituous liquors, may be considered in the light of luxuries. Of rice, in Cochin-china, they are almost certain of two plentiful crops every year, one of which is reaped in April, the other in October. Fruits of various kinds, as oranges, bananas, figs, pine-apples, guavas, pomegranates, and others of inferior note, are abundantly produced in all parts of the country. They have very fine yams, and plenty of sweet potatoes. Their small breed of cattle does not appear to furnish them with much milk; but of this article indeed, like the Chinese, they make but a very sparing use, not even as food for their young children. These little creatures were very numerous in Turon, and appeared remarkably healthy; and till the age of seven or eight years were entirely naked. Their food seemed to consist chiefly of rice, sugar-cane, and water-melons. The mass of people in Cochin-china, like the common Chinese, have but two meals in the day, one about nine or ten in the morning, the other about sunset: and these are usually taken, in the dry season, before the doors of their cottages, on mats spread in the open air. Where all fare alike,

none feels ashamed to expose his humble meal.

“ In the neighbourhood of Turon we observed several plantations of sugar-canes and tobacco. The juice of the former, having undergone a partial refinement, is exported to the China market in cakes, which in colour, thickness and porosity resemble the honey-comb; the latter is consumed in the country, as all degrees of every age and sex indulge in the habit of smoking. The face of the country exhibited, however, but feeble marks of tillage; and arts and manufactures were evidently in a languishing state. The cottages contained little furniture, and that little was rude in its construction, and as if intended only for temporary use. The matting which covered the floors was ingeniously woven in different colours; but the art of making mats is so common in all the nations of the East, that the most beautiful are scarcely subjects of admiration among themselves. Their domestic utensils consisted chiefly of an earthen stove, an iron pot to boil their rice, a pan of the shape of a watch-glass to fry their vegetables in oil, and a few porcelain cups or bowls. Their vessels of cast iron were equal in quality to those of the Chinese, but their earthen-ware was very inferior. They seemed to work in metals with a tolerable degree of neatness. The handles of the officers' swords were mostly of silver, and by no means ill finished; and their articles of fillagree were equal to those of the Chinese. In fact, both the one and the other possess quick and comprehensive talents, and, under due encouragement, are already in that advanced stage to make a very

rapid progress in the arts, sciences, and manufactures. Under every disadvantage of a bad government, their ingenuity occasionally breaks forth in a surprising manner. The man at Canton who could make a watch at first sight had neither a weak head nor an unskilful hand.

“ Their arts and manufactures did not, however, appear to be in a state of progressive improvement. There is in all the Oriental governments a radical defect, which no advantages of soil or climate or other favourable circumstances can compensate, and which must forever operate against their attaining the character and the condition of a great and happy people. This insuperable bar to their grandeur and felicity is owing to the want of a permanent security to property. Where the right of inheritance is a weaker claim than the state of possession; where the hand of arbitrary power can at any time, without the forms of legal process, dispossess a man of the piece of ground on which the support of himself and his family wholly depends; where only the law of the strongest is acknowledged, and where neither person nor property has any effectual protection against the designs of the vindictive or the rapacious entrusted with power,— what possible encouragement can the subject have to build an elegant house, to improve the cultivation of his land, to aim at perfection in any branch of the arts, or to extend his ingenuity or his industry much beyond the mere supplying of the necessaries of life. An Oriental sage has observed, ‘that the proof of a just government and a well-regulated police is, when a beautiful woman covered with jewels can travel

travel abroad in perfect security.' What would this sage have said of that government and that police, where a helpless and wealthy old woman, surrounded by a set of lusty and indigent servants, commits herself and her property to them and to the world with as much composure and confidence, as if her physical strength was not in the least inferior to theirs;—or, where the property of a still more helpless infant orphan is not only secured till he arrives at years of discretion, but cultivated and improved sometimes to the double of its original value? However strange such a relation might appear to an inhabitant of the eastern hemisphere, we have the satisfaction of knowing it to be strictly true in many parts of the western world, and in none more so than on the highly favoured island of Great Britain.

“ That particular branch of the arts in which the Cochinchinese may be said to excel at the present day is naval architecture, for which, however, they are not a little indebted to the size and quality of the timber employed for that purpose. Their row-gallies for pleasure are remarkably fine vessels. These boats, from fifty to eighty feet in length, are sometimes composed of five single planks, each extending from one extremity to the other, the edges morticed, kept tight by wooden pins, and bound firm by twisted fibres of bamboo, without either ribs or any kind of timbers. At the stem and stern they are raised to a considerable height, and are curiously carved into monstrous figures of dragons and serpents, ornamented with gilding and painting. A number of

poles and spears bearing flags and streamers, pikes ornamented with tufts of cows' tails painted red, lanterns and umbrellas, and other insignia denoting the rank of the passenger, are erected at each end of the boat. And as these people, like the Chinese, differ in most of their notions from the greater portion of mankind, the company always sit in the fore part of the boat; but as it would be a breach of good manners for the rowers to turn their backs on the passengers, they stand with their faces towards the bow of the boat, pushing the oars from them instead of pulling towards them, as is usually done in the western world. The servants and the baggage occupy the stern of the boat. The vessels that are employed in the coasting trade, the fishing craft, and those which collect the *Trepan* and swallows' nests among the cluster of islands called the *Paracels*, are of various descriptions; many of them, like the Chinese *Sampans*, covered with sheds of matting, under which a whole family constantly resides; and others, resembling the common proas of the Malays, both as to their hulls and rigging. Their foreign traders are built on the same plan as the Chinese junks, the form and construction of which are certainly not to be held out as perfect models of naval architecture; yet, as they have subsisted some thousands of years unaltered, they are at least entitled to a little respect from the antiquity of the invention. As these vessels never were intended for ships of war, extraordinary swiftness for pursuit or escape was not an essential quality; security rather than speed was the object of the owner. And as no great ca-

pitals were individually employed in trade, and the merchant was both owner and navigator, a limited tonnage was sufficient for his own merchandize; the vessel was therefore divided, in order to obviate this inconvenience, into distinct compartments, so that one ship might separately accommodate many merchants. The bulk heads by which these divisions were formed consisted of planks of two inches thick, so well caulked and secured as to be completely watertight.

“Whatever objections may be started against the dividing of ships’ holds, and the interference in the stowage seems to be the most material one, it cannot be denied that it gives to large vessels many important advantages. A ship, thus fortified with cross bulk-heads, may strike on a rock and yet sustain no serious injury; a leak springing in one division of the hold will not be attended with any damage to the articles placed in another; and by the ship being thus so well bound together, she is firm and strong enough to sustain a more than ordinary shock. It is well known to seamen, that when a large ship strikes the ground, the first indication of her falling in pieces is when the edges of the decks begin to part from the sides; but this separation can never happen when the sides and the deck are firmly bound together by cross bulk-heads. In fact, this old Chinese invention is now on trial in the British navy, as a new experiment. Other schemes have likewise been proposed in this country for propelling ships in a calm, by large scullers, by water wheels placed at the sides or through the bottom, and by vari-

ous other modes; all of which, though taking the name of *Inventions*, have been in common use among the Chinese for more than two thousand years.

“Although the present king of this country has to a certain degree broken the fetters of custom, as far as regards the construction of ships of war, yet, in doing this, he has not been unmindful of popular prejudice, which, in Asiatic countries in particular where they are wholly guided by opinion, is stamped with a character too sacred to be torn up at once by the roots. Out of deference to this prejudice, he caused that part only of the hull or body of the vessel to be altered which is immersed in the water; all the upper works, the masts, sails and rigging, remaining Cochinchinese. Indeed it may be questioned if the pliant bamboo, which forms so material a part of the upper works of their vessels, could be displaced with any advantage by solid timber, than which it is more light and equally strong. It is impossible not to admire the good sense of this wise and active prince, who, in steering this middle path, obtained a real advantage without introducing any visible change.

“Of tenacity to ancient custom a curious instance appeared on the part of the emperor of Japan, when the Dutch carried to this sovereign from Batavia, a few years ago, among other presents, the model of a ship of war. The ambassador happening to observe the emperor casting his eye upon this model, and conceiving the occasion might be turned to the advantage of his employers, ventured to make a proposal for sending to  
Japan

Japan a number of proper artificers from Holland, for the purpose of instructing his subjects in the art of ship-building according to the practice of Europe. The emperor desired he might be asked how long his countrymen had been acquainted with the art of constructing ships on the model he had brought. The ambassador replied, about three hundred years. 'Tell him,' says the emperor, 'that my people have built such ships as he sees floating in my harbours for as many thousand years, and that I have not yet heard of any complaints against their utility. I shall not, therefore, pay so ill a compliment to myself or to my people, as to lay aside the test of ages for an invention of yesterday. The Dutch ships may suit the Dutch, but not the Japanese. Tell him, therefore, I would advise him to take back this part of his present.'

"The Cochinchinese having effectually preserved the written characters of the Chinese language, we found no difficulty in communicating with them on all subjects, through this medium, by our Chinese priests. The spoken language, however, has undergone a very considerable change, which is the less surprizing, as the inhabitants of the northern and southern provinces of China are unintelligible to each other; but though it has been altered, it does not appear to have received any improvement, neither from additions of their own, nor from the introduction of foreign words.

"To these people we found less difficulty in making ourselves intelligible than we had to encounter in our future intercourse with

the grave and solemn Chinese, whose dignity would be thought to suffer debasement by their condescending to employ the pencil in delineating objects, notwithstanding its alliance with their mode of writing; or by attempting to indicate, by signs and gestures, such ideas as are capable of being interchanged without the aid of language. This was by no means the case with the Cochinchinese, who always seemed anxious to enter into our views, and to facilitate a mutual understanding. Those Chinese, however, who traffic with or engage as servants to Europeans at Canton, are as ready, as ingenious, and as fertile in inventions for making themselves intelligible to their employers, and in meeting the ideas of those whom it is their interest to please, as any other people possibly can be. A captain, for instance, of one of the East India Company's ships pointing one day at table towards a dish, which he supposed to be hashed duck, desired his Chinese servant, who had only learned a little of the jargon which this description of persons are usually taught by their masters, to get him some of the *quaak-quaak*. The servant, having looked at the dish, shook his head, and, by way of correcting his master's mistake, observed significantly that it was not *quaak-quaak*, but *bow-wow*, the dish happening to be a preparation of *dog* instead of *duck*.

"It is scarcely necessary to observe that the religion of the Cochinchinese, like that of almost all the oriental nations, is a modification of the widely extended doctrine of *Budha*, appearing, however, from the little we had an opportunity

opportunity of seeing as to the devotional part, more simple and less disguised with the mysteries and machinery of oracular worship, than that which is practised popularly in China. From a sentiment of gratitude to the benevolent and bountiful spirit, the Cochinchinese, like the Jews of old, manifest their piety by offering to the image of the protecting deity the firstlings of their living flocks and of the fruits of the earth. The first ears of rice, the first ripe nut of the areca, the first cup of sugar, or whatever the nature of the produce may be, is taken to the shrine which contains the sacred image, and is there deposited with becoming reverence, as an humble acknowledgment of the divine goodness. I was much gratified in the opportunity of being present at an offering of this nature. Landing from our boat one serene evening, in a little cove on the northern shore of Turon bay, I observed a person in a long yellowish coloured robe reaching to the ground, his head bare and closely shaved, marching with a kind of measured step towards a large spreading tree, and followed by a few of the peasantry. On arriving at the foot of the tree they all halted. Just at the head of the main trunk (for it was a species of *Ficus Indica* or Banyan tree, called *Doa* in Cochinchina, whose branches take root and become stems) I observed a large cage of latticed work, with a pair of folding doors, fixed between two boughs, and partly hidden by the foliage. Within was a wooden figure of *Budha* or *Fo*, of the same corpulent shape, and in the usual sitting posture as he is

represented in the temples of China. A little boy attending on the priest stood close before him with a burning coal on a brazendish. One of the peasants carried a ladder of bamboo, which he placed against the tree; and another mounting it deposited in the cage, before the idol, two basons of rice, a cup of sugar, and one of salt. The priest in the mean time, with arms extended, and eyes turning towards heaven, muttered something in a low tone of voice, when the man who had carried the ladder on his knees, and nine times prostrated his body on the ground, according to the custom of the Chinese. Several women and children remained at a distance, as if forbidden to approach too near; though, as priestesses are said to be common in this country, it is not probable there was any restriction on account of the sex.

“ That the ladder was the property of the priest, and that at a suitable time he would take care to remove the sacred deposit, and appropriate the offering to his own use, like the priests of the idol Bel in times of old, as related in the apocryphal writings, there is little room for doubting; but the offering was not, on that account, less a token of the piety and gratitude of him who made it. And although it might have been more dignified, on the part of the priest, to take his due fairly and openly, yet there are not perhaps any class of men who are better entitled to a remuneration for their service than those whose time is occupied in keeping alive the duties of religion. At all times and in all nations the disposal of the first fruits seems



seems to have been vested in the hands of the priests. From sacred history it clearly appears to have formed a part of the Jewish dispensation; and we are informed by Pliny, that no one ever thought of tasting new fruits or new wine until the priests had first performed the customary libations—*Ac ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut vina antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent.*

“On the skirts of every little grove of trees near Turon bay small boxes of wood or baskets of wicker work were either suspended from or fixed among the branches, some containing images made of various materials, and others painted or gilded paper cut into different shapes, inscriptions on slips of wood in the Chinese character, and many other indications of their sacred destination. Trees, in fact, appear to have been among the first of temples that were consecrated to the deities. To man, but little advanced beyond a state of nature, the grandest objects that present themselves are those most likely to arrest his adoration. Such on the plains are trees of venerable antiquity, and on the mountains their high peaked summits of solid rock. But man, more vain and ambitious in proportion as he became more civilised, conceived a Babel whose summit should reach to the skies. The most sumptuous and magnificent temples were consecrated to the deity by most of the polished nations of antiquity, and this practice has universally been adopted by the professors of christianity; but the Chinese and their neighbours differ in their opinions on this subject, as on most others,

from the rest of mankind. They are content to worship

‘—that Spirit that does prefer  
Before all temples the upright heart and  
pure,’

in all places and under all circumstances. A little casket not larger than a snuff-box frequently enshrines a favourite divinity. Solitary devotion, it is true, requires not the space that is necessary for congregational worship. A tutelary deity may be placed in any corner of the house, or carried about in the pocket.

“The Cochinchinese are extremely superstitious, and their devotional exercises, like those of the Chinese, are more frequently performed with the view of averting an ideal evil, than with the hope of acquiring a positive good; or, in other words, the evil spirit is more dreaded than the good one revered. In various parts of the country are large wooden stakes or pillars erected, not only for the purpose of marking the spot where some great calamity, either of a public or a private nature, may have happened, as the loss of a battle, the murder of an individual, or other unfortunate event, but as a propitiation to the evil spirit by whose influence it is supposed to have been occasioned. So also when an infant dies, the parents are supposed to have incurred the displeasure of some malignant spirit, which they endeavour to appease by offerings of rice, oil, tea, money, or whatever they may imagine to be the most acceptable to the angry divinity. From such sentiments one may venture to hope that the horrid practice of infanticide is not among the bad customs they have retained of the Chinese.

“ Beside the spontaneous offerings which individuals conceive it necessary to make on various occasions, it seems that a yearly contribution, levied by government, is paid for the support of a certain number of monasteries, in which the priests invoke the deity for the public welfare. This contribution consists of produce in kind, as rice, fruits, sugar, areca nut, and other articles; in lieu of which, in towns, are collected money, metals, clothing, and such like. The priests here, as in China, are considered to be the best physicians; but their art lies more in charms and fascinations than in the judicious application of sanative drugs.

“ It may be inferred that the fundamental principles of the Cochinchinese government are the same as those of China; that they have the same laws and the same modes of punishment; but on this subject I am unable to communicate any information. In the open building adjoining that where the ruling mandarin resided, we saw both the *Tcha* and the *Pan-tsé* (the cangue and the bamboo;) but whether the execution of the laws is here less rigidly attended to, or the morals of the people are less corrupt, than in China, I will not pretend to say: it may be observed, however, that not a single punishment of any description occurred to our notice, whereas in China we scarcely ever passed a town or village in which our eyes were not offended at the sight of the cangue, or the ears assailed with the cries of persons suffering under the stroke of the bamboo. There, indeed, the mandarins, however corrupt and debauched in private life, assume in public an austerity of

conduct, which gives a sanction to their corrections; but a mandarin of Cochinchina, who openly violates the rules of decorum, and sets in his own person the example of levity and licentiousness, could but with a very bad grace direct and superintend the punishment of another less guilty than himself. At all events, the spirit of the people of Turon did not appear to suffer any depression from a too severe exercise of the hand of power.”

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*State of the Colonies of Demerara, Berbische, &c.*

*From Dr. Pinckard's Notes on the West Indies.*

AN unfavourable prejudice has been imbibed respecting the climate upon this coast; and a general opinion prevails, as well in the West India Islands as in Europe, that these colonies are very unhealthy; but however the fact may stand, upon a comparison with the genial climate of Europe, it is certainly incorrect with respect to the neighbouring islands. Probably it is a prejudice that may date its origin from the earliest settling of the colonies; being formed either from a superficial view of the low and muddy surface of the land; or in consequence of sickness having prevailed among the settlers at the time of first clearing the soil.

Low and flat countries are usually unfavourable to the health of man; but the insalubrity does not result as a necessary consequence of this form of the land: other circumstances are required; for unless these conspire, or, having conspired,

if

if they are removed, the fact no longer exists. A low country, badly cleared, and not well drained, and only brought into partial cultivation, will, no doubt, be unhealthy: but a low country, so well cleared and cultivated as Demerara, will not be sickly only because it is low. A broken or mountainous country may preserve its salubrity, in great measure, from its form, or the particular exposure of its irregular surface: but a flat and low country ever requires the aid of industry; and can only be made healthy by the unceasing toil of man: and herein is afforded a beautiful and striking example of the all-providing care of our great parent, Nature. She has made labour necessary to the well-being of man; and she causes the earth to bestow health as the consequence of his toil; but if he neglects the salutary exertions of industry, she compels the very fields not only to reproach his indolence, but to punish him with sickness. She has even gone further; for these fields, which, bereft of his health-inspiring toil, will destroy him, she has particularly empowered to reward him with plenty and riches, if he denies them not the attentions which she has made necessary to the preservation of his health.

You will have collected some knowledge of the general appearance, and the state of cultivation of this coast, from the desultory remarks I have already sent you; but as I find a few words upon these subjects among my general notes, I shall transcribe them, with the others, and you may read them or not, as suits your leisure. I have told you, that on approaching these colonies from the sea, the land

is not visible until you come very near to the shore. The tops of trees only are seen, which appear to be growing out of the ocean. Before the coast was brought into cultivation, the forest reached very near to the edge of the water, and, from the land being low, it was frequently overflowed by the tides. Now there is a cultivated territory, a mile and a half in depth, between the ocean and the forest; but this is so entirely flat as wholly to escape the eye, and, on sailing towards the coast, the trees still look as if they were growing within the edge of the sea.

Perhaps none but the plodding industrious Hollanders would have attempted to settle such a country—where wood and water concealed every appearance of the land, and seemed to bid defiance to all the powers of cultivation. Nor indeed were the early labours of the first settlers directed to this part of the coast. They sailed far up the rivers, and established the settlements upon the more elevated banks, at a distance remote from the sea: not venturing to devote their industry to the immediate borders of the ocean, until they were prompted to it by the enterprise of more adventurous planters from the British islands.

The whole of the territory now brought into cultivation upon the coast is *made* land. It has been placed—I had almost said created, by the hand of man, and is only preserved to his use by constant toil. Numerous ditches and canals are cut to drain the water from the common surface; and the land that is planted is only the mud and clay thrown out of these channels.

An estate, or plantation, usually consists

consists of a long piece of flat land, about a quarter of a mile in width, and a mile and a half in depth, running back from the sea to the woods. It is bordered by wide ditches, and traversed by a number of others, and is thus formed into many separate divisions, somewhat resembling an assemblage of beds—such as are usually made in our English gardens for the planting of asparagus.

A deep bank of earth, called a dyke, is thrown up in front, to defend the estate from the encroachments of the sea; a similar bank is raised at the back, to prevent it from being inundated by the waters which overspread the flat surface of the forest. The ditches unite by frequent interfections, and, from communicating with the sea, they are filled by the flowing, and emptied by the ebbing of the tide. Thus the estate undergoes, as it were, a daily draining, and all noxious and stagnant accumulations are prevented. In addition to these frequent washings, it is made one of the annual duties of the estate, thoroughly to scour out the ditches; when the mud that is removed forms a coating of manure, and serves to raise, while it enriches the soil; which, from cultivation, from the falling of heavy rains, and from the flowing of the tides in the numerous channels around it, were it not for this supply, would soon wear to a level, and be again a prey to the encroaching waters.

From a number of these estates lying contiguous to each other, the coast is formed into an open, though narrow, territory, and the border of the sea swells into one splendid cotton field, a mile and

half deep, and of nearly seventy miles extent. The surface being quite level, this immense track of cultivated land opens at once to the eye, and the scene is not less rich than novel. Perhaps a plain so spacious, a soil so fertile, and a produce so abundant, cannot be met with in any other country.

Like the soil in cultivation, the land which forms the public roads is only the mud and clay procured from the ditches that border them. They are of course flat, like the rest of the territory, and running at the bottom, or along the sides of the estates, they form straight lines, and right angles, throughout the whole extent of the plantations, interrupted only by the wooden bridges which cross the numerous ditches and canals.

In allotting the land, a certain width of territory between each two estates is, with much wisdom, reserved to the colony, in order to form what are here termed colony paths. These not only serve as common ways from the front to the back of every plantation, but in each of them is cut a public canal, which runs from the sea, throughout the whole depth of the cultivated land, to the forest. By this provision many useful purposes are answered:—the public convenience is promoted, and each individual planter is benefited.

The colony path not only offers itself a common road from the sea to the bush, but preserves a free communication for any future settlers who may engage in the cultivation of land at the back of the present estates; while the canal, by means of flood-gates, lets off to the ocean the water that lodges in the forest, and prevents it from  
overflowing

overflowing the cultivated fields, bringing at the same time a supply of fresh water for the use of the negroes and the cattle, and affording to the planters a ready means of conveying the produce of their estates to the sea.

Although the general face of the colonies be such as to convey an unfavourable impression, the peculiar mode of cultivation protects them from the ills which, upon a first view of the soil, might seem to be threatened. From the frequent use of the hoe, in clearing the crops, scarcely a weed is left to grow up and decay; from the numerous channels, which intersect each other, the rain that falls is carried off, without becoming stagnant; from the flowing of the tide, every thing noxious, brought to the ditches, is speedily removed; and from an annual scouring, the channels are kept peculiarly free from impurities; hence, notwithstanding that it is flat and low, the soil which is brought into cultivation is not suffered to grow swampy: no offensive accumulation is formed; nor does the mud-impregnated water of the ditches remain to grow putrid, and emit unhealthy vapours. The soil is always fresh; the channels are free, and the waters frequently renewed; it consequently follows that the evils, which commonly proceed from low and neglected ground, are in a great measure prevented.

When I mentioned, as one of the advantages of the public canals, that they furnish a supply of fresh water for the slaves and the cattle, I might have added, the paucity of good fresh water is one of the greatest inconveniences that is known in these colonies; for al-

though the canals bring water in plenty, it is so strongly impregnated with infused leaves, and other vegetable matters, in consequence of coming from the forest, that it is very unpleasant both to the eye and the palate, and, as the negroes express it, "*No good for buckra,*" although these poor beings are, themselves, obliged to share it with the cattle.

The river water is brackish to the distance of many miles from the coast: springs there are none; and wells would only supply a water which could not be used. Thus circumstanced, the expedient of preserving the offerings from the clouds naturally suggested itself, and, accordingly, tanks, or cisterns, have been constructed for this purpose at almost every estate. Some families preserve the rain water in large earthen jars, in which, with much care, it is kept good during the whole period of the dry season. Those who are not possessed of either jars or cisterns, are obliged to content themselves with the strongly macerated infusion of the forests, called "*bush-water;*" or to send parties many miles, with boats and casks, to obtain fresh water from the distant streams of the rivers.

You will imagine, from the nature of the land, that the crops upon this coast must be very abundant. They are so in fact; and are far more regularly productive than in any other of our settlements in the West Indies. These colonies likewise possess the great advantage of being free from hurricanes and earthquakes, and from that mischievous insect, the borer, which, in the islands, so often destroys the canes. They are also exempt

empt from great droughts, which are so frequently injurious to the islands, and, in consequence of being open to the breeze, they are less liable to frequent and sudden changes of temperature:—neither hills, nor rocks, nor woods, offer any impediment to the grateful trades, which kindly come to them from the ocean, and are scarcely ever absent throughout the whole annual circle.

The year is commonly divided into two wet and two dry seasons. The long wet season begins in April, declines in August, and ceases in September. The roads are then dry, and the weather fine until the middle of November, when the short wet season sets in, and continues till January. From the middle of January until the latter end of April the weather is dry, the atmosphere clear and pure, and the climate bright and genial. The roads are then good, the breeze is steady and powerful, the air comparatively cool, and the temperature subject to little variation.

In these colonies laws are made, and acts passed by the governor and council—the governor having two votes.

The members of councils are chosen by keizers, or electors; these being appointed by the inhabitants—each inhabitant, possessed of property to the amount of six hundred guilders per annum, being entitled to a vote.

To qualify a person for being elected a member of council, it is requisite he be a freeholder, and a protestant; that he shall have resided three years in the colony; and that he understand the Dutch language.

The council framing laws is called a court of policy; and this court is of a mixed form, resembling a combination of the house of assembly, and the governor and council of the British colonies.

The court of justice, like the legislative and executive, is composed of the governor, and of councillors elected by the keizers. This court takes cognizance of all civil and common causes, and admits of no appeal, except to the sovereign.

A commissary court is established for the judgment of petty offences, and for the decision of all questions of property below the value of 600 guilders. This court consists of two members of the court of justice, who are appointed in rotation, the governor nominally presiding. The fiscal is the active officer of this court. It is his duty to announce or impose the fines, but he has no power to levy them. If they are resisted, he serves the parties with a citation, and they appeal to the commissary court.

The fiscal is the great law officer, and may be considered as the attorney and solicitor-general of the colony. His powers and privileges are very considerable, and his influence, of course, extensive.

The country is divided into a certain number of districts, with a burgher and captain appointed to each, on whom devolves the more immediate execution of the public regulations, whether made for the particular convenience of the respective districts, or for the common benefit of the colony at large.

It is a regulation—or call it a law of the colony, that each planter shall keep in repair that portion of the public road, together with

its bridges, which crosses or passes at the end of his own estate. But instead of overseers, or surveyors of the road being appointed, it is made the duty of the fiscal to travel throughout the colony twice in every year, for the express purpose of inspecting the roads and bridges, and imposing fines upon the owners of such as are not found to be in good repair.

In these visits of inspection the law requires that he shall be accompanied by a burgher officer, and a clerk from the government secretary's office; the former to approve, the latter to witness such approval, and to note the fines imposed. This control would seem to be highly necessary, as certain proportions of these fines become the perquisite of the fiscal, and serve to enrich his own purse.

The planters, upon receiving notice of the fines thus levied, have the privilege of resisting the payment of them: in which case the fiscal refers the question to the commissary court, and himself pleads the cause, as the principal law officer of the colony. But it frequently happens, that by offering a third, or a half of the fine, the affair is compromised—the fiscal silenced—his pocket satisfied—and all further appeal to the court of justice prevented.

The regulation has, however, the effect of keeping the public roads in very excellent repair; for

knowing how very improbable it is that the least defect can escape the penetrating and interested eye of the fiscal, each planter is particularly attentive to the highways and the bridges\*.

All grants of land, in these colonies, are made from the States General of the United Provinces, and they commonly consist of lots either of 250 or 500 acres, laid out in the above-mentioned regular form, which is favoured by the situation and flatness of the land. In front, towards the sea, each estate is about 1200 Dutch† feet in width; and in length, back from the sea into the forest, or bush, 9000 feet. In Berbische, many of the grants are 1800 feet wide, and 12,000 deep. On granting the land, it is stipulated that the plantation shall be advanced to a certain state of cultivation by a given period, under the penalty of being forfeited at the expiration of that period, if not cultivated to the extent specified; and by way of encouragement to the planter, a second depth, further into the forest, of equal extent, and immediately at the back of the other, is usually granted to the person who holds the first depth from the sea, so soon as it shall be certified, by the two neighbouring planters, that two-thirds of the first grant are brought into good cultivation, and that the new grant will not be in any wise injurious to them.

\* This regulation, which certainly had its advantages, has been found a source of cavil and vexation, and it has since been made an order of government that the fiscal should have his specific reward, and the whole of the fines be devoted to the ways and means of the colony. But it is to be feared that this arrangement may make him less zealous in executing the duty, and that the roads and bridges may not, henceforth, be found in such excellent repair.

† The Dutch weights and measures exceed by about  $\frac{1}{12}$  part those of England.

Some gentlemen are now in possession of these double plantations of 18,000 feet; but, for the most part, only the single estates of 9000 feet are yet made obedient to the hoe.

Thus you will perceive that these rich colonies are merely a narrow strip of land, upon the border of the Atlantic Ocean, bounded by a deep forest, which extends across the whole continent to the Pacific Ocean.

The Dutch, upon originally establishing the settlements, as I have already said, cultivated only the banks of the rivers, and until within the last twelve or fifteen years, scarcely any plantations were formed upon the coast. It is since this period that English adventure has taught the plodding Hollander that he had overlooked his best interests, in not bestowing his industry upon the immediate border of the ocean; and the sea-shore already exhibits one rich and fertile field, nearly throughout the whole extent, from the river Demerara to the river Berbische.

It is now believed that, in the course of a few years, the borders of the rivers will be totally abandoned, and, instead of being enriched with coffee and sugar, will be left a prey to the wild woods. In such event, a very short time would efface every mark of human industry, and strangers would be unable to discover that the arm of man had ever extended thither; for so rapid is the progress of vegetation, that the land is only held subservient to useful purposes by

the unremitted toil of slaves, which being once withdrawn, it would speedily revert to its original wildness, and again become a part of one vast and savage forest.

The colony of Berbische was the first settled; but that of Demerara has proceeded with far the most rapid improvement. The number of estates now in cultivation upon the sea-coast, from the Demerara river to the border of the colony of Berbische, is one hundred and sixteen; all of which are planted with cotton, except the "Kitty," belonging to Mr. T. Cumming, which has been recently planted with sugar\*. This part of the colony is divided into four districts, the burgher captains presiding over which are all British planters, viz. Mr. Lochland Cumming, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Talfer, and Mr. Sutherland.

It were scarcely necessary to remark to you, that coffee, cotton, and sugar are the great, and almost only commercial productions of the colony. The average produce of the eighty best cotton estates is calculated at from 50,000lb. to 60,000lb. weight, each, of cotton per annum. In the cultivation of this plant, *one prime negro* is considered as sufficient stock for *two acres of land*. The average number of cotton bushes planted upon an acre is six hundred. Each bush is calculated to produce eight ounces of cotton; and the average price of cotton, sold in the colony, is estimated at fifteen stivers per pound.

The requisite proportion of stock

\* Since these notes were written, the number of estates has much increased, and several, that were only planted with cotton, now produce the most luxuriant crops of sugar.



for an estate cultivated with coffee is *two negroes to three acres* of land. The number of coffee bushes usually planted is four hundred and fifty per acre. Each bush is calculated to produce  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of coffee; and the average price, when sold in the colony, is from seven to eight stivers per pound.

The cultivation of sugar is the most expensive, and requires considerably the greatest proportion of stock—*one prime negro* being necessary to *every acre* of land.—The average return of an estate planted with sugar is 50l. sterling per acre, being 2000lb. weight of sugar, at four-pence per pound, and rum in proportion.

The domestic fowls seen in these colonies are the same as those of Europe; but we find that the Muscovy duck and the Guinea fowl are much more commonly used than in England. Only very few of the birds or beasts of the surrounding woods have yet been domesticated, and these not for the purpose of utility, but amusement—the monkey and parrot tribes being almost the only species seen about the houses. The horse, the sheep, the dog, and the other animals which are usually associated with the family circle, and made subservient to man, are not the native inhabitants of the forests; but, possibly, there may be others which might be brought into social habits, and made to contribute to our wants. Domestic birds it is known there are; for we occasionally see, in that state, the native ducks of the rivers, and what is here called the powys, or turkey of the woods, which is a more stately bird, and nearly as large as the common turkey of Europe.

With respect to the natural history of the country, a wider field seems to be opened in botany and zoology than in mineralogy; for while the animal and vegetable worlds are abundantly stored, scarcely such a thing as a stone or a pebble can be found in any part of the colonies yet uncultivated. I lament exceedingly that my occupations will not allow me more time to devote to these objects, and, on this ground, I have particularly to regret being separated from my baggage, having left behind me two large boxes of books, the loss of which I feel very severely.

Delightful as the study is, perhaps no extensive progress can be expected to be made in different branches of the natural history of the country, so long as it shall continue to be visited only from views of pecuniary gain. Even the enthusiasm which attaches to new discoveries can induce but few to toil in such a climate in the mere pursuits of science; and, accordingly, we see that it is the object of those who do hazard their persons, to devote themselves to the means of acquiring a competent fortune, to enable them to retire, as speedily as possible, to enjoy the fruits of it under a more temperate sun.

It is not only with excessive heat and disease that those who visit these regions have to contend! The extreme annoyance from whole tribes of insects and reptiles is even less supportable to many than the exhausting warmth of the climate. In truth, I may say it is so to myself, for the general buzzing, the biting, stinging, creeping, and crawling of these tormenting objects, distress me far more than the heat,

heat, or any apprehension of disease. We are bitten, stung, or overrun by day and by night, and exposed to incessant pain and discomfort, unless constantly upon the watch, or carefully protected by some defensive covering; being perpetually beset with myriads of flies, ants, musquitoes, cock-roaches, lizards, Jack Spaniards\*, fire-flies, centipedes, &c. &c., which, in addition to their bites and stings, fly in our faces, crawl about our persons, and make an intolerable buzzing in our ears. In an evening, and particularly after rain, the confused noise of these humming hosts is very peculiarly disagreeable. It conveys the idea of breathing in an atmosphere of sounds, or amidst one great and animated hive, where every created insect joins in full chorus—the enormous frog of the country croaking the base, in a voice which resembles the loud bel- lowing of an ox.—Vastly agreeable, methinks I hear you exclaim, for any one troubled with nervous sensations, or what are vulgarly called the fidgets!

From the great fertility of the soil; from the uninterrupted regularity of the crops, and their abundant produce; and from the immense extent of territory capable of being brought into cultivation, these colonies may be regarded as the most valuable capture which has yet been made during the war, and perhaps that which it might be most to the advantage of England to preserve to herself upon the return of peace.

The number of slaves, at this period, in the united colonies of

Essequibo and Demerara is fifty-five thousand†. The greatest number possessed by any individual is nearly 2000. These are the property of Mynheer Boode, a planter living upon the western coast of the Demerara river; a man of immense fortune, who is said to have been originally a drum-boy in the Dutch service, and to have come to this colony from Surinam, whither he had arrived with the troops from Holland. Here, by a steady perseverance in successful industry, he has been enabled to acquire a fortune, which is represented as princely indeed; it being said to amount to nearly 50,000*l.* sterling per annum.

Of the daily wages of labour it were difficult to speak with any degree of accuracy, in a country where the work is done by slaves. I have already mentioned to you an instance of the exorbitant price of wages among the labouring class of carpenters, and this may serve as a specimen of the rate of hire given to others. The lower classes of white people are mostly mechanics or artizans, and these obtain high and extravagant wages in all parts of the West Indies.

White labouring peasants, or husbandmen, are here unknown. The mulattoes, likewise are, for the most part, bred to some handicraft employment, and very few of them are seen to toil their daily round in the field: the tilling of the land, therefore, and all the menial and lower degrees of labour, are performed by the negro slaves, who themselves, equally with the implements of their toil,

\* A large species of wasp.

† Already increased to upwards of 80,000.

the sole and disposable property of their masters; wherefore, in order to ascertain the wages of labour, it would be necessary to calculate the cost of the slave, his provisions, and clothing—the expence of the implements he uses—the risk of sickness, and of casualties—and the interest of money, and thence to draw the ratio of expenditure, or the sum employed to procure his daily toil.

But it sometimes happens that persons buy slaves who have neither land for them to cultivate, nor any other means of employing them; they therefore let them out to hire by the month or the year. Some even purchase negroes expressly for this purpose; and lay the foundation of their fortunes by selling the toil of Africans, who are thus made to sweat drops of gold for their owners, under the lash of other masters. The profit obtained from the labour of a slave, who costs about eighty pounds, is usually from twenty to twenty-two guineas per annum, all expence of food, and of medicines when sick, being defrayed, throughout the term for which he is engaged, by the person who hires him.

Upon making minute inquiry, I understand that the hire of a negro may be fairly estimated at about two guilders for a single day; if engaged for several weeks, at one guilder per day; and when hired for a longer period, it may be rated at about 250, or nearly 300 guilders per annum.

The compensation of professional labour bears not a due proportion to the high profits acquired by the merchants and planters. From the population being very limited, and the inhabitants not yet crowded

into towns, the medical practitioners are seldom rewarded with regular fees for their attendance; but are commonly allowed an annual salary for their services—thus establishing a kind of fixed income, which depends upon the number of estates regularly under their inspection, and not upon the number of sick whom they may have to visit.

Cabinet wares and household furniture are extravagantly dear. All articles of iron or polished steel soon become spoiled, in consequence of the sea air; hence it is common to have the hardware tinned or plated. Even keys, knives, corkscrews, and the like, whether left in the room or worn in the pocket, are soon covered with rust, and, without constant care, are rendered useless.

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*Character of the Demerara and Berbische Indians.*

*From the same.*

ALTHOUGH, from my short stay among them, you cannot expect an elaborate disquisition upon the subject of the Indians, you will perhaps demand a passing word upon such prominent points, concerning them, as more immediately strike the eye. I may therefore tell you, that the Indians who inhabit this part of the South American coast are of four tribes, or nations, the Arrouwacs, the Accawaus, the Warrous, and the Charibbees. The Charibbees, or Charibs, as they are more frequently called, are the tallest men, and of the most warlike aspect. Those we have seen of the other tribes are rather short, but in general

neral well formed;—although their figure denotes more of substance than of gracefulness. They are of a bright bay colour, their hair jet black, long, and straight. In common they are rather personable, and their features are more indicative of mildness than ferocity; for although in some of them the lines of the Tartar face may be traced, the character more generally denoted by the countenance is that of gentleness and tranquillity. The eyes are very black: they are small, distant from each other, and deep in the orbits. The cheek-bones stand a little wide, but they are not strongly prominent; the forehead tends to squareness of form, and the eye-brows are heavy. The nose, though not strongly aquiline, when viewed in profile, somewhat approaches that shape;—the mouth is of middle size; the lips of moderate thickness; the teeth rather small, white, and regular; the chin round; the angles of the lower jaw somewhat wide: from all which you will perceive that the face is rather broad than round, although the contour approaches more to the circular than the long or oval. We did not observe among them any resemblance of the flat nose, the wide mouth, thick lips, or large teeth of the negroes.

Their necks are thick, and, in general, not sufficiently long to be graceful. The chest is high and full; the shoulders square, going off at nearly right angles from the neck. The limbs are fleshy and robust. Upon the whole, they may be said to be of the figure generally denominated square-made, and consequently their form denotes more of strength than of grace-

fulness or agility. Still there is a difference between their figure and that of the strong-marked muscular subjects of colder and mountainous regions. Among the Indians of Guiana, the rough lines denoting strength are concealed in consequence of the interstices between the muscles being so filled with fat as to give a general smoothness to the surface; and from the same cause the fine action of the different muscles become less obvious when they are in motion, or under any exertion. Hence, although the figure of an Indian be square, full, and robust, still it does not convey precisely that idea of strength which attaches to the rough and muscular frames of the north; and yet is their form even *more unlike* that of the negroes.

It has happened to me to have frequent opportunities of seeing parties of Indians and of Africans standing naked together, and I have always remarked a striking difference in their figure. The negroes have long necks, and a finer fall of the shoulder. Their chest is not so full and open. The limbs are not so stout, but thinner, and longer, in proportion to the body.—The form of the Indians appears close and compact, while that of the negroes is more loose and slender, and more indicative of the heat and languor of climate. The projecting curvature of the tibia, so common to the Africans, does not prevail among the Indians. The difference of countenance is still more remarkable than the difference of form; but, as the negro face is familiar to you, I need not enter into a more minute detail of the discordant features.

The Indians wear no clothing  
except

except a band tied round the waist, and brought between the legs, to fasten before; such as I have mentioned to be in use among the negroes of these colonies. This is worn both by the men and women. Some, who have visited the colonists, have it made of blue cloth; but those who have not had the same opportunities of procuring cloth, make it of the bark of a tree. Sometimes, instead of this band, the women use a small apron, about three or four inches square, which being tied round the waist, and left to hang loose before, serves by way of a fig-leaf. These aprons they call *kways*. Among those who have associated with the colonists, the *kway* is sometimes made of small beads of different colours, ingeniously put on threads of cotton, or of the silk-grass, so as to give the apron the appearance of being woven in a variety of figures. This is used as high dress, and is much valued. It happened that I one day met a young buckeen, thus ornamented, walking with her mother, and being desirous to add a sample of the *kway* to my collection of specimens, I made signs to the parent, meaning to ask if she could procure me one, when, without the slightest hesitation, she took off that which was before my eyes, and presented it to me; the young lady very modestly, but without blushes, supplying its place with the pocket handkerchief which I gave her in exchange.

From the inactivity of the Indians, they are generally seen to be *embonpoint*, and this, as I remarked before, gives them a certain smoothness of form, and of surface; but their skins have not that velvet softness so common to the negroes.

Their bodies are peculiarly free from hair. Possessing an idea that it is more becoming not to have any hairs, except upon the head, they are in the habit of pulling them out from the chin, the breast, the arm-pits, and other parts. The general smoothness thus given to the surface has led some travellers, who have been ignorant of the cause, into the error of considering this to be their natural appearance: and hence have arisen the strange opinions that they differed from Europeans, and were in this respect a peculiar race of the human species. The instrument used for pulling out the hairs is a small piece of wood partially split. Those who intermix with the colonists often employ a bit of wire, twisted into a spiral form, like that which is used for making the elastic hatbands.

From the heat of the climate, and the facility of procuring food, the Indians of Guiana are naturally indolent. In every quarter of the globe the great incentive to industry is either necessity, interest, or ambition. Labour, simply as such, is no where a natural impulse. It is the effect of our real or imaginary wants. Among the natives of these woods it springs from necessity alone, and ceases with the immediate occasion which calls it forth. They have no interest in the accumulation of property; and therefore are not led to labour in order to obtain wealth. They live under the most perfect equality, and hence are not impelled to industry by that spirit of emulation which, in society, leads to great and unwearied exertion. Content with their simple means, they evince no desire to

emulate the habits or the occupations of the colonists: but, on the contrary, seem to regard their toils and customs with a sense of pity or contempt. I have occasionally seen parties of them looking on when our soldiers have been assembled, and going through the various evolutions of their exercise; and they universally regarded them with a quiet indifference, or the only sentiment indicated by their features was a kind of contemptuous pity, which was sometimes expressed by a significant look, that seemed to say—"Aye, foolish people! you take vast pains with these things:—but we do them much better, with infinitely less trouble."

They are very fond of drinking rum, and eagerly swallow it to intoxication. But they observe a kind of method in their drunkenness; for when they come down to the towns in bodies of considerable numbers, it is observed that half of the party will freely devote to Bacchus, while the other half carefully refrain, in order to watch the helpless; and these, when restored by all-healing Morpheus, are observed to take *their turn* of watching, and to guard their late protectors through a similar visit to the deities of turbulence and repose. They have no pleasure in long sipping, but swallow large draughts of rum, or drink it quickly, glass after glass, till they are unable to move.

The Indians are very arbitrary and despotic towards their women. Polygamy is practised among them. Each man takes as many wives as he can conveniently maintain. They are very jealous, and commonly appoint the senior of their

wives as a spy or guardian over the conduct of the others; but as a species of intrigue has found its way even into the wild woods, means have been found to convert the old duenna into the best channel of obtaining favours from the junior branches of the *harem*.

All the domestic labour is done by the females, and in their journeyings from place to place, the women are made to toil under the burden of whatever they may have to transport. Thus, in removing from any place of abode to take up a new home, the different articles of furniture, and all the little variety of implements and utensils, are loaded upon the backs of the women, who follow in silent train, bending under a heavy load, while their imperious lord marches on before unincumbered.

From the rigid government exercised over them by the men, the women appear to be sombre and reserved. They commonly sit with their backs towards strangers, and remain in profound silence when their husbands are present. In their absence they shew less restraint, and seem more disposed to cheerfulness and vivacity. Like the men, they are very fond of rum, and drink it glass after glass, as though it were only water.

I have observed, that notwithstanding the great heat of the climate, the Indians of South America are not of the same meagre appearance as the negroes. From their habits of indolence, a portion of fat is deposited under the skin, which gives them a fulness of form, unlike the rough-lined spareness of the negroes, or the strong-lined vigour of the colder regions: but we did not see, among the people  
of

of the woods, a single instance of the heavy, protruding obesity, so frequent among the luxurious sons of civilized society. Figures, it is true, may be found among them as lean as hard-toiling slaves—but perhaps no Indian was ever seen palpitating under that oppressive protuberance of fat which the *bons vivans* of Europe, and particularly the beef-eating subjects of England, so frequently carry before them.

This circumstance may tend to shew that great obesity is only the effect of indolence, or good living, or of both acting together; and that, by the due observance of exercise and abstemiousness, it might, in all cases, be prevented. Perhaps no West India planter ever lost the labour of a slave from his being overloaded with fat; nor did Alexander or Hannibal, after a long and severe campaign, ever see their armies thinned in consequence of their soldiers being oppressed with obesity. Indeed the common labourers of Europe do not often find their toil interrupted by carrying about them a weighty mass of indulgence and luxury.

The same may be remarked, in a great degree, with respect to that distressing malady the gout. The Indian is not detained from the chace, the soldier from the march, nor the slave nor the peasant from his toil in the field, by the gnawings of this painful disorder. It is almost wholly confined to the rich and luxurious, and is at once the offspring and punishment of indolence and voluptuousness; nor would it long remain among the opprobria of medicine, were it possible to enforce the regimen prescribed by physi-

cians:—although it must continue to prevail so long as forbearance from habits of indulgence shall be deemed a greater punishment than the painful tortures of disease.

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*On the Amusements and Funerals of the Negroes at Barbadoes.*

(From the same.)

IT is Sunday, and, separated by the wide Atlantic, I take up my pen to hallow the Sabbath to my friend. Mentally I am every day in your society: but on the Sabbath I breath a still warmer aspiration to dear England, and sanctify the wish that we were personally nearer. Were you here to participate them with me, the novel scenes which occur to my observations would have a double interest, and I should find a charm in many things which now convey only a languid impression.

Sunday is a day of festivity among the slaves. They are passionately fond of dancing; and the Sabbath, offering them an interval from toil, is generally devoted to their favourite amusement; and, instead of remaining in tranquil rest, they undergo more fatigue, or at least more personal exertion, during their gala hours of Saturday night and Sunday, than is demanded from them in labour, during any four days of the week.

They assemble in crowds upon the open green, or in any square or corner of the town, and, forming a ring in the centre of the throng, dance to the sound of their beloved music, and the singing of their favourite African yell. Both music and dance are of a savage nature.

nature. I have wished myself a musician, that I might take down for you the notes of their songs, which are very simple, but harsh, and wholly deficient in softness and melody. Ask the fair chattrés, our delighting friend — the next time you meet her, and if she be not afraid of distorting her sweet countenance, she can give you, very accurately, all you may wish to hear of an African song.

The instrumental parts of the band consist of a species of drum, a kind of rattle, and their ever delighting banjar. The first, a long hollow piece of wood, with a dried sheep-skin tied over the end; the second is a calabash, containing a number of small stones, fixed to a short stick, which serves as the handle; and the third is a coarse and rough kind of guitar. While one negro strikes the banjar, another shakes the rattle with great force of arm, and a third sitting across the body of the drum, as it lies lengthwise upon the ground, beats and kicks the sheep-skin at the end, in violent exertion with his hands and heels, and a fourth sitting upon the ground at the other end, behind the man upon the drum, beats upon the wooden sides of it with two sticks. Together with these noisy sounds, numbers of the party of both sexes bawl forth their dear delighting song with all possible force of lungs; and from the combination, and *tout ensemble* of the scene, a spectator would require only a slight aid from fancy to transport him to the savage wilds of Africa. On great occasions the band is increased by an additional number of drums, rattles, and voices.

The dance consists of stamping

of the feet, twisting of the body, and a number of strange indecent attitudes. It is a severe bodily exertion, more bodily indeed than you can well imagine, for the limbs have little to do in it. The head is held erect, or occasionally inclined a little forward; the hands nearly meet before; the elbows are fixed, pointing from the sides; and the lower extremities being held rigid, the whole person is moved without lifting the feet from the ground. Making the head and limbs fixed points, they writhe and turn the body upon its own axis, slowly advancing towards each other, or retreating to the outer parts of the ring. Their approaches, with the figure of the dance, and the attitudes and inflexions in which they are made, are highly indecent: but of this they seem to be wholly unconscious, for the gravity, I might say the solemnity of countenance, under which all this passes, is peculiarly striking, indeed almost ridiculous. Not a smile—not a significant glance, nor an immodest look escapes from either sex: but they meet, in very indecent attitudes, under the most settled, and unmeaning gravity of countenance. Occasionally they change the figure by stamping upon the feet, or making a more general movement of the person, but these are only temporary variations; the twistings and turnings of the body seeming to constitute the supreme excellence of the dance.

For the most part only two enter the ring at a time, but, occasionally, as many as three or four! each making a small contribution to the band at the time of stepping into the circle. They circle violently



ently together until one is tired, and when he escapes from the circle another assumes the place, thus continuing to follow, one by one, in succession, so as frequently to keep up the dance, without any interval, for several hours. Both musicians and dancers seem, equally, to delight in the amusement. They exert themselves until their naked skins pour off copious streams. The band seem to be quite insensible to fatigue, for, in proportion as the fluid distils from their pores, they increase their efforts, raising their voices, and beating the drum and the rattle with additional violence: and such of the spectators whose olfactories have no relish for African odours, are sadly annoyed by the high essenced exhalation which spreads itself around.

As I was looking on at one of these dances, I observed a soldier's wife, from the north of Tweed, gazing with curiosity and astonishment, amidst the throng; and seeing her features marked with dissatisfaction and surprize, I asked her what she thought of the African dance, "Oot," said she "*'tis an unco way o' spending the sabbath night.*"—And on my asking her if there were any as pretty women in the Highlands of Scotland, she instantly replied, "*whether or not—they smell better.*"

Presently, a soldier passing that way, and observing the dance, asked a mulatto who was standing by, for a cud of tobacco, and twisting it between his lower lip and his teeth, forced his way through the crowd, into the middle of the ring; and there placing himself between the negro and the girl who were dancing, set the nymph in African step and figure.

Wowski was responsive and they danced cordially together; but soon finished by footing it, in quick step from the ring, happily enfolded in each others arms, to the great disappointment of poor Samboe, who, no doubt, thought to regain his partner as soon as the soldier had grown tired in the dance.

Near this merry green happened a sad fracas between a negro man and woman, in consequence of gaming; which is a very prevailing passion among the blacks. The woman had won from the man three dollars, and some words having arisen between them, a scuffle ensued, in which the man had torn off the few clothes that covered the ebon dame, and exposed her, in nakedness, to the crowd. She, in return, tore and mal-treated his breeches; and the dispute now was whether the woman, having been the successful adventurer, ought not to make reparation for the further injury she had committed. The man exclaimed, with sad violence, regarding the additional loss sustained by the destruction of his indispensable apparel. The woman, putting all success at play out of the question, insisted that she was the injured party, from having her petticoat ruined, and being exposed, in nudity, to the multitude.

At length a respectable looking, and decently dressed negro, who chanced to pass that way, kindly undertook to settle this important broil; and we observed that much deference was paid to his opinion; but I am not satisfied that he acted quite the part of an upright and impartial judge—certainly his opinion was not fraught with gallantry, for having no eye of pity to-

wards the distressed and naked nymph, he decided that a hole in the *culottes* was an evil of greater magnitude than a rent in the *petticoat*, and accordingly decreed, that Penelope should forfeit half a dollar to Cassandro, for taking him by the breeches.

Having led you to the merry song and sprightly dance of the slaves, let me now conduct you to their bed of death. Seeing a crowd in one of the streets, and observing a kind of procession, we followed the multitude, and soon found ourselves in the train of a negro funeral. Wishing to witness the ceremony of interment we proceeded to the burial ground with the throng. The corpse was conveyed in a neat small hearse, drawn by one horse. Six boys, twelve men, and forty-eight women walked behind, in pairs, as followers, but I cannot say as deeply afflicted mourners. The females were neatly clad for the occasion, and mostly in white. Grief and lamentations were not among them: nor was even the semblance thereof assumed. No solemn dirge was heard—no deep-sounding bell was tolled—no fearful silence held. It seemed a period of mirth and joy. Instead of weeping and bewailing, the followers jumped and sported, as they passed along, and talked and laughed with each other, in high festivity. The procession was closed by five robust negro fishermen, who followed behind playing antic gambols, and dancing all the way to the grave.

At the gate of the burying-ground the corpse was taken from the hearse, and borne by eight negroes, not upon their shoulders,

but upon four clean white napkins placed under the coffin. The body was committed to the grave, immediately, on reaching it, without either prayer or ceremony; and the coffin directly covered with earth. In doing this, much decent attention was observed. The mould was not shovelled in roughly with the spade, almost disturbing the dead with the rattling of stones and bones upon the coffin, but was first put into a basket, and then carefully emptied into the grave; an observance which might be adopted in England very much to the comfort of the afflicted friends of the deceased.

During this process an old negro-woman chanted an African air, and the multitude joined her in the chorus. It was not in the strain of a hymn, or solemn requiem, but was loud and lively, in unison with the other gaieties of the occasion.

Many were laughing and sporting the whole time with the fishermen, who danced and gambolled during the ceremony, upon the neighbouring graves. From the moment the coffin was committed to the earth nothing of order was maintained by the party. The attendants dispersed in various directions, retiring, or remaining, during the filling up of the grave, as inclination seemed to lead.

When the whole of the earth was replaced, several of the women, who had staid to chaunt in merry song, over poor Jenny's clay, took up a handful of the mould and threw it down again upon the grave of their departed friend, as the finishing of the ceremony, crying aloud "God bless you, Jenny! good-bye, remember

me to all friends t' other side of the sea, Jenny! Tell 'em me come soon! Good-bye, Jenny, good-bye—see for fend me good—to-night, Jenny! Good-bye! Good-night, Jenny, good-bye!" All this was uttered in mirth and laughter, and accompanied with attitudes and gesticulations expressive of any thing but sorrow or sadness.

From the grave-digger we learned that poor Jenny had been a washerwoman, and that the females who had so merrily founded her requiem, had been her sud-affociates. They had full faith in Jenny's transmigration to meet her friends at her place of nativity; and that death was only a removal from their present to their former home—a mere change from a state of slavery to a state of freedom—did not barely alleviate, but wholly prevented the natural grief and affliction arising from the loss of a friend. They confidently expected to hear from poor Jenny, or to know her influence, in the way they most desired, before morning.

The faith of these poor ignorant slaves, regarding a happy transmigration after death, would seem calculated to lead them to the crime of suicide; and, accordingly, this effect of their superstition is said not to have been unfrequent among them. A tale is told of a singular remedy having been practised against this fatal expedient of the negroes. Several individuals of a gang having hanged themselves to escape from a cruel master, and others being about to avoid his severities by similar means, he prevented them, by the happy expedient of threatening to hang himself also, and to transmigrate, with them, carrying the whip in his

hand, into their own country; where he would punish them ten times more severely than he had hitherto done. The stratagem is said to have succeeded. Finding they could not thus escape from the tyrannic lash, they resolved, rather than receive disgraceful stripes among their African friends, to continue their existence under all the hardships of slavery.

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*Character of the Lower Class of the Irish. From Carr's Stranger in Ireland.*

In this class of society, a stranger will see a perfect picture of nature. Pat stands before him, thanks to those who ought long since to have cherished and instructed him, as it were "in mudder's (mother's) nakedness." His wit and warmth of heart are his own, his errors and their consequences will not be registered against *him*. I speak of him in a quiescent state, and not when suffering and ignorance led him into scenes of tumult which inflamed his mind and blood to deeds that are foreign to his nature. We know that the best, when corrupted, become the worst, and that the vulgar mind, when overheated, will rush headlong into the most brutal excesses, more especially if in pursuing a summary remedy for a real or supposed wrong, it has the example of occasional cruelty and oppression presented by those against whom it advances.

The lower Irish are remarkable for their ingenuity and docility, and a quick conception; in these properties they are equalled only by the Russians. It is curious to see with what scanty materials they will

will work; they build their own cabins, and make bridles, stirrups, cruppers, and ropes for every rustic purpose, of hay; and British adjutants allow, that an Irish recruit is sooner made a soldier than an English one.

That the Irish are not naturally lazy is evident from the quantity of laborious work which they will perform, when they have much to do, which is not frequently the case in their own country, and are adequately paid for it, so as to enable them to get proper food to support severe toil. It has been asserted by Dr. Campbell, who wrote in 1777, that the Irish recruits were, in general, short, owing to the poverty of their food; if this assertion was correct, and few tourists appear to have been more accurate, they are much altered since that gentleman wrote; for most of the Irish militia regiments which I saw exhibited very fine looking men, frequently exceeding the ordinary stature; and at the same time I must confess that I do not see how meagre diet is likely to curtail the height of a man. Perhaps the doctor might have seen some mountaineer recruits, and mountaineers are generally less in all regions, according to the old adage—

“The higher the hills, the shorter the grass.”—

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The handsomest peasants in Ireland are the natives of Kilkenny and the neighbourhood, and the most wretched and squalid near Cork and Waterford, and in Munster and Connaught. In the county of Roscommon the male and fe-

male peasantry and horses are handsome; the former are fair and tall, and possess great flexibility of muscle: the men are the best leapers in Ireland: the finest hunters and most expert huntsmen are to be found in the fine sporting county of Fermanagh. In the county of Meath the peasants are very heavily limbed. In the county of Kerry, and along the western shore, the peasants very much resemble the Spaniards in expression of countenance, and colour of hair.

The lower orders will occasionally lie, and so will the lower orders of any other country, unless they are instructed better; and so should we all, had we not been corrected in our childhood for doing it. It has been asserted, that the low Irish are addicted to pilfering: I met with no instance of it personally. An intelligent friend of mine, one of the largest linen manufacturers in the north of Ireland, in whose house there is seldom less than twelve or fifteen hundred pounds in *cash*, surrounded with two or three hundred poor peasants, retires at night to his bed without bolting a door, or fastening a window. During lady Cathcart's imprisonment in her own house in Ireland, for twenty years, by the orders of her husband, an affair which made a great noise some years since, her ladyship wished to remove some remarkably fine and valuable diamonds, which she had concealed from her husband, out of the house, but having no friend or servant whom she could trust, she spoke to a miserable beggar woman who used to come to the house, from the window of the room in which she was confined. The woman promised to take care of the jewels, and

and lady Cathcart accordingly threw the parcel containing them to her out of the window; the poor mendicant conveyed them to the person to whom they were addressed; and when lady Cathcart recovered her liberty some years afterwards, her diamonds were safely restored to her. I was well informed, that a disposition to inebriation amongst the peasantry had rather subsided, and had principally confined itself to Dublin.

The instruction of the common people is in the lowest state of degradation. In the summer a wretched uncharactered itinerant derives a scanty and precarious existence by wandering from parish to parish, and opening a school in some ditch covered with heath and furze, to which the inhabitants send their children to be instructed by the miserable breadless being, who is nearly as ignorant as themselves; and in the winter these pedagogue pedlars go from door to door offering their services, and pick up just sufficient to prevent themselves from perishing by famine. What proportion of morals and learning can flow from such a source into the mind of the ragged young pupil, can easily be imagined, but cannot be reflected on without serious concern. A gentleman of undoubted veracity, stated, not long since, before the Dublin Association for distributing Bibles and Testaments amongst the poor, that whole parishes were without a Bible.

With an uncommon intellect, more exercised than cultivated, the peasantry have been kept in a state of degradation, which is too well known, and which will be touched upon in a future part of this sketch.

Their native urbanity to each other is very pleasing: I have frequently seen two boors take off their hats and salute each other with great civility. The expressions of these fellows, upon meeting one another, are full of cordiality. One of them in Dublin met a camrogue, in plain English, a boy after his own heart, who, in the sincerity of his soul, exclaimed, "Paddy! myself's glad to see you, for, in troth, I wish you well!" "By my shoul I know it well," said the other, "but you have but the half of it;" that is the pleasure is divided. If you ask a common fellow in the streets of Dublin which is the way to a place, he will take off his hat, and if he does not know it, he will take care not to tell you so (for nothing is more painful to an Irishman than to be thought ignorant); he will either direct you by an appeal to his imagination, which is ever ready, or he will say, "I shall find it out for your honour immediately;" and away he flies into some shop for information, which he is happy to be the bearer of without any hope of reward.

Their hospitality, when their circumstances are not too wretched to display it, is remarkably great. The neighbour or the stranger finds every man's door open, and to walk in without ceremony at meal time, and to partake of his bowl of potatoes, is always sure to give pleasure to every one of the house, and the pig is turned out to make room for the gentleman. If the visitor can relate a lively tale, or play upon any instrument, all the family is in smiles, and the young will begin a merry dance, whilst the old will  
smoke

smoke after one another out of the same pipe, and entertain each other with stories. A gentleman of an erratic turn, was pointed out to me, who, with his flute in his hand, a clean pair of stockings, and a shirt in his pocket, wandered through the country every summer; wherever he stopped the face of a stranger made him welcome, and the sight of his instrument doubly so; the best seat, if they had any, the best potatoes and new milk were allotted for his dinner; and clean straw, and sometimes a pair of sheets, formed his bed; which, although frequently not a bed of roses, was always rendered welcome by fatigue, and the peculiar bias of his mind.

Curran, in one of his celebrated speeches, thus beautifully described the native hospitality of his country. "The hospitality of other countries is a matter of necessity, or convention; in savage nations of the first; in polished, of the latter: but the hospitality of an Irishman is not the running account of posted and ledgered courtesies, as in other countries: it springs, like all his other qualities—his faults, his virtues, directly from the heart. The heart of an Irishman is by nature bold, and he confides; it is tender, and he loves; it is generous, and he gives; it is social, and he is hospitable."

The peasantry are uncommonly attached to their ancient melodies, some of which are exquisitely beautiful. In some parts of Ireland the harp is yet in use; but the Irish bagpipe is the favourite instrument. The stock of national music has not been much increased of late years. The Irish of all classes are fond of music. Amongst the higher orders

of Irish, capable of appreciating the unrivalled extent of his genius in music, I heard the name of Viotti mentioned with the admiration which is due to his talents, and the respect which belongs to his character.

Of the accuracy of their ear, Sir J. Hawkins, in his History of Music, vol. v. mentions the following instance. Speaking of the celebrated Dubourg, he says, that he often wished to enjoy, unobserved, the spirit of an Irish fair; and that an opportunity of gratifying his wish soon occurred at Dunboyne, near Dublin, where the greatest fair in the country is annually held. Having disfigured himself as a country fidler, he sallied forth among the tents, and was soon engaged by a group of dancers who stood up to dance, but who, instead of dancing, became fixed with rapture, although he exerted himself to play in character, and as discordantly as he could. At length the crowd thickened so much, that he thought it most prudent to retire.

A Sunday, with the peasantry in Ireland, is not unlike the same day in France. After the hours of devotion, a spirit of gaiety shines upon every hour, the bagpipe is heard, and every foot is in motion. The cabin on this day is deserted; and families, in order to meet together, and enjoy the luxury of a social chit-chat, even in rain and snow, will walk three or four miles to a given spot. The same social disposition attaches them to a festive meeting, which owes its origin to the following circumstance: in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, and other counties, there were several fountains and wells, which, in the early

early ages of Christianity, were dedicated to some favourite saint, whose patronage was supposed to give such sanctity to the waters, that the invalids who were immersed in them lost all their maladies. On the anniversary of each saint, numbers flocked round these wells for the united purpose of devotion and amusement; tents and booths were pitched in the adjoining fields; erratic musicians, hawkers, and shewmen, assembled from the neighbouring towns, and priests came to hear confessions: the devotees, after going round the holy wells several times on their bare knees, the laceration of which had a marvellous effect in expiating offences, closed the evening by dancing, and, at their departure fastened a small piece of cloth round a branch of the trees or bushes growing near these consecrated waters, as a memorial of their having performed their penitential exercises.

In the year 1780, the priests discontinued their attendance, but the patrons, as these meetings were called, still continued the same, and to this day attract all the country for ten or twenty miles round. At these assemblies many droll things are said, and many engagements of friendship are made, and many heads are broken as the power of whisky develops itself: but revenge rises not with the morning. Pat awakes, finds a hole in his head, which nature, without confining the energies of the mind, seems to have formed, in contemplation of the consequences of these festive associations: he no longer remembers the hand that gave the blow, and vigorous health, and a purity of blood, very speedily

fills up the fissure. I have before given instances of their native humour, and, as they occur, I shall give others. The following story is an instance of that quality, united to considerable shrewdness. An Irishman once having knocked at the door of a very low priest after one of these patrons, and requested a night's lodging, the priest told him that he could not accommodate him, because there were only two beds in the house; one for himself, and the other for his niece, pointing to their rooms. Pat begged permission to sit down, and whilst the priest and his niece went out for something, he took the bellows and put it in the young lady's bed, and calling about five days afterwards, found it there still.

A faint trait of Druidical superstition still lingers among the peasantry of Munster, where, if a murder has been committed in the open air, it is considered indispensable in every Roman catholic who passes by, to throw a stone on the spot, which, from a strict adhesion to this custom, presents a considerable pyramid of stones. In the counties of Tipperary and Kerry, also, these stony piles are to be found, which are beautifully and expressively called *clogh-breagh*, or *stones of sorrow*.

In Ireland the grim tyrant is noticed with eccentric honours. Upon the death of an Irish man or woman, the straw upon which the deceased reposed is burned before the cabin door, and as the flames arise the family set up the death howl. At night the body, with the face exposed, and the rest covered with a white sheet, placed upon some boards, or an unhinged door,

door, supported by stools, is waked, when all the relatives, friends, and neighbours of the deceased assemble together, candles and candlesticks, borrowed from the neighbourhood, are stuck round the deceased, according to the circumstances of the family, the company is regaled with whiskey, ale, cake, pipes and tobacco. A sprightly tourist, whose name does not appear to his book, observes, that, "Walking out one morning rather early, I heard dreadful groans and shrieks in a house. Attracted by curiosity I entered, and saw in a room about fifty women weeping over a poor old man, who died a couple of days before. Four of them in particular made more noise than the rest, tore their hair, and often embraced the deceased. I remarked, that in about a quarter of an hour they were tired, went into another room, and were replaced by four others, who continued their shrieks until the others were recovered; these, after swallowing a large glass of whiskey, to enable them to make more noise, resumed their places, and the others went to refresh themselves."

Miss Edgeworth's admirable work, called *Rack-rent*, states, "After a fit of universal sorrow, and the comfort of an universal dram, the scandal of the neighbourhood, as in higher circles, occupies the company. The young lads and lasses romp with one another, and when the fathers and mothers are at last overcome with sleep and whiskey, the youth become more enterprising, and are frequently successful. It is said, that more matches are made at wakes than at weddings." A very disgusting circumstance occurred

whilst I was in Dublin, to the disgrace of the civil government of a city so noble and polished. A man was found drowned in the Liffey; he was taken up, and instead of being carried to some bone-house to be owned, the body was exposed in the street for two days, near the Queen's-bridge, upon straw, with a plate of salt upon his breast to excite the pity of passengers to place money upon it, for the purpose of appeasing the manes of the deceased with a convivial funeral.

Amongst the mortuary peculiarities of the Irish, their love for posthumous honours, which I have before glanced at, is worthy of remark. An elderly man, whom a much-esteemed clerical friend of mine attended in the last stage of existence, met death with fortitude, but expressed his grief that his dissolution should take place at a time when the employments of spring would prevent his funeral from being numerously attended. This is a general national trait; and a grievous imprecation in the Irish language is, "May your burial be forsaken:" they have also another very figurative malediction, "May the grass grow green before your door."

Their oaths are frequently very whimsical; the following are specimens of them: "By the seven pipes that played before Moses the night he was born, and that's musical:" "Swear by your father's beard, and that's a hairy oath:" they also swear by St. Patrick's tooth, by the bones of St. Ruth, and the black bell that finds out truth. They have an expression of anger, which at first might be well mistaken for a benediction.

"May



“May God bless you,” says a low Irishman to the person who has offended him; by which he means, that he cannot obtain the blessing of man.

Some of their customs are singular and characteristic. On the anniversary of St. Patrick, the country people assemble in their nearest towns or villages, get very tipsy, (but not bled by surgeons as some author has asserted), and walk through the streets with the trifolium pratense, or, as they call it, shamrock, in their hats, when whiskey is drunk in copious libations; and from a spirit of gallantry these merry devotees continue drunk the greater part of the next day, viz. the 18th of March, all in honour of Sheelah, St. Patrick's wife.

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Some of the lower orders of Roman catholics, who have been enjoined a strict fast (called by them *black Lent*), at the end of it, to shew their exhilaration at its being over, carry about the streets an herring, which they whip with rods, to the great delight of all the blackguards and children of the place. They have also a custom of kindling bonfires upon eminences on Midsummer eve, to propitiate the sun to ripen the fruits of the earth. Formerly they used to offer the same sacrifice on the first of May, and also on the last day of October, as a thanksgiving for harvest home. If the sun is sensible of these honours, it might be supposed that a bowl of whiskey, placed upon his altar, would be more acceptable on account of its novelty.

The common people also believe in fairies. In the last century,

every great family in Ireland had a banshee; a fairy, in the shape of a little frightful old woman, who used to warble a melancholy ditty under the windows of great houses, to warn the families that some of them were about to die: these agreeable supernatural visitors have not been seen for some time. They also believe that the ancient forts and mounts are sacred to a little fairy race, and, therefore, would not, for any consideration, touch them with a spade. In several parts of Ireland are *elf-stones*; thin triangular flints, with which the peasantry suppose the fairies, when angry with them, destroy their cows. When these animals die unexpectedly of a natural disease, they say they are elf-shot. The rustic requires a great deal of encouragement before he can be brought to level an ant-hill, from a belief that it is a fairy mount.

The lower orders of people in almost every country are superstitious. Every one who has resided in Devonshire for a month, must have heard of the supreme power of the *white witch* who resides at Exeter, and who has female agents to whom she has imparted a portion of her magic, in almost every village, who have the property of discovering pilferers and stopping blood. I remember, being upon a visit at a house in that county, that, one evening, a maid-servant belonging to the family was sent for in great haste, to afford her slyptic witchery to another fair damsel who had cut her thumb.

Although it might be supposed, from a whole family of different sexes being crowded together in one room, in a cabin, that much indecency, and consequent sensual depravity,

depravity, must occur; yet the contrary, I was informed by an English gentleman, who had long resided in Ireland, and who had made the lower Irish the peculiar objects of his attention, was the case. Incest is a crime which is attended with peculiar detestation amongst the lower orders.

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Although most of the peasants have an abominable practice of heaping all the filth of their cattle and cabin in a pile before the front of their dwellings, until the roof in front can only be seen above it; yet every degree of decency prevails within. That instinctive delicacy which exists between the sexes, in every thing which is the subject of it in higher life, is not banished from the poor cabin. The low Irish are much improved in their habits of cleanliness. Formerly a common fellow would not hesitate sweeping down a flight of stairs with his wig, and wearing it afterwards. I have been informed, that, to this day, at those subterranean *tables d' hotes*, in the *diving cellars* of St. Giles's, in London, after dinner, a large Newfoundland dog, or a little boy with a wig on his head, walks round the table for the guests to wipe their fingers upon.

That the Irish, even in a state of political ebullition, are capable of generous actions, the following fact will prove: During the rebellion, a protestant, who was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels, was called out to be executed: the executioner ordered him to turn his back; the prisoner refused, and calmly declared that he was not afraid to face death; and just as the

former was about to fire at him, the latter told him to stop, and requested him to dispatch him with dexterity; and pulling off his hat, coat, and waistcoat, which were new, threw them to him as a present to favour him with a speedy death. The executioner was so impressed with his conduct, that he said he must be innocent, and refused to kill him; in consequence of which, another rebel rushed forward to put an end to his existence, upon which the executioner swore, that he would lay breathless at his feet the first man who attempted to hurt one hair of the prisoner's head, and conducted him in safety out of the rebel lines.

An Irishman and a bull, form a twin-thought in an Englishman's mind: long and inveterate prejudices have made them as inseparable in reflection as a bull and his horns. I went to France in the full persuasion of seeing a race of lean men, and found them of the ordinary size and stature; and many of them of a bulk and vigour that an untravelled Englishman would reluctantly give credit to. I went to Ireland, expecting a bull to fly out of every Irishman's mouth every third time he spoke. That the lower classes make bulls, I believe, because I have been well informed that they do, and because the lower classes of other countries make them also. It may happen, that the lower Irish make more, on account of the uncommon quickness of their thoughts, and the volubility of their speech. A common Irishman seldom gives himself time for reflection, and before a question is half delivered, the whole of his answer is discharged, and another ready to fol-

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ow ; and moreover, if he knows nothing of the subject on which he is asked, he is sure to give some, and generally an instantaneous reply.

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With few materials for ingenuity to work with, the peasantry of Ireland are most ingenious, and, with adequate inducements, laboriously indefatigable ; they possess, in general, personal beauty and vigour of frame ; they abound with wit and sensibility, although all the avenues to useful knowledge are closed against them ; they are capable of forgiving injuries, and are generous even to their oppressors ; they are sensible of superior merit, and submissive to it ; they display natural urbanity in rags and penury, are cordially hospitable, ardent for information, social in their habits, kind in their disposition, in gaiety of heart and genuine humour unrivalled, even in their superstition presenting an union of pleasantry and tenderness ;

they are warm and constant in their attachments, faithful and incorruptible in their engagements, innocent, with the power of sensual enjoyment perpetually within their reach ; observant of sexual modesty, though crowded in the narrow limits of a cabin ; strangers to a crime which reddens the cheek of manhood with horror ; tenacious of respect ; acutely sensible of and easily won by kindnesses. Such is the peasantry of Ireland : I appeal not to the affections or the humanity, but to the justice of every one to whom chance may direct these pages, whether men so constituted, present no character which a wise government can mould to the great purpose of augmenting the prosperity of the country, and the happiness of society. Well might lord Chesterfield, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, exclaim, " God has done every thing for this country, man nothing."

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*On the Direction of the Radicle and Germen, during the Vegetation of Seeds. By Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. F.R.S. In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K.B. P.R.S.*

*(From the Philosophical Transactions for 1806.)*

Read Jan. 9, 1806.

My dear sir,

**I**T can scarcely have escaped the notice of the most inattentive observer of vegetation, that in whatever position a seed is placed to germinate, its radicle invariably makes an effort to descend towards the centre of the earth, whilst the elongated germen takes a precisely opposite direction; and it has been proved by Du Hamel, that if a seed, during its germination, be frequently inverted, the points, both of the radicle and germen, will return to the first direction. Some naturalists have supposed these opposite effects to be produced by gravitation; and it is not difficult to conceive that the same agent, by operating on bodies so differently organized as the radicle and germen of plants

are, may occasion the one to descend and the other to ascend.

The hypothesis of these naturalists does not, however, appear to have been much strengthened by any facts they were able to adduce in support of it, nor much weakened by the arguments of their opponents; and, therefore, as the phenomena observable during the conversion of a seed into a plant, are amongst the most interesting that occur in vegetation, I commenced the experiments, an account of which I have now the honour to request you to lay before the royal society.

I conceived that if gravitation were the cause of the descent of the radicle, and of the ascent of the germen, it must act either by its immediate influence on the vegetable fibres and vessels, during their formation, or on the motion and consequent distribution of the true sap afforded by the cotyledons: and as gravitation could produce these effects only whilst the seed remained at rest, and in the same position relative to the attraction of the earth, I imagined that its operation would become suspended by  
constant

constant and rapid change of the position of the germinating seed, and that it might be counteracted by the agency of centrifugal force.

Having a strong rill of water passing through my garden, I constructed a small wheel, similar to those used for grinding corn, adapting another wheel of different construction, and formed of very slender pieces of wood, to the same axis. Round the circumference of the latter, which was eleven inches in diameter, numerous seeds of the garden bean, which had been soaked in water to produce their greatest degree of expansion, were bound at short distances from each other. The radicles of these seeds were made to point in every direction, some towards the centre of the wheel, and others in the opposite direction, others as tangents to its curve; some pointing backwards, and others forwards, relative to its motion, and others pointing in opposite directions, in lines parallel with the axis of the wheels. The whole was inclosed in a box, and secured by a lock, and a wire grate was placed to prevent the ingress of any body capable of impeding the motion of the wheels.

The water being then admitted, the wheels performed something more than 150 revolutions in a minute, and the position of the seed relative to the earth, was of course as often perfectly inverted, within the same period of time, by which I conceive that the influence of gravitation must have been wholly suspended.

In a few days the seeds began to germinate, and as the truth of some of the opinions I had communicated to you, and of many others which I had long entertained, depended on

the result of the experiment, I watched its progress with some anxiety, though not with much apprehension; and I had soon the pleasure to see that the radicles, in whatever direction they were protruded from the position of the seed, turned their points outwards from the circumference of the wheel, and in their subsequent growth receded nearly at right angles from its axis. The germens on the contrary, took the opposite direction, and in a few days their points all met in the centre of the wheel. Three of these plants were suffered to remain on the wheel, and were secured to its spokes, to prevent their being shaken off by its motion. The stems of these plants soon extended beyond the centre of the wheel; but the same cause which first occasioned them to approach its axis, still operating, their points returned, and met again at its centre.

The motion of the wheel being, in this experiment, vertical, the radicle and germen of every seed occupied, during a minute portion of time in each revolution, precisely the same position they would have assumed had the seeds vegetated at rest; and as gravitation and centrifugal force also acted in lines parallel with the vertical motion, and surface of the wheel, I conceived that some slight objections might be urged against the conclusions I felt inclined to draw. I therefore added to the machinery I have described, another wheel, which moved horizontally over the vertical wheels; and to this, by means of multiplying wheels of different powers, I was enabled to give many different degrees of velocity. Round the circumference

of the horizontal wheel, whose diameter was also eleven inches, feeds of the bean were bound as in the experiment which I have already described, and it was then made to perform 250 revolutions in a minute. By the rapid motion of the water-wheel much water was thrown upwards on the horizontal wheel, part of which supplied the feeds upon it with moisture, and the remainder was dispersed, in a light and constant shower, over the feeds in the vertical wheel, and on others placed to vegetate at rest in different parts of the box.

Every feed on the horizontal wheel, though moving with great rapidity, necessarily retained the same position, relative to the attraction of the earth; and, therefore the operation of gravitation could not be suspended, though it might be counteracted, in a very considerable degree, by centrifugal force; and the difference I had anticipated, between the effects of rapid, vertical, and horizontal motion, soon became sufficiently obvious. The radicles pointed downwards about ten degrees below, and the germens as many degrees above, the horizontal line of the wheels' motion; centrifugal force having made both to deviate 80 degrees from the perpendicular direction each would have taken, had it vegetated at rest. Gradually diminishing the rapidity of the motion of the horizontal wheel, the radicles descended more perpendicularly, and the germens grew more upright; and when it did not perform more than 80 revolutions in a minute, the radicle pointed about 45 degrees below, and the germen as much above, the horizontal line, the one always receding from, and

the other approaching to, the axis of the wheel.

I would not, however, be understood to assert that the velocity of 250, or of 80 horizontal revolutions in a minute, will always give accurately the degrees of depression and elevation of the radicle and germen, which I have mentioned; for the rapidity of the motion of my wheels was sometimes diminished by the collection of fibres of conferva against the wire grate; which obstructed in some degree the passage of the water; and the machinery, having been the workmanship of myself and my gardener, cannot be supposed to have moved with all the regularity it might have done, had it been made by a professional mechanic. But I conceive myself to have fully proved that the radicles of germinating feeds are made to descend, and their germens to ascend, by some external cause, and not by any power inherent in vegetable life: and I see little reason to doubt that gravitation is the principal, if not the only agent employed, in this case, by nature. I shall, therefore, endeavour to point out the means by which I conceive the same agent may produce effects so diametrically opposite to each other.

The radicle of a germinating feed (as many naturalists have observed) is increased in length only by new parts successively added to its apex or point, and not at all by any general extension of parts already formed; and the new matter, which is thus successively added, unquestionably descends in a fluid state from the cotyledons. On this fluid, and on the vegetable fibres and vessels whilst soft and flexible, and whilst the matter which composes them is changing from a fluid to a solid

solid state, gravitation, I conceive, would operate sufficiently to give an inclination downwards to the point of the radicle; and as the radicle has been proved to be obedient to centrifugal force, it can scarcely be contended that its direction would remain uninfluenced by gravitation.

I have stated that the radicle is increased in length only by parts successively added to its point: the germen, on the contrary, elongates by a general extension of its parts previously organized; and its vessels and fibres appear to extend themselves in proportion to the quantity of nutriment they receive. If the motion and consequent distribution of the true sap be influenced by gravitation, it follows, that when the germen at its first emission, or subsequently, deviates from a perpendicular direction, the sap must accumulate on its under side; and I have found, in a great variety of experiments on the seeds of the horse chestnut, the bean, and other plants, when vegetating at rest, that the vessels and fibres on the under side of the germen, invariably elongate much more rapidly than those on its upper side: and thence it follows, that the point of the germen must always turn upwards; and it has been proved that a similar increase of growth takes place on the external side of the germen, when the sap is impelled there by centrifugal force, as it is attracted by gravitation to its under side, when the seed germinates at rest.

This increased elongation of the fibres and vessels of the under side, is not confined to the germens, nor even to the annual shoots of trees, but occurs and produces the most

extensive effects in the subsequent growth of their trunks and branches. The immediate effect of gravitation is certainly to occasion the further depression of every branch which extends horizontally from the trunk of the tree, and, when a young tree inclines to either side, to increase that inclination; but at the same time attracts the sap to the under side, and thus occasions an increased longitudinal extension of the substance of the new wood on that side. The depression of the lateral branch is thus prevented, and it is even enabled to raise itself above its natural level, when the branches above it are removed; and the young tree, by the same means, becomes more upright, in direct opposition to the immediate action of gravitation; nature, as usual, executing the most important operations by the most simple means.

I could adduce many more facts in support of the preceding deductions, but those I have stated, I conceive to be sufficiently conclusive. It has, however, been objected by Du Hamel (and the greatest deference is always due to his opinions) that gravitation could have little influence on the direction of the germen, were it in the first instance protruded, or were it subsequently inverted, and made to point perpendicularly downwards. To enable myself to answer this objection, I made many experiments on seeds of the horse chestnut, and of the bean, in the box I have already described, and as the seeds there were suspended out of the earth, I could regularly watch the progress of every effort made by the radicle and germen, to change their positions. The extremity of the radicle of the bean,

when made to point perpendicularly upwards, generally formed a considerable curvature within three or four hours, when the weather was warm. The germen was more sluggish; but it rarely or never failed to change its direction in the course of twenty-four hours; and all my efforts to make it grow downwards, by slightly changing its direction, were invariably abortive.

Another, and apparently a more weighty, objection, to the preceding hypothesis, (if applied to the subsequent growth and forms of trees) arises from the facts that few of their branches rise perpendicularly upwards, and that their roots always spread horizontally; but this objection I think may be readily answered.

The luxuriant shoots of trees, which abound in sap, in whatever direction they are first protruded, almost uniformly turn upwards, and endeavour to acquire a perpendicular direction; and to this their points will immediately return, if they are bent downwards during any period of their growth; their curvature upwards being occasioned by an increased extension of the fibres and vessels of their under sides, as in the elongated germens of seeds. The more feeble and slender shoots of the same trees will, on the contrary, grow in almost every direction, probably because their fibres, being more dry, and their vessels less amply supplied with sap, they are less affected by gravitation. Their points, however, generally shew an inclination to turn upwards; but the operation of light, in this case, had been proved, by Bonnet, to be very considerable.

The radicle tapers rapidly, as it descends into the earth, and its lower part is much compressed by the greater solidity of the mould into which it penetrates. The true sap continues to descend from the cotyledons and leaves, and occasions a continued increase of the growth, and is subsequently augmented by the effects of the motion, when the germen lies above the ground. The true sap is, therefore, necessarily obstructed in its descent; numerous lateral roots are generated, into which a portion of the descending sap enters. The substance of these roots, like that of the slender horizontal branches, is much less succulent than that of the radicle first emitted, and they are in consequence less obedient to gravitation; and, therefore, meeting less resistance from the superficial soil, than from that beneath it, they extend horizontally in every direction, growing with most rapidity, and producing the greatest number of ramifications, wherever they find most warmth, and a soil best adapted to nourish the tree. As these horizontal or lateral roots surround the base of the tree on every side, the true sap descending down its bark, enters almost exclusively into them, and the first perpendicular root, having executed its office of securing moisture to the plant, whilst young, is thus deprived of proper nutriment, and, ceasing almost wholly to grow, becomes of no importance to the tree. The tap root of the oak, about which so much has been written, will possibly be adduced as an exception; but having attentively examined at least 20,000 trees of this species, many of which had grown in some of the deepest and



and most favourable soils of England, and never having found a single tree possessing a tap root, I must be allowed to doubt that one ever existed.

As trees possess the power to turn the upper surfaces of their leaves, and the points of their shoots to the light, and their tendrils in any direction to attach themselves to contiguous objects, it may be suspected that their lateral roots are by some means directed to any soil in their vicinity, which is best calculated to nourish the plant to which they belong; and it is well known that much the greater part of the roots of an aquatic plant, which has grown in a dry soil, on the margin of a lake or river, has been found to point to the water; whilst those of another species of tree, which thrive best in a dry soil, have been ascertained to take an opposite direction: but the result of some experiments I have made, is not favourable to this hypothesis, and I am rather inclined to believe that the roots disperse themselves in every direction, and only become most numerous where they find most employment, and a soil best adapted to the species of plant. My experiments have not, however, been sufficiently varied or numerous to decide this question, which I propose to make the subject of future investigation.

I am, &c.

T. A. KNIGHT.

Elton, Nov 22, 1805.

*a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K.B. P.R.S.*

*(From the same.)*

Read May 15th, 1806.

My dear sir,

I HAVE endeavoured to prove, in several memoirs which you have done me the honour to lay before the royal society, that the fluid by which the various parts (that are annually added to trees and herbaceous plants, whose organization is similar to that of trees) are generated, has previously circulated through their leaves, either in the same, or preceding season, and subsequently descended through their bark; and after having repeated every experiment that occurred to me, from which I suspected an unfavourable result, I am not in possession of a single fact which is not perfectly consistent with the theory I have advanced.

There is, however, one circumstance stated by Hales and Du Hamel, which appears strongly to militate against my hypothesis; and as that circumstance probably induced Hales to deny altogether the existence of circulation in plants, and Du Hamel to speak less decisively in favour of it, than he possibly might have done, I am anxious to reconcile the statements of these great naturalists (which I acknowledge to be perfectly correct) with the statements and opinions I have on former occasions communicated to you.

Both Hales and Du Hamel have proved, that when two circular incisions through the bark, round the stem of a tree, are made at a small distance from each other, and when the bark between these incisions is wholly taken away, that portion of

the stem which is below the incisions through the bark, continues to live, and in some degree to increase in size, though much more slowly observed than the parts above the incisions. They have also observed that a small elevated ridge (*bourrelet*) is formed round the lower lip of the wound in the bark, with some slight advances to meet the bark and wood projected, in much larger quantity, from the opposite, or upper lip of the wound.

I have endeavoured, in a former *Memoir*, to explain the cause why some portion of growth takes place below incisions through the bark, by supposing that a small part of the true sap, descending from the leaves, escapes downwards through the porous substance of the alburnum. Several facts stated by Hales, seem favourable to this supposition; and the existence of a power in the alburnum, to carry the sap in different directions, is proved in the growth of inverted cuttings of different species of trees. But I have derived so many advantages, both as a gardener and farmer (particularly in the management of fruit and forest trees) from the experiments which have been the subject of my former *Memoirs*, that I am confident much public benefit might be derived from an intimate acquaintance with the use and office of the various organs of plants, and thence feel anxious to adduce facts, to prove that the conclusions I have drawn are not inconsistent with the facts stated by my great predecessors.

It has been acknowledged, I believe, by every naturalist who has written on the subject (and the fact is, indeed, too obvious to be controverted) that the matter which enters into the composition of the

radicles of germinating seeds, existed previously in their cotyledons; and as the radicles increase only in length by parts successively added to their apices, or points, most distant from their cotyledons, it follows of necessity, that the first motion of the true sap, at this period, is downwards; and as no alburnous tubes exist in the radicles of germinating seeds, during the earlier periods of their growth, the sap in its descent must either pass through the bark or the medulla. But the medulla does not apparently contain any vessels calculated to carry the descending sap, whilst the cortical vessels are, during this period, much distended, and full of moisture, and as the medulla certainly does not carry any fluid in stems or branches of more than one year old, it can scarcely be suspected that it, at any period, conveys the whole current of the descending sap.

As the leaves grow, and enter on their office, cortical vessels, in every respect apparently similar to those which descended from the cotyledons, are found to descend from the bases of their leaves; and there appears, no reason, with which I am acquainted, to suspect that both do not carry a similar fluid, and that the course of this fluid is, in the first instance, always towards the roots.

The ascending sap, on the contrary, rises wholly through the alburnum and central vessels; for the destruction of a portion of the bark, in a circle round the tree, does not immediately, in the slightest degree, check the growth of its leaves and branches; but the alburnous vessels appear, from the experiments I have related in a former paper, and from those I shall now proceed to relate,

relate, to be also capable of an inverted action, when that becomes necessary to preserve the existence of the plant.

As soon as the leaves of the oak were nearly full grown in the last spring, I selected, in several instances, two poles of the same age, and springing from the same roots, in a coppice, which had been felled about six years preceding, and making two circular incisions, at the distance of three inches from each other, through the bark of one of the poles on each stool, I destroyed the bark between the incisions, and thus cut off the communication between the leaves and the lower parts of the stem and roots, through the bark; much growth, as usual, took place above the space from which the bark had been taken off, and very little below it.

Examining the state of the experiment in the succeeding winter, I found it had not succeeded according to my hopes, for a portion of the alburnum, in almost every instance was lifeless, and almost dry, to a considerable distance below the space from which the bark had been removed. In one instance the whole of it was, however, perfectly alive; and in this I found the specific gravity of the wood, above the decorticated space, to be 1114, and below it 1111; and the wood of the uncut pole, at the same distance from the ground, to be 1112, each being weighed as soon as it was detached from the root.

Had the true sap in this instance wholly stagnated above the decorticated space, the specific gravity of the wood there ought to have been, according to the result of former experiments, comparatively much greater; but I do not wish to draw

any conclusion from a single experiment; and, indeed, I see very considerable difficulty in obtaining any very satisfactory, or decisive facts, from any experiments on plants, in this case, in which the same roots and stems collect and convey the sap during the spring and summer, and retain, within themselves, that which is, during the autumn and winter, reserved to form new organs of assimilation in the succeeding spring. In the tuberous-rooted plants, the roots and stems which collect and convey the sap in one season, and those in which it is deposited, and reserved for the succeeding season, are perfectly distinct organs; and from one of these, the potatoe, I obtained more interesting and decisive results.

My principal object was to prove that a fluid descends from the leaves and stem to form the tuberous roots of this plant; and that this fluid will in part escape down the alburnous substance of the stem, when the continuity of the cortical vessels is interrupted; but I had also another object in view.

Every gardener knows, that early varieties of the potatoe never afford either blossoms or seeds, and I attributed this peculiarity to privation of nutriment, owing to the tubers being formed preternaturally early, and thence drawing off that portion of the true sap, which, in the ordinary course of nature, is employed in the formation and nutrition of blossoms and seeds.

I therefore planted, in the last spring, some cuttings of a very early variety of the potatoe, which had never been known to blossom, in garden pots, having heaped the mould as high as I could above the level of the pot, and planted the  
portion

portion of the root nearly at the top of it. When the plants had grown a few inches high, they were secured to strong sticks, which had been fixed erect in the pots for that purpose, and the mould was then washed away from the base of their stems by a strong current of water. Each plant was now suspended in air, and had no communication with the soil in the pots, except by its fibrous roots, and as these are perfectly distinct organs from the runners which generate and feed the tuberous roots, I could readily prevent the formation of them. Efforts were soon made by every plant, to generate runners and tuberous roots; but these were destroyed as soon as they became perceptible. An increased luxuriance of growth now became visible in every plant, numerous blossoms were emitted, and every blossom afforded fruit.

Conceiving, however, that a small part only of the true sap would be expended in the production of blossoms and seeds, I was anxious to discover what use nature would make of that which remained, and I therefore took effectual means to prevent the formation of tubers on any part of the plants, except the extremities of the lateral branches, those being the points most distant from the earth, in which the tubers are naturally deposited. After an ineffective struggle of a few weeks, the plants became perfectly obedient to my wishes, and formed their tubers precisely in the places I had assigned them. Many of the joints of the plants, during the experiment, became enlarged and turgid, and I am much inclined to believe, that if I had totally prevented the formation of regular tubers, these joints would have acquired an

organization capable of retaining life, and of affording plants in the succeeding spring.

I had another variety of the potatoe which grew with great luxuriance, and afforded many lateral branches; and just at that period, when I had ascertained the first commencing formation of the tubers, beneath the soil, I nearly detached many of these lateral branches from the principal stems, letting them remain suspended by such a portion only of alburnous and cortical fibres and vessels, as were sufficient to preserve life. In this position I conceived that if their leaves and stems contained any unemployed true sap, it could not readily find its way to the tuberous roots, its passage being obstructed by the rupture of the vessels, and by gravitation; and I had soon the pleasure to see, that, instead of returning down the principal stem into the ground, it remained, and formed small tubers at the base of the leaves of the depending branches.

The preceding facts are, I think, sufficient to prove that the fluid, from which the tuberous root of the potatoe, when growing beneath the soil, derives its component matter, exists previously either in the stems or leaves; and that it subsequently descends into the earth; and as the cortical vessels during every period of the growth of the tuber are filled with the true sap of the plant, and as these vessels extend into the runners, which carry nutriment to the tuber, and in other instances evidently convey the true sap downwards, there appears little reason to doubt that through these vessels the tuber is naturally fed.

To ascertain, therefore, whether the tubers would continue to be fed

fed when the passage of the true sap down the cortical vessels was interrupted, I removed a portion of bark of the width of five lines, and extending round the stems of several plants of the potatoe, close to the surface of the ground, soon after that period when the tubers were first formed. The plants continued some time in health, and, during that period the tubers continued to grow, deriving their nutriment, as I conclude, from the leaves by an inverted action of the alburnous vessels. The tubers, however, by no means attained their natural size, partly owing to the declining health of the plant, and partly to the stagnation of a portion of the true sap above the decorticated space.

The fluid contained in the leaf has not, however, been proved, in any of the preceding experiments, to pass downwards through the decorticated space, and to be subsequently discharged into the bark below it; but I have proved with amputated branches of different species of trees, that the water which their leaves absorb, when immersed in that fluid, will be carried downwards by the alburnum, and conveyed into a portion of bark below the decorticated space; and that the insulated bark will be preserved alive and moist during several days; and, if the moisture absorbed by a leaf, can be thus transferred, it appears extremely probable that the true sap will pass through the same channel. This power in the alburnum to carry fluids in different directions probably answers very important purposes in hot climates, where the dews are abundant and the soil very dry; for the moisture the dews af-

ford may thus be conveyed to the extremities of the roots; and Hales has proved that the leaves absorb moist when placed in humid air; and that the sap descends, either through the bark or alburnum, during the night.

If the inverted action of the alburnous vessels in the decorticated space be admitted, it is not difficult to explain the cause why some degree of growth takes place below such decorticated spaces on the stems of trees; and why a small portion of bark and wood is generated on the lower lip of the wound. A considerable portion of the descending true sap certainly stagnates above the wound, and of that which escapes into the bark below it, the greater part is probably carried towards, and into, the roots; where it preserves life, and occasions some degree of growth to take place. But a small portion of that fluid will be carried upwards by capillary attraction, between the bark and the alburnum, exclusive of the immediate action of the latter substance, and the whole of this will stagnate on the lower lip of the wound, where I conceive it generates the small portion of wood and bark, which Hales and Du Hamel have described.

I should scarcely have thought an account of the preceding experiments worth sending to you, but that many of the conclusions I have drawn in former memoirs appear, at first view almost incompatible with the facts stated by Hales and Du Hamel, and that I had one fact to communicate relative to the effects, produced by the stagnation of the descending sap of resinous trees, which appeared to lead to important consequences. I have

in my possession a piece of a fir-tree, from which a portion of bark, extending round its whole stem, had been taken off several years before the tree was felled; and of this portion of wood one part grew above, and the other below the decorticated space. Conceiving that, according to the theory I am endeavouring to support, the wood above the decorticated space ought to be much heavier than that below it, owing to the stagnation of the descending sap, I ascertained the specific gravity of both kinds, taking a wedge of each as nearly of the same form, as I could obtain, and I found the difference greatly more than I had anticipated; the specific gravity of the wood above the decorticated space being 0,590, and of that below only 0,491; and having steeped pieces of each, which weighed 100 grains, during twelve hours in water, I found the latter had absorbed 69 grains, and the former only 51.

The increased solidity of the wood above the decorticated space, in this instance, must, I conceive, have arisen from the stagnation of the true sap in its descent from the leaves; and therefore in felling firs, or other resinous trees, considerable advantages may be expected from stripping off a portion of bark all round their trunks, close to the surface of the ground, about the end of May, or beginning of June, in the summer preceding the autumn in which they are to be felled. For much of the resinous matter contained in the roots of these is probably carried up by the ascending sap in the spring, and the return of a large portion of this matter to the roots, would, probably,

be prevented: the timber I have, however, very little doubt, would be much improved by standing a second year, and being then felled in the autumn; but some loss would be sustained owing to the slow growth of the trees in the second summer. The alburnum of other trees might probably be rendered more solid and durable by the same process; but the descending sap of these, being of a more fluid consistence than that of the resinous tribe, would escape through the decorticated space into the roots in much larger quantity.

It may be suspected that the increased solidity of the wood in the fir-tree I have described, was confined to the part adjacent to the decorticated space; but it has been long known to gardeners that taking off a portion of bark round the branch of a fruit-tree occasions the production of much blossom on every part of that branch in the succeeding season. The blossom in this case probably owes its existence to a stagnation of the true sap, extending to the extremities of the branch above the decorticated space; and it may therefore be expected, that the alburnous matter of the trunk and branches of a resinous tree will be rendered more solid by a similar operation.

I send you two specimens of the fir-wood I have described, the one having been taken off above, and the other below, the decorticated space. The bark of the latter kind scarcely exceeded one-tenth of a line in thickness; the cause of which, I propose to endeavour to explain in a future communication relative to the reproduction of bark. I am, &c.

T. A. Knight.  
*Account*

*Account of a Mulatto.*

*From Dr. Pinckard's Notes on the  
West Indies.*

PREVIOUS to our departure from this estate, I was requested to make a visit at one of the huts in the negro yard, where, it was said, I might witness a phenomenon, and be "convinced of a fact which overturns all the sceptical reasonings of medical men," regarding the influence of imagination upon the conformation of the human frame, and its power of conferring or altering the figure of the fœtus *in utero*.

The subject of our visitation was a mulatto man, twenty eight years of age, who is said to have been born with all his bones broken, in consequence of his mother having been present at the horrible execution of a man, who was racked on the wheel. Perhaps, as one of the tribe, I may be allowed to maintain my scepticism, even with this example before my eyes; still as the appearances of the object, and the circumstances of the case were peculiar, and some of them well authenticated, I cannot, consistent with the plan of our correspondence, omit noting to you what I heard related of the history, and what I observed with regard to the figure of this very remarkable mulatto.

The father was a strong and healthy Dutch soldier. The mother a robust, well formed negro woman. They had four children, all of whom are now arrived at the age of puberty: three of them are strong and handsome mulattoes, healthy, and remarkable for the

symmetry of their features; the fourth is the subject in question.

The father is dead, but the mother is still living; and was brought to me that I might witness the form of her person, inquire into her state of health, and ask her any questions which the case before us should suggest. She assured me that both herself and the father had enjoyed a good state of health, and had considered themselves as having been blessed with a happy exemption from disease: but that when she was recently pregnant with this son, she had unfortunately gone to see the execution of a man who was condemned to be broken upon the wheel; and that upon witnessing this dreadful torture, she was so struck with horror, as to be taken extremely ill, and was scarcely able to return to her home. She represented the sensations of the moment as very highly distressing, but was unable to convey any accurate description of her feelings. For some time afterwards it was expected that abortion would follow; but that not having happened, she was delivered, at the usual period, of this broken and disfigured offspring. Her having been present at the execution, and being so frightened as to be suddenly taken ill, were confirmed by one of the gentlemen of our party, with whose family she then lived. The circumstance of her recent pregnancy, at the time, was likewise proved by the fact of her delivery afterwards; but the precise period of it at the date of the execution, I could not ascertain. She is now of advanced age, and somewhat lame, but has still the remains of a well-formed person.

Upon

Upon examining her, I observed an eruption like the *cra cra* about the point of one elbow, and a small irregular tumour on the sternum; but these were exp'ained to be of late origin. In all other respects she appeared to possess health and strength proportionate to her years.

The figure of the son cannot be described by words. His person appeared as if it had been composed by throwing the materials into a bag, with a loose congeries of broken bones, and shaking the whole together until they formed a something approaching to the shape of a human being. It was not the tortuous construction usually occurring from scrofula, or the rickets. He had not the crooked twisted bones of disease. They appeared as if they had literally been broken, and some of them badly united, some not united at all. The common marks of a sickly constitution were absent, and he enjoyed a state of general health fully proportioned to the structure of his frame. Indeed, from the minutest examination, I do not feel myself authorized to consider this very peculiarly deranged conformation as the effect of disease, but am rather inclined to regard it as an extraordinary *lusus naturæ*.

His head was the only part that was well formed, and this, although of natural size, appeared very large, owing to the great disproportion of the body and extremities, which, from their extreme distortion, had not grown with the growth of the head.

With regard to his mental faculties nothing peculiar was noticed. He answered the questions that were put to him expertly, and was considered in point of intellect

to be quite equal to the generality of the people of colour.

I placed my elbow at his side, when he was sitting as upright as his figure would admit, and extending my hand upwards, found that his height from the seat to the crown of his head, was not quite equal to the length of my fore arm, from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers.

Every rib, and every limb, seemed as if it had been fractured. The long bones of the arms, being divided in the middle, were loosely held together by a membranous or ligamentous union. Those of the legs appeared as if they had been broken, and the two parts (or rather the four parts of the tibia and fibula) afterwards placed together in a direction parallel with each other, and thus united into one broad flat bone, the end of which projected considerably forward in the middle of the leg, thinly covered with integuments, while the lower part of the limb was thrown backwards, with the heel up towards the thigh, so that if he had been placed in the erect position, the points of the toes would have been brought to the ground, instead of the flat part of the foot.

He had not the power of moving from his seat without assistance, except in a very slight degree, by a writhing or twisting, and most unseemly motion, upon his buttocks, wholly unassisted by his limbs. During the day he remains always in the sitting posture, and from the distortion of his lower extremities, these are brought into a position somewhat resembling a taylor sitting at his work. With some difficulty he could bring the  
lower



lower arm to reach the head, but this was effected more from a kind of flexure at the ligamentous union in the middle of the bone of the upper arm, than from a direct motion of the shoulder joint, the action of which was extremely limited, from the want of the fulcrum commonly afforded to the muscles by the bone of the arm.

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*Account of a White Negro, and Pie-bald Negroes.*

*From the same.*

THE white negro, as he is denominated, is a boy about twelve years of age, who was born on board of ship, on the passage from Guinea, of perfectly white skin, although both his father and mother were jet black. He is even *whiter*, but I know not if I should say *fairer*, than Europeans, for it is a dead chalk-white, without the agreeable relief of the fine blue veins, and ruddy tints of an extra-tropical, or more particularly of a British skin. In form and feature he strictly resembles other negroes, having the head and face long, with the hair short and curling like wool, the mouth large, with thick lips, and the nose broad and flat. His eyes are blue, the eye-brows and eye-lashes white, as is likewise the hair, which from being slightly tinged with yellow, assumes, in a small degree that particular hue, which is more commonly than correctly, termed red. On looking at a strong light, his eyes are affected with a twinkling motion, such as is observed in the Albinos or Nyctalops; and from the axes of the two eyes not accurately con-

verging, a slight degree of strabismus is perceptible. It would seem therefore that it is a variation which stands much in the same relation with respect to the negroes, as the Nyctalops with respect to ourselves. His skin being more than commonly irritable, is highly susceptible of injury, and quickly rises into blisters, on his being exposed to the open rays of the sun.

The case of the woman is even more novel and singular than that of the boy; her peculiarity being the effect of an extraordinary change, and not of original conformation. She is about thirty years of age, and, until the last six or seven years, was of completely sable skin, differing in no respect from other negroes; nor do either her form or features now offer any thing remarkable, but from the profoundest black, her surface is growing perfectly white. She is of good figure, has been always regarded as having a strong and healthy constitution, and, for many years, has been employed as a washerwoman in Mr. Cuming's family.

No probable cause is known, nor even suggested, for the change, but about five or six years ago, some white spots appeared upon her extremities, and from that time she has been gradually losing the natural blackness of her surface.

This uncommon change commenced in the parts most remote from the centre of circulation, and is slowly, though regularly, proceeding towards the parts nearer to the heart. The feet, hands, legs, and arms, have already lost their sable hue, and are now even whiter than those of an European. Her nose and ears are also white, and some patches of white are spread-

spreading upon the face, neck, and bosom; but her body yet remains profoundly black; and although this extraordinary conversion seems to be progressively advancing, if it proceeds as slowly as it has hitherto done, it may be still several years before the whole of the dark colouring will be removed. Her hair and eyes retain their original blackness, and have not yet any appearance of participating in the change.

It is remarkable that the cuticle of the parts which have grown white, like the pale skin of the boy, is very subject to rise into blisters upon being exposed to the sun, while no such effect is produced upon the parts which remain black.

The woman is still in good health, and appears to remain entirely free from disease; as she was at the time this peculiar change began; but she is extremely low and dejected concerning this event, which she regards as the greatest evil that could have befallen her. She has a great dislike to be seen or have questions asked her, and more particularly by strangers. When sent for that I might look at her, she came to me with extreme reluctance, exhibiting strong marks of agitation while she remained, and went away in tears. She is the wife of one of Mr. Cuming's slaves, and has had several children, who differed in no respect from the offspring of other negroes.

*Memoir on a new Species of Pime-  
lodus thrown out of the Volcanoes  
in the Kingdom of Quito; with  
some Particulars respecting the  
Volcanoes of the Andes. By M.  
De Humboldt\*.*

*From the Philosophical Magazine.*

THE chain of the Andes, from the straits of Magellan to the northern shores bordering on Asia, extending over more than 2000 leagues, presents above fifty volcanoes still active, of which the phenomena are as various as their height and local situation. A small number of the least elevated of these volcanoes throw out running lava. I have seen, at the volcano of Zurullo, in Mexico, a basaltic cone that sprung from the earth the 15th September 1759, and at present rising 249 toises ( $1595\frac{2}{3}$  feet) above the surrounding plain. The volcanic ridges of Guatemala cast out a prodigious quantity of muriate of ammonia. Those of Popayan and the high plain of Pasto present either *solfatares*, which exhale sulphureous acid, or little craters filled with boiling water, and disengaging sulphurated hydrogen, which decomposes by contact with the oxygen of the atmosphere. The volcanoes of the kingdom of Quito throw out pumice-stone, basaltes †, and scorified porphyries; and vomit enormous quantities of water, carburetted argil, and muddy mat-

\* From *Recueil d'Observations de Zoologie et d'Anatomie comparée*, 1re livraison.

† It would have been of some use to geology had the author here mentioned whether the stone which he calls basaltes has been submitted to the action of fire or water; or whether, in addition to the other well known characters of this mineral, it yielded hydrogen gas on distillation, the latter being the peculiar characteristic of what is properly denominated basaltes.—*Translator.*

ter, which spreads fertility from eight to ten leagues around. But, since the period to which the traditions of the natives ascend, they have never produced great masses of running melted lava. The height of these colossal mountains, that surpasses five times that of Vesuvius, and their inland situation, are, without doubt, the principal causes of these anomalies. The subterranean noise of Cotopaxi, at the time of its great explosions, extends to distances equal to that from Vesuvius to Dijon. But, notwithstanding this intensity of force, it is known, that if the volcanic fire was at a great depth, the melted lava could neither raise itself to the edge of the crater, nor pierce the flank of these mountains, which to the height of 1400 toises (8971 $\frac{2}{3}$  feet) are fortified by high surrounding plains. It appears, therefore, natural, that volcanoes so elevated should discharge from their mouth but insulated stones, volcanic cinders or ashes, flames, boiling water, and, above all, this carburetted argil impregnated with sulphur, that is called *moya* \* in the language of the country.

The mountains of the kingdom of Quito occasionally offer another spectacle, less alarming, but not less curious to the naturalist. The great explosions are periodical, and somewhat rare. Cotopaxi, Tungurahua, and Sangay, sometimes do not present one in twenty or thirty years. But during such intervals even these volcanoes will discharge enormous quantities of argillaceous mud; and, what is more extra-

ordinary, an innumerable quantity of fish. By accident, none of these volcanic inundations took place the year that I passed the Andes of Quito; but the fish vomited from the volcanoes is a phenomenon so common, and so generally known by all the inhabitants of that country, that there cannot remain the least doubt of its authenticity. As there are in these regions several very well informed persons, who have successfully devoted themselves to the physical sciences, I have had an opportunity of procuring exact information (*renseignemens*) respecting these fishes. M. de Larrea, at Quito, well versed in the study of chemistry, who has formed a cabinet of the minerals of his country, has been, above all others, the most useful to me in these researches. Examining the archives of several little towns in the neighbourhood of Cotopaxi, in order to extract the epochs of the great earthquakes, that fortunately have been preserved with care, I there found some notes on the fish ejected from the volcanoes. On the estates of the marquis of Selvaegre the Cotopaxi had thrown a quantity so great, that their putrefaction spread a fetid odour around. In 1691 the almost extinguished volcano of Imbaburu threw out thousands on the fields in the environs of the city of Ibarra. The putrid fevers which commenced at that period were attributed to the miasma which exhaled from these fish, heaped on the surface of the earth and exposed to the rays of the sun. The last time

\* M. Humboldt seems not to have been aware that this name has been affixed to it in consequence of its having some resemblance to a kind of blackish coarse bread made of grits or pollard, and used in Spain by some very poor but proud people, or for purposes of penitence in cases of a *pecado mortal*.—Translator.

that Imbabura ejected fish was on the 19th of June 1698, when the volcano of Cargneirazo sunk, and thousands of these animals enveloped in argillaceous mud were thrown over the crumbling borders.

The Cotopaxi and Tungurahua throw out fish sometimes by the crater which is at the top of these mountains, sometimes by lateral vents, but constantly at 2500 or 2600 toises above the level of the sea: the adjacent plains being 1300 toises high, one may conclude that these animals issue from a point which is 1300 toises more elevated than the plains on which they are thrown. Some Indians have assured me that the fish vomited by the volcanoes were sometimes still living in descending along the flank of the mountain: but this fact does not appear to me sufficiently proved: certain it is, that among the thousands of dead fish that in a few hours are seen descending from Cotopaxi with great bodies of cold fresh water, there are very few that are so much disfigured that one can believe them to have been exposed to the action of a strong heat. This fact becomes still more striking when we consider the soft flesh of these animals, and the thick smoke which this volcano exhales during the eruption. It appeared to me of very great importance to descriptive natural history to verify sufficiently the nature of these animals. All the inhabitants agree that they are identical with those which are found in the rivulets at

the foot of these volcanoes, and called *prennadillas*\*: they are even the only species of fish that is discovered at the height of above 1400 toises in the waters of the kingdom of Quito. I have designed it, with care, on the spot, and my design has been coloured by M. Turpin. I have observed that the *prennadilla* is a new species of the genus *silurus*. M. Lapepede, who has also examined it, advised me to place it in that division of *silurus* which, in the fifth volume of his Natural History of Fishes, he has described under the name of *pimelodes*.

This new species of *pimelodus* has a depressed body of an olive colour mixed with little black spots. The mouth, which is at the extremity of the nose, is very large, and furnished with two barbillons or whiskers attached to the jaws. The nostrils are tubulous; the eyes are very small, and placed towards the middle of the head. The skin of the body and the tail is covered with an abundant mucus, and the mouth is furnished with very small teeth. The branchial membrane has four radii, like the *pimelodus chilensis*; the pectoral fin has nine; the ventral five; the first dorsal six; the fin of the anus seven; and that of the tail, which is bifid, has twelve radii. The first radius of all the fins is indented on the outside: the second dorsal fin is adipose, and placed near the tail. This little *pimelodus*, which is found in lakes even to the height of 1700 toises, is without doubt,

\* This word is an indifferent or contemptuous diminutive, indicating abundant, pregnant, fruitful, easily taken, but not a pleasing or desirable object. The name is purely Spanish and not Indian, of course could never have been applied to any fish used as food by Spaniards.—Translator.

the fish that lives in the most elevated regions of our globe. Its common length scarcely amounts to ten centimetres (four inches;) but there are varieties which do not appear to reach five centimetres (two inches) in length.

In the system of ichthyology this new species of *pimelodus* should be ranged in the first sub-genus established by Lacepede, among the forked-tailed pimelodes. It must be in the first species, before the *pimelodus bagre*. As it is the only one of that division that has but two whiskers, I give it the name of *Pimelodus Cyclopus*. *Cirris duobus, corpore olivaceo nigropunctato*. This little fish lives in rivulets at the temperature of 10° of the centigrade thermometer, while other species of the same genus exist in rivers in the plains the water of which is at 27°. The *pimelodus* is but very rarely eaten, and then only by the most indigent race of Indians; its aspect and the sliminess of its skin render it very disgusting.

From the enormous quantity of *pimelodes* that the volcanoes of the kingdom of Quito occasionally discharge, one cannot doubt that that country contains great subterranean lakes which conceal these fishes; for the individuals that exist in the little rivers around are very few in number. A part of those rivers may communicate with the subterranean pits: it is also probable that the first *pimelodes* which have inhabited these pits have mounted there against the current. I have seen fish in the caverns of Derbyshire, in England; and near Gailenreuth, in Germany, where the fossil heads of bears and lions are found, there are living

trouts in the grôttoes, which at present are very distant from any rivulet, and greatly elevated above the level of the neighbouring waters. In the province of Quito, the subterranean roarings that accompany the earthquakes; the masses of rocks that we think we hear crumbling down below the earth we walk on; the immense quantity of water that issues from the earth in the driest places during the volcanic explosions; and numerous other phenomena, indicate that all the soil of this elevated plain is undermined. But, if it is easy to conceive that vast subterranean basins may be filled with water, which nourishes fishes, it is more difficult to explain how these animals are attracted by volcanoes that ascend to the height of 1300 toises, and discharged either by their craters or by their lateral vents. Should we suppose that the *pimelodes* exist in subterranean basins of the same height at which they are seen to issue? How conceive their origin in a position so extraordinary; in the flank of a cone so often heated, and perhaps partly produced by volcanic fire? Whatever may be the source from which they issue, the perfect state in which they are found induces us to believe that those volcanoes, the most elevated and the most active in the world, experience, from time to time convulsive movements, during which the disengagement of caloric appears less considerable than we should suppose it. Earthquakes do not always accompany those phenomena. Perhaps in the different concamerations that may be admitted in the interior of a volcano, the air is found occasionally condensed, and that it is this condensed

air which contributes to raise the water and fish; perhaps they issue from a concavity distant from those which emit volcanic fire; possibly, in fine, the argillaceous mud in which these animals are enveloped defends them from the action of great heat. Notwithstanding all the researches that have been recently made on volcanoes, there is nothing but the study of volcanic productions that has made any progress. As to the nature of the combustibles which nourish those subterranean fires, and the mode of action of those fires themselves, I believe that all persons who have visited the borders of craters, and who have lived a long time in the vicinity of volcanoes, will sincerely avow, with me, that we are still very far from being able to give an explication, which, without being contrary to the principles of chemistry and of physics, could account for the great phænomena which volcanic explosions present.

The corregidor of the city of Ibarra, don José Ponce Pardo, has communicated to me an interesting observation on the *pimelodes*. "It is known (says he, in a letter which I have still preserved,) that the volcano of Imbaburu, at the time of its great eruption on the side next our city, threw out an enormous quantity of *prennadillas*: it even continues still occasionally to do so, especially after great

rains. It is observed that these fishes actually live in the interior of the mountain, and that the Indians of S. Pabla fish\* for them in a rivulet at the very place whence they issue from the rock. This fishery does not succeed either in the day or in moonlight: a very dark night is therefore necessary, as the *prennadillas* will not otherwise come out of the volcano, the interior of which is hollow." It appears, then, that the light is injurious to those subterranean fishes, which are not accustomed to so strong a stimulus; an observation so much the more curious, that the *pimelodes* of the same species, which inhabit the brooks in the vicinity of the city of Quito, live exposed to the brightness of the meridian sun.

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*On two Species of the Sphex or Wasp, found in Virginia and Pennsylvania and probably existing through all the United States. By H. Latrobe, Esq.*

*From the same.*

The two species of sphex whose astonishing industry presents such interesting particulars, are known in America by the names of the *blue wasp*, the *mason* and the *dirt-dauber*. These wasps are distinguished among all the remarkable insects which belong to the order of

\* This is an assertion somewhat contrary to that of their being very bad food, and disagreeable in appearance. It is within the particular knowledge of the translator, that the Spaniards of South America are both very sceptical and very witty, and that to play upon the philosophical faith of Europeans would be their highest delight. He must therefore be pardoned for regarding the letter of *el Senor Corregidor* as a *jeu d'esprit en revanche* for the sarcastic observations of French travellers on the Spaniards.—  
Translator.

the *hymenopteræ* of Linnæus, by the singular and cruel manner in which they provide for their young.

The two species of sphex now mentioned are distinguished from each other by their manner of building, and by the forms of their bodies; but they are quite similar in their manners, in the materials they employ in making their cells, and in the food they prepare for their progeny.

The first is probably the *sphex cærulea alis fuscis* of Linnæus\*. It is by far the most common: its feelers are sharp-pointed, and are extended when the insect is at work; on its snout it carries a strong beak, with which it works sideway, by making furrows on the surface of its little cells, which appear as if channelled; its thorax is thick and the abdomen is attached to it by a kind of slender stalk like the petiole of a flower. To this petiole belongs a scutum from which issues a strong hook, very useful to the animal in securing its prey. The sting is not very painful, and the pain of short duration. The wings, (which Linnæus describes as being brown) besides being of a fine green, are also blue and brown. The joints of the feet are yellow, and the whole head, body and legs are of a blue colour. The writer of this article has seen some individuals which had yellow spots upon the thorax at the root of the wings.

The other wasp † (*sphex nigra, abdomine petiolato atro, alis sub-violaceis*, of Linnæus,) has a large head, a flat and open nose; the

thorax longer in proportion, the petiole of the abdomen very long, it has no hook; the abdomen is conical and of an elegant form. Its colour in general is a deep blue approaching to black, but there are plenty of yellow spots upon the thorax; the thighs, legs, and feet are also spotted with yellow. Its feelers are longer than those of the preceding one; it carries them vertically, and crooks them often.

The cells of both species are built of clay, which the insect collects in moist places; but the appearance and construction of these cells are different for each species.

The blue sphex chooses in the open air the south front of a rock, or trunk of a tree, for its residence. It then seeks its building materials on the bank of some rivulet: it collects the clay with its feet; and after having made as large a ball as it can carry, it begins by laying a slender coating upon the wood or stone. It spreads the clay with its head, and a sharp sound is heard while it is at work. It then flies off for another load, and soon forms the upper extremity of its cell. It then goes on to a second range, working alternately on both sides, and often visiting the interior of the tube, which it renders perfectly close and compact. It thus forms a funnel three or four inches long before attempting to lay up any provisions for its young.

In the inside of a house the wasp finds no place so convenient to build its nest as the back of a picture, because it prefers establishe-

\* The blue ichneumon wasp, with gilt wings. (De Gear.)

† Ichneumon wasp of Pennsylvania. (De Gear.)

ing itself in places where there is not too much light ; and the back of a picture has also the advantage of furnishing two walls to its cell. The hollow mouldings in a pannel retain it strongly, as well as the interior angles of a table. In the wooden houses of Virginia, such places swarm with their nests.

I have seen the empty space between the top of the books and the upper shelf of a bookcase occupied by a whole family of these wasps, which had saved themselves a great deal of trouble in this instance, as they had only to build one division in their nests.

The nests of the Pennsylvanian wasps differ essentially from those of the *sphex cærulea*. In place of long tubes divided into distinct cells the former construct horizontal chambers contiguous to each other. They are completely polished within, but are more coarsely wrought without.

Both species of these insects, however, prepare the same kind of food for their young ; that is to say, spiders of every kind, but especially those which do not secure themselves by very extensive webs. It is a kind of yellow spider which the wasp collects in the greatest quantities. The author, however, has seen both species attack very large spiders in the middle of their webs, and surrounded with the carcasses of the insects they had devoured ; he has even seen one of these wasps dart quickly upon the spider and wound it with its sting. The wasp then retired to clean itself from some fibres of the web ; which it did like the common fly, by brushing its wings and head with its legs. Af-

ter having been attacked several times, the spider tried to effect its escape by dropping quickly down by means of its thread to the floor, when it began to run off ; but its antagonist continued to sting it, and even attempted to carry it off ; the spider was, however, too large and heavy ; and although the wasp tried to lighten the weight by cutting off the spider's legs, it did not succeed in carrying off its booty for a whole hour, during which time the author was watching.

The insect does not kill the spiders which it collects in this manner, but leaves enough of life in them to prevent them from putrefaction or from drying up. In all the cells that I opened, I found the spiders in a state of languor, which admitted of their moving their limbs without changing their places. We can conceive nothing more painful than their situation ; they are huddled together for the purpose of being devoured piecemeal by the young wasps, for whose food they are destined.

Each of the cellules of the Pennsylvanian wasp, being intended to contain a certain number of spiders is separately constructed ; but the *sphex cærulea*, which builds a long tube gathers as many spiders as it thinks necessary ; and after having laid an egg, encloses it along with the spiders by means of a transverse division of clay. It lays another egg in the following cellule, which it fills and shuts up in the same manner, and so on with four or five cellules in the same tube.

The egg is not long in hatching after being closed up ; but the author was not able to ascertain the time required for the formation of  
the



the young wasp. There are drawings coloured after nature published with the memoir, giving sections of the cells of these wasps, and shewing the different periods of the transformation of the insects.

As I always found an unequal number of spiders in various cells, but apparently proportioned to their capacity, I opened a range of the cells of the Pennsylvanian wasp; and having weighed separately the contents of each, I obtained the following results:

	<i>Grains.</i>
In the first cellule the spiders weighed -	$7\frac{1}{2}$
In the second, there were 17 spiders and an empty skin; the worm weighed $\frac{1}{4}$ grain, and the spiders -	$6\frac{1}{2}$
The third contained 19 very small spiders and some empty skins; the whole weighed -	$5\frac{3}{4}$
The worm weighed -	$1\frac{1}{2}$
The fourth contained only carcasses of spiders, the worm was weak and feeble. I presumed that it had too little nourishment or that it was sick; it weighed -	$3\frac{1}{4}$
The fifth contained an envelope in which was a large worm not yet in the state of a chrysalis; the whole weighed -	$3\frac{1}{2}$
The sixth and seventh cellules were empty; the young wasp had abandoned them.	

This examination proves that the wasp distributes with much judgment the quantity of food necessary for its progeny; in most of the cellules, for instance, I ought to have found twenty-two or

twenty-three spiders, and yet sometimes there are only five or six, but in this case they are very large ones. It appears also, that when the worm has attained its greatest size, its weight is only one half of that of the food it has consumed.

If it should become necessary to break through the barrier anciently traced between reason and instinct, the œconomy of the whole class of *hymenoptera*, and particularly of the wasps, may contribute to it. I shall relate a singular example which appears to be above mere instinct.

For the purpose of inspecting one of these insects (the Pennsylvanian wasp) while at work, I was obliged to remove a small distance from the wall a picture behind which the nest was placed. In doing so I deranged several cellules, because the earthy mastic which joined them to the wall was broken in several places and exposed the spiders and the young worms to view.

I held the frame about an inch from the wall in order to see what passed behind. In a short time the wasp arrived, loaded with a round lump of clay. It came merely for the purpose of making a new cellule; but seeing that its former works were deranged it began to run rapidly over the cellules, apparently hesitating what to do. At last it deposited the clay upon the edge of one of the apertures, and began to spread it with its snout, pushing it before it, in the attitude of a sow digging in the ground. It emitted a shrill buzzing when at work. After having very properly replastered the work, it flew away. In four minutes

minutes it returned with a new load of clay, which it deposited in the next aperture. It repeated its visits four times; and after having finished the repairs and being convinced of the goodness of the workmanship by running over it several times, it flew off again and returned with a new load, with which it began to form a new cell.

If the faculty of modifying the conduct of an individual according to circumstances is one of the characteristics of reason, the fact I have now mentioned is surely a proof of reasoning in an insect. The wasp had remarked the unexpected derangement which had been made during its absence; the clay which it brought was intended for a new cellule; but observing the mischief done to the old ones, it repaired them before building any more.

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*On the Phantasms produced by disordered Sensation. In a Letter from a Correspondent.*

*(From Nicholson's Journal.)*

Sir,

I have just been perusing in your Journal for Nov. 1803, the memoir of Nicolai, on spectres which haunted that intelligent and estimable man for two months. His narrative develops many curious topics of investigation, respecting our perception, and may perhaps lead to a farther explanation of the laws by which our trains of ideas are governed, and the mechanism of our organs of thought; concerning which, so

little is known. The perusal induced me to send you a few more facts relative to the same obscure subject.

Many persons, particularly females, within the circle of my personal knowledge, have related to me incidents of the same nature, arising from nervous indisposition. Nothing is more common than the appearance of figures and sounds in fevers; and they are very frequently exhibited to persons in apparent good health. In all the instances related to me, the parties are aware of the objects being the mere consequences of indisposition, or what may be called internal sensation, and spoke of them as such. It is not a month since I was sitting alone with a lady, for whose powers of mind and moral habits, I have the highest respect, when after a short and sudden pause, she said, "This moment I saw M—— standing in his usual manner just behind your chair, and a little while afterwards he was in the corner of the room." Upon my inquiring respecting the appearance, she said the figure was paler, or less clearly visible, than usual, and that it gradually faded away.

I know a gentleman, at present in the vigour of life, who in my opinion is not exceeded by any one, in acquired knowledge, and originality of deep research, and who, for nine months in succession, was always visited by a figure of the same man, threatening to destroy him, at the time of going to rest. It appeared upon his lying down, and instantly disappeared when he resumed the erect posture. This was not related to me by himself, but by another friend, and his

his absence has since prevented my enquiring farther.

Little doubt remains in my mind, that many of the stories of apparitions, which have been in all ages so generally received, were true, though probably incorrect, from the influence of the imagination under an impression of terror. When I was a boy, I once or twice in the night awoke with the disease commonly called the night-mare; and then the fit was accompanied with a sense of weight, as if caused by a person actually pressing on me, and touching me with cold hands; and in the momentary interval between one crisis and the next, I had a consciousness that that person hurried round the room and came back to torment me again, before I could recover my speech or motion. But afterwards, when I was older and considered these as the effects of disease, I had an attack, in which I experienced no terror, nor had any concomitant notion of an external agent; and as soon as I felt a remission of the rigour, I sprung up and was relieved; no other consequence remaining but a slight tremor of the surface of the body.

About twelve years ago, I had an attack of fever, arising from some deep seated inflammation, which caused acute pain in the left side. It was occasioned by a cold caught at the breaking up of the hard frost in the spring of 1795. The pulse was generally about 110 in the minute, and the illness, which lasted some weeks, was accompanied with disordered perception, through almost its whole duration. My recollections of what then happened, renewed by occasional

meditation on the subject since that time, are now so far impaired, that some of the particulars recur in a less striking manner; the exact order of their succession, and time of their respective duration, are less certain than these would have been, if my first intention of writing down the various phenomena soon after the event, had been carried into effect.

The phantasms or delusions which accompany and mark disordered sensation, (which term I would use in contradiction to disorder in the powers of memory, reasoning, or the moral habits) are perhaps too frequent and too little varied, to afford much interest in describing them, unless where the narrative can point out some law which the effects may seem to follow, or may afford some general inferences that may prove valuable as rules of conduct under such sufferings. It must no doubt be a considerable advantage and consolation to those who might ascribe these visions to supernatural powers, or who might be driven to insanity by impatience or terror, on the supposition of reality, for want of knowing these phenomena of disease;—it must no doubt be highly beneficial that they should have such knowledge: but the events I offer to your readers, are, in my opinion, principally remarkable for a certain connection they shewed with that common law of association, by which our usual train of ideas is so immediately and rapidly governed.

At the commencement of the fever, a slight defect of memory was perceived in forming the phrases for dictating a letter; but  
this

this did not last, and I found no difficulty afterwards in performing arithmetical and other processes by memory to as great an extent as my usual habits could have gone. The first night was attended with great anxiety, and the fatiguing and perpetual recurrence of the same dream. I supposed myself to be in the midst of an immense system of mechanical combination, all the parts of which were revolving with extreme rapidity and noise, and at the same time I was impressed with a conviction that the aim or purpose of this distracting operation was to cure my disorder. When the agitation was carried to a certain height, I suddenly awoke, and soon afterwards fell again into a doze, with repetition of the same dream. After many such repetitions it occurred to me that if I could destroy the impression or conviction, there might be a probability that the delirious dream would change its form; and as the most likely method, I thought that by connecting some simple visible object in my mind with the notion of cure, that object might be made to occupy the situation of the rapidly moving objects in the dream. The consequence, in some measure, answered my expectation; for upon the next access, the recollection of the figure of a bottle, to which I had previously directed my mind, presented itself, the rotation ceased, and my subsequent dreams, though disturbed, were more various and less irritating.

The medical treatment consisted in the external application of leeches to the side, with venesection,

and the saline mixture was taken internally.

A second night was passed with much agitation in repeated dozing, with dreams in which, except with regard to the strangeness and inconsistency of the objects that offered themselves, it was difficult to distinguish the time of sleep from that of wakefulness. None of that anxiety of mind remained which had added to the sufferings of the preceding night. When morning came, the state of the sensations had either undergone a change; or it was more easy as Hartley\* remarks, for the real impression of surrounding objects, to predominate over the phantasms of disease. Being perfectly awake, in full possession of memory, reason and calmness, conversing with those around me, and seeing without difficulty or impediment, every surrounding object, I was entertained and delighted with a succession of faces, over which I had no control, either as to their appearance, continuance or removal.

They appeared directly before me, one at a time, very suddenly, yet not so much so, but that a second of time might be employed in the emergence of each, as if through a cloud or mist, to its perfect clearness. In this state each face continued five or six seconds, and then vanished by becoming gradually fainter during about two seconds, till nothing was left but a dark opaque mist, in which almost immediately afterwards appeared another face. All these faces were in the highest degree interesting to me, for beauty of form and the variety of ex-

\* On man.

pression they manifested of every great and amiable emotion of the human mind. Though their attention was invariably directed to me, and none of them seemed to speak, yet I seemed to read their very soul, which gave animation to their lovely and intelligent countenance: admiration and a sentiment of joy and affection when each face appeared, and regret upon its disappearance, kept my mind constantly rivetted to the visions before it; and this state was interrupted only when an intercourse with the persons in the room was proposed or urged.

It was in my recollection that Hartley in his work on man adopts a theory, that the visions of fever are common ideas of the memory recalled in a system so irritated, that they act nearly with the same force as the objects of immediate sensation, for which they are accordingly mistaken: and therefore it is, says he, that when delirium first begins, if in the dark, the effect may be suspended by bringing in a candle, which by illumination gives the due preponderance to the objects of sense. This, however, I saw was manifestly unfounded. It was in my power to think of absent objects (e. g. of sight) as usual, but they did not appear. The ideas were in the mind as usual, and at the very same time, the real objects of sense and the objects of diseased sensation stood visible before me.

When my attention was strongly fixed on the idea of an absent place or thing, the objects of sensation and of delirium were less perceived or regarded. When the mind was left in a passive or indolent state, the objects of delirium

were most vivid, and the objects of sensation, or real objects in the room, could not be seen. But when by a sort of exertion, the attention was roused, the phantasms became as it were transparent, and the objects of sensation were seen as if through them. There was not the least difficulty in rendering either object visible at pleasure; for the phantasms would nearly disappear, while the attention was steadily fixed on the real objects. Each particular phantasm was neither hastened nor retarded in its whole appearance or duration by this process.

After a morning passed in this manner, I had a visit from Dr. C——, to whom I related the effects, and among other remarks I observed that I then enjoyed the satisfaction of having cultivated my moral habits, and particularly in having always endeavoured to avoid being the slave of fear. “I think,” said I, “that this is the breaking up of the system, and that it is now in progress to speedy destruction. In this state, when the senses have become confused, and no longer tell me the truth, they still present me with pleasing fictions, and, my sufferings are mitigated by that calmness which allows me to find amusement in what are probably the concluding scenes of life.”

I give these self-congratulations without scruple, because I am an anonymous writer, and more particularly because they lead to an observation of fact, which deserves notice. When the doctor left me, my relaxed attention returned to the phantasms, and some time afterwards, instead of a pleasing face, a visage of extreme rage appeared, which presented a gun at me and  
made

made me start; but it remained the usual time, and then gradually faded away.

This immediately shewed me the probability of some connection between my thoughts and these images; for I ascribed the angry phantasm to the general reflection I had formed in conversation with Dr. C. I recollected some disquisitions of Locke in his treatise on the conduct of the mind, where he endeavours to account for the appearance of faces to persons of nervous habits. It seems to me, as if faces, in all their modifications, being so associated with our recollections of the affections or passions, would be most likely to offer themselves in delirium: but I now thought it probable that other objects would be seen if previously meditated upon. With this motive it was that I reflected upon landscapes and scenes of architectural grandeur, while the faces were flashing before me; and after a certain considerable interval of time, of which I can form no precise judgment, a rural scene of hills, vallies, and fields appeared before me, which was succeeded by another and another in ceaseless succession; the manner and times of their respective appearance, duration, and vanishing, being not sensibly different from those of the faces. All the scenes were calm and still, without any strong lights or glare; and delightfully calculated to inspire notions of retirement, peace, tranquillity, and happy meditation. I do not remember how long these lasted, but I think it was the next morning that they all vanished, at the very instant of taking a draught, composed of lemon juice, saturated with potash, with a small addition of the pulvis londinensis. I cannot

think the effect was owing to any peculiar virtue of this medicine (for it took place before the draught had actually entered the stomach) but merely to the stimulus of the sabacid cold fluid.

How long the appearances were suspended, I did not note, or have now forgotten. The fever continued with the same frequency of pulse, and pain in the side, attended with yawning and great increase of suffering while in the prone posture. Notwithstanding the saline antimonial medicine was continued, the figures returned; but they now consisted of books, or parchments, or papers containing printed matter. I do not know whether I read any of them, but am at present inclined to think they were either not distinctly legible or did not remain a sufficient time before they vanished. I was now so well aware of the connection of thought with these appearances, that by fixing my mind on the consideration of manuscript instead of the printed type, the papers appeared, after a time, only with manuscript writing: and afterwards by the same process instead of being erect, they were all inverted or appeared upside down.

It occurred to me that all these delusions were of one sense only; namely, the sight; and upon considering the recurrence of sounds, a few simple musical tones were afterwards heard, for one time only; soon after which, having dropped asleep, an animal seemed to jump upon my back, with the most shrill and piercing screams, which were too intolerable for the continuance of sleep.

Diseased perceptions of the hearing did not again recur, and I do not remember by what gradation

it was, that the frequently changing appearances, before the sight, gave place to another mode of delusive perception, which lasted for several days. All the irregularly figured objects, such as the curtains or clothes, were so far transformed that they seemed to afford outlines of figures, of faces, animals, flowers and other objects, perfectly motionless, somewhat in the manner of what fancy, if indulged, may form in the clouds or in the cavity of a fire; but much more complete and perfect, and not to be altered by steady observation or examination. They seemed to be, severally, as perfect as the rest of the objects with which they were combined, and agreed with them in colour and other respects.

I can make so few inferences or observations upon the several other characters, which these diseased sensations assumed, that I shall not attempt to describe them.

Various authors have given narratives which coincide with the preceding in part, and as analogy is the great clue for investigating the phenomena of nature, I will give a few facts and remarks which may bring us more to a point.

None of the phantoms in my illness were of known places, objects or persons. But on another occasion, when I accidentally fell into the sea, and after swimming a certain time without assistance, began to despair of my situation; the image of my dwelling and the accustomed objects appeared with a degree of vividness, little different from that of actual vision. Mr. Sturt, M.P. when greatly in danger some years ago of being wreck-

ed in a boat, on the Eddystone rocks, relates, in an account which appeared in the papers, that his family appeared to him in this extremity. "He thought he saw them." I think both these instances are referable to Hartley's theory. The illusions of figures appearing to persons near death are very common.

Sleep is, I think, invariably preceded by a diminished power of judgment and the appearance of phantasms. The objects of dreams appear to be of the same class or description, as those I had in fever. Like them they appear uncontrolled by the will for the moment, and resemble the objects of sense; and like them they can be often traced to some preceding thought or incident. Is not a certain degree of debility one of the conditions required for the appearance of these phantasms.

The ear is much more an instrument of terror than the eye. Diseased perceptions of sight are more common than those of hearing, and they are in general borne with more tranquillity. A few simple sounds usually constitute the amount of what the ear unfaithfully presents; but when incessant half-articulated whispers, sudden calls, threats, obscure murmurs, and distant tollings are heard, the mind is less disposed to patience and calm philosophy. Instances however are not wanting, in which musical combinations of enchanting melody haunt the mind and occupy the senses of those who are oppressed with indisposition.

I will not make this letter longer by apology. Do with it what you please, and I shall continue, a grateful sharer in your labours,

L. M.  
USEFUL

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Lists of Patents for Inventions, &c. granted in the Year 1806. From the Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture: Second Series.*

**J**OSEPH Fletcher, of Horsley, in the county of Derby, needle-maker; for a machine for raising water. Dated January 23, 1806.

George Barton Alcock, of the city of Kilkenny, in the part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland; for certain improvements in lamps. Dated January 23, 1806.

John Dobbs Davies, of New Compton-street, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a saddle-bar on an improved construction; which he denominates the motion saddle-bar. Dated Jan. 23, 1806.

Robert Berriman, of Speen, in the county of Berks, wheelwright; for a machine for preparing land for the reception of seed, which he is confident will prove of the utmost advantage to agriculturists in saving corn, in producing a regular and more abundant crop, and in enabling the farmer, at an easier

rate, to keep his land free from all kinds of weeds. Dated January 23, 1806.

William Sampson, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, wheelwright; for certain improvements in the application of power, employed mechanically, especially as adapted to the use of cranks and fly-wheels, or other contrivances, producing equivalent or similar effects. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Phillips, of East Stonehouse, in the county of Devon, stone-mason and sculptor; for certain improvements in the construction of tinder boxes. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Phillips, of East Stonehouse, in the county of Devon; stone-mason and sculptor; for a chain and apparatus for straight, square, and parallel stone and marble sawing; which chain may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Marchall, of Northwich, in the county of Chester, salt proprietor, and John Naylor, of the same county, salt proprietor: for a  
new



new and improved method or manner of manufacturing and making salt. Dated February 14, 1806,

Thomas Kentish, of Baker-street, north, in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; for certain improvements in the construction of machines or engines, applicable to the moving, raising, or lowering of heavy bodies and weights of all kinds, either upon land, or on board of ships and vessels. Dated February 20, 1805.

John Jones, the younger, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, tool-maker and die-sinker; for improvements in the mode of manufacturing barrels for fire-arms. Dated February 20, 1806.

John Woodhouse, of the parish of Heyford, in the county of Northampton, engineer; for certain improvements relative to canals. Dated February 20, 1806.

Patrick Whytock, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, merchant; for an improvement in the manufacture of piece goods, composed of cotton, of flax, or of hemp, or of any mixture or mixtures of two or more of these articles, by which such goods will resist the rotting action of wet or moisture much better than similar fabrics manufactured by the methods in common use. Dated March 8, 1806.

John Curr, of Sheffield park, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, gentleman; for a method, different from any that has hitherto been invented or known, of spinning hemp for making of ropes or cordage. Dated March 8, 1806.

Richard Willcox, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, merchant; for certain machinery for glazing and graining

leather, now usually performed by hand. Dated March 8, 1806.

Edward Dampier, Edward Jackson, and James Shackleton, of Primrose-street, in the city of London, manufacturers: for certain machinery for rasping, grating, or reducing into small parts or powder, such woods, drugs, and other substances, for the use of dyers and others, as are not easily to be pulverized by mere percussion. Dated March 12, 1806.

Michael Logan, of Paradise-street, in the parish of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, engineer; for an entire new system of marine, fort, and field artillery. Dated March 13, 1806.

Charles Robert West, of Plough-court, Fetter-lane, in the city of London, optician, and William Bruce, of King's-head-court, Shoe-lane, in the city of London, optical-turner; for improvements in day or night telescopes, whereby the same will be rendered more portable than they now are. Dated March 18, 1806.

Henry Gove Clough, of Norton-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, surgeon; for improvements in the instruments or apparatus commonly called trusses, which are used for compressing and supporting such parts of the human frame as are or may be ruptured or disposed to protrude. Dated March 21, 1806.

Francis Place, of Charing-cross, in the parish of St. Martin in the fields, in the county of Middlesex, taylor and mercer; for improvements in locks for muskets, pistols, fowling-pieces, carriage guns, and every species of fire arms. Dated March 21, 1806.

Richard Ottley, of Myrtle-hill,  
near

near Caermarthen, in Caermarthen-shire, esquire; and James Jeans, of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, ship builder; for improvements in chain-pumps; in the mode of working the same, and in the wells for receiving such pumps; whereby much manual labour may be saved. Dated March 21, 1806.

Joseph Hinchcliffe, of Dumfries, in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, cutler and furgeon's instrument maker; for a method of manufacturing elastic spring trusses, for ruptures or rupture bandages. Dated March 26, 1806.

Bracey Clark, of Giltspur-street, in the city of London, Veterinary-furgeon, for improvements upon horse-shoes. Dated March 26, 1806.

Quintin M' Adam, of Anderston, near the city of Glasgow, in the county of Lanark, in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, manufacturer; for an improved method of dressing yarns for weaving, by means of a new and useful machine. Dated March 26, 1806.

William Parr, of Bermondsey new road, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, Richard Bevington, of Gracechurch-street, in the city of London, merchant, and Samuel Bevington, of Grange road, Bermondsey, in the said county of Surrey, leather-dresser; for a machine for splitting hides, skins, pelts, or leather, in an improved manner. Dated March 26, 1806.

Samuel Miller, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for various improvements in the working of coal, tin, lead and other mines, by which there will be a great saving of fuel and labour, and many accidents prevented. Dated April 1, 1806.

James Keir, of West Bromwich, in the county of Stafford, esquire; for an improved method of manufacturing white lead. Dated April 3, 1806.

William Henry Laffalle, of the city of Bristol, apothecary; for certain improvements in soap. Dated April 5, 1806.

James Key, of Preston, in the county of Lancaster, machine-maker; for improvements upon Thomas Johnson's patent machine for dressing cotton, silk, and other goods, by power. Dated April 17, 1806.

Thomas James Plucknett, of the parish of Christ Church, in the county of Surrey, agricultural machine-maker; for a machine for dibbling and drilling all kinds of grain and pulse. Dated April 17, 1806.

Anthony Francis Berte, of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, in the city of London, merchant; for a machine for casting or founding types, letters, and ornaments, usually made use of in printing. Dated April 29, 1806.

William Bundy, of Pratt-place, Camden town, in the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, mathematical instrument maker; for machines or instruments for the purpose of making leaden bullets, and other shot. Dated May 1, 1806.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, in the county of Surrey, gentleman; for an aqueduct, tunnel or machine, for cleaning docks and other basons of penned water; and certain improvements on machines or machinery, (for which he hath already obtained letters patent) for cleaning dry and other harbours, rivers, creeks, bars of harbours, and other purposes. Dated May 3, 1806.

William Robert Wale King, of Kirby-

Kirby-street, in the parish of Saint Andrew, Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, tin-plate worker; for a method of manufacturing tin, or iron plates covered with tin, commonly called tin-plates, into covers for dishes and plates. Dated May 8, 1806.

Martin Cowood, of Leeds, in the county of York; for an improvement in the manufacturing metallic cocks, for conveying and stopping liquids. Dated May 15, 1806.

Richard Wilcox, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, mechanist; for improvements in steam-engines. Dated May 21, 1806.

Richard Tomkinson, of the town of Liverpool, in the county of Lancashire, salt merchant; for a machine, engine, or instrument, for making white salt, and preparing brine to make white salt. Dated August 1, 1806.

James Rawlinson, of the town of Derby, gent.; for certain improvements on apparatus commonly made use of as trusses or bandages for ruptures. Dated August 1, 1806.

Peter Marland, of Heaton Norris, in the county of Lancashire, cotton spinner; for an improved method of weaving cotton, linen, woollen, worsted, and mohair, and each or any of them by machinery. Dated August 1, 1806.

Thomas Fricker, of New Bond-street, in the county of Middlesex, paper-hanger, and Richard Clarke, of Manor-street, Chelsea, in the said county, paper-hanging manufacturer; for a new mode of decorating the walls of apartments in imitation of fine cloth, without joint, seam, or shade, by means of cementing of flock on walls of

plaster, wood, linen, or paper. Dated August 1, 1806.

Ralph Walker, of Blackwall, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for an improved mode of making ropes and cordage, of every dimension or size, by not only making all the yarns bear equally in the strand, and laying the strands uniformly in the rope, but also by making the rope or cordage from the yarns in the same operation. Dated August 9, 1806.

Josias Robbins, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancashire, millwright, and James Curtis, of the city of Bristol, copper-smith; for certain improvements in boilers, for manufacturing sugar, and in the mode of fixing the same, whereby much labour and fuel will be saved. Dated August 22, 1806.

John Bywater, of the town and county of Nottingham; for an improvement in certain sails of ships, and other navigable vessels, and the mode of working the same. Dated August 22, 1806.

John Curr, of Belle Vue House, in the county of York, gent.; for a method of laying and twisting the yarns that compose a rope; by which method the yarns of a rope have a better and more equal bearing than they have in a rope made in the common way. Dated August 23, 1806.

Richard Ford, of the city of Bristol, rope-maker; for a new kind of cordage, made by a process entirely new, from old rope or junk, or such short ends of new rope as are now commonly converted only into oakum or coarse paper; by means of which process the objections to cordage, usually termed twice-laid cordage, are totally obviated, and the newly in-

vented cordage is made nearly equal to cordage made from new materials. Dated August 30, 1806.

Thomas Pearson, of Haberdasher's Place, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, wholesale upholsterer; for a machine or machinery, for the purpose of cleansing, seasoning, and dressing feathers, and other articles. Dated August 30, 1806.

John Carey, D. L. of Camden-street, Islington, in the county of Middlesex; for various contrivances for preventing or checking fires, and preserving persons and property therefrom, by means of divers improvements in alarms, chimnies, cisterns, fire-screens, and other articles. Dated August 30, 1806.

Christopher Wilson, of Windmill-street, Tottenham court road, Middlesex, master mariner; for a new system of naval architecture. Dated August 30, 1806.

Robert Newman, of Dartmouth, in the county of Devon, ship-builder; for improvements in the form, formation, and construction of ships and other vessels of war, and ships and other vessels of commerce, and of sloops, barges, and other vessels, any otherwise employed. Dated September 6, 1806.

Joseph Manton, of Davies-street, Berkeley square, London, gun-maker; for improvements in double-barrelled guns. Dated September 15, 1806.

Isaiah Birt, of Plymouth dock, in the county of Devon, gent.; for a black paint, composed chiefly of earthy and mineral substances, which will be beneficial to our navy, and the shipping in-

terest at large; being particularly calculated to preserve wood, and prevent rust in iron, and may be applied to all purposes for which paint in general is used. Dated September 18, 1806.

Marc Isambard Brunel, of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, gent.; for a new mode of cutting veneers, or thin boards. Dated September 23, 1806.

Henry Pratt, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, steel toy-maker; for a new toast-stand, or an improvement on the article called cats or dogs, upon which things are placed before the fire. Dated October 23, 1806.

Robert Salmon, of Woburn, in the county of Bedford, surveyor; for newly invented mathematic-principled, safe and easy trusses, for the relief and cure of ruptures. Dated October 2, 1806.

William Cooke, of Chute-house, in the county of Wilts, gentleman; for certain improvements in the construction of waggons and other carriages with more than two wheels. Dated October 2, 1806.

Ralph Wedgwood, of Charles-street, Hampstead-road, in the county of Middlesex, gent.; for an apparatus for producing duplicates of writings. Dated October 6, 1806.

Ralph Sutton, of Macclesfield, in the county of Chester, brazier and tin-plate worker; for certain improvements in an apparatus for cooking, either by steam or water. Dated October 7, 1806.

William Sampson, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, mill-wright; for a new discovery or invention to be acted on by the impulse of wind, in order to work mills,

mills, pumps, and other machinery suitable to its application. Dated October 7, 1806.

Archibald Jones and James Jones, of Mile-end, in the county of Middlesex, printers; for a method of discharging colours from shawls and other dyed silks, and silk and worsted of every description, or such part or parts thereof as may be required, for the purpose of introducing, by printing or staining, various patterns on such discharges or otherwise. Dated October 7, 1806.

William Clegg Gower, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; for an improved wheel or purchase for the steering of ships, by means of which wheel or purchase a considerable degree of labour is saved, and a ship may be steered with more ease, and greater steadiness and certainty, and with more safety to the steersman. Dated October 15, 1806.

Joseph Bramah, of Pimlico, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for a machine whereby valuable improvements in the art of printing will be obtained. Dated October 15, 1806.

John Fletcher, of Cecil-street, in the Strand, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; for a composition for agricultural purposes, which is not only of the greatest value as a manure, but is also extremely efficacious in the destruction of the fly in turnips, snails, slugs, ants, and the majority of those other insects which are detrimental to vegetables; which composition he usually denominates prepared gypsum. Dated October 21, 1806.

Elihu White, of Threadneedle-

street, in the city of London, gent. for a method of making a machine for casting or founding types, letters, spaces, and quadrats, usually made use of in printing. Communicated to him by a certain foreigner, residing abroad. Dated October 23, 1806.

John Proffer, of Back hill, Hatton-garden, in the county of Middlesex, smith; for various improvements upon smoke or air jacks, which may be applied to those now in use. Dated October 30, 1806.

James Caparn, of Leicester, in the county of Leicester, brazier; for a machine for discharging smoke from smoking chimnies. Dated October 30, 1806.

Isaac Sanford, of the city of Gloucester, civil-engineer; and Stephen Price, of the Strand, in the county of Gloucester, civil engineer; for a method to raise a nap or pile on woollen, cotton, and all other cloth, which may require a nap or pile, as a substitute for teasels or cards. Dated October 30, 1806.

Robert Bowman, of Leith, manufacturer; for a method of making hats, caps, and bonnets, for men and women, of whalebone; harps, for harping or cleaning corn or grain, and also the bottoms of sieves and riddles, and girths for horses; and also cloth for webbing, fit for making into hats, caps, &c. and for the backs and seats of chairs, sofas, gigs, and other similar carriages and things; and for the bottoms of beds; as also reeds for weavers; &c. Dated October 30, 1806.

Joseph Moseley Elliot, of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell;

in the county of Middlesex, watch-maker; for a new or improved method of making and constructing repeaters, or repeating watches, and time-pieces. Dated October 30, 1806.

Robert Vazie, of the parish of St. Mary Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, civil engineer; for improvements in the measures, and in the machinery to be used in making bricks and earthen-ware, and also for improvements in the carriages for removing the said articles. Dated November 6, 1806.

James Royston, of Halifax, in the county of York, card-maker; for an improvement on the system of card-making, by a method of cutting teeth for carding wool and tow. Dated November 6, 1806.

John Wm. Lloyd, late of Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, in the county of Middlesex, but now of Bishop Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, esq. for anti-friction rollers or wheels, to assist all sorts of carriage-wheels. Dated November 20, 1806.

James Henckell, of the city of London, merchant; for certain improvements on a machine for dressing coffee or barley, or any other corn, grain, pulse, seed, and berries. Communicated to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad. Dated November 20, 1806.

William Nicholson, of Soho-square, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for various improvements in the application of steam to useful purposes, and in the apparatus required to the same. Dated November 22, 1806.

James Frederick Matthey, of Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, in

the city of Westminster, lieutenant in De Meuron's regiment; for various improvements upon fire-arms and guns of all descriptions. Dated December 4, 1806.

Samuel Williamson, of Knutsford, in the county of Chester, weaver; for an improvement in weaving cotton, silk, woollen, worsted, and mohair, and each of them, and every two or more of them, by looms. Dated December 4, 1806.

William Hyde Wollaston, of the parish of St. Mary-le-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for an instrument whereby any person may draw in perspective, or may copy or reduce any print or drawing. Dated December 4, 1806.

William Speer, of the city of Dublin, esq. now residing in the city of Westminster; for a new art, method, or process of purifying, refining, and otherwise improving fish oils and other oils, and converting and applying to use the unrefined parts thereof. Dated December 13, 1806.

Thomas Scott, of Clerkenwell-cloze, in the county of Middlesex, musical instrument-maker; for an improved musical instrument called a flageolette English flute, or an instrument on the flageolette principle, so constructed as a single instrument, that two parts of a musical composition can be played thereon at the same time by one person. Dated December 13, 1806.

Ambrose Bowden Johns, of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, bookseller; for certain compositions, and a mode of manufacturing the same, for covering and facing houses, and various other useful

useful purposes. Dated December 22, 1806.

William Bell, of the town of Derby, engineer; for an improvement upon, and an addition to smoothing-irons, planeing-irons, and various edge-tools, applicable to many useful purposes. Dated December 22, 1806.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Berwick-street, Golden-square, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, fellow of the royal society, and member of the society of Haerlem in Holland; for certain improvements in the mode of covering or inclosing books, whereby their contents will be secured from the observations of any person but the owner, and will also be secured from injury. Dated December 22, 1806

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Berwick-street, Golden-square, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, and member of the royal society of London, and of the society of Haerlem, in Holland, and Joseph Lyon, of Milbank-street, Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, cooper; for a new method of manufacturing pipes for the conveyance of water under ground, different from the present pipes. Dated December 22, 1806.

Charles Schmalcalder, of Little Newport-street, in the parish of St. Ann, Soho, in the county of Middlesex, mathematical and philosophical instrument-maker; for a delineator, copier, or proportionometer, for the use of taking, tracing, and cutting out profiles, as also copying and tracing reversely on copper, brass, hard wood, card-paper, paper, asses-skin, ivory, and glass, to different proportions, directly

from nature, landscapes, prospects, or any other objects, standing, or previously placed perpendicularly: as also pictures, drawings, prints, plans, caricatures, and public characters. Dated December 22, 1806.

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*New Process for clearing Feathers from their Animal Oil. By Mrs. Jane Richardson.*

[From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, Commerce, &c. for 1805.]

TAKE for every gallon of clean water, one pound of quicklime; mix them well together, and when the undissolved lime is precipitated in fine powder, pour off the clear lime water for use, at the time it is wanted.

Put the feathers to be cleared in another tub, and add to them a quantity of the clear lime-water, sufficient to cover the feathers about three inches when well immersed and stirred about therein.

The feathers, when thoroughly moistened, will sink down, and should remain in the lime-water three or four days, after which the foul liquor should be separated from the feathers by laying them on a sieve.

The feathers should be afterwards well washed in clean water and dried upon nets; the meshes about the fineness of cabbage-nets.

The feathers must from time to time be shaken upon the nets, and as they dry will fall through

the meshes, and are to be collected for use.

The admission of air will be serviceable in the drying. The whole process will be completed in about three weeks; after being prepared as above mentioned, they will only require beating for use.

Mr. Jolly, poulterer, of Charing-cross, attended a committee of the society appointed to inspect the feathers, and stated that Mrs. Richardson had bought from him forty pounds weight of feathers, in the state they were plucked from dead geese, and in such a condition that if they had been kept in the bag only four days, without being cleansed, they would have been very offensive; that the feathers exhibited by Mrs. Richardson appear to be the same he had sold her, but they were now in a much cleaner state, and seemed perfectly cleared from their animal oil.

The committee, in order to authenticate more fully the merits of Mrs. Richardson's process, requested Mr. Grant, a considerable dealer in feathers, to furnish some specimens of feathers of different kinds in an unclean state, to be cleansed by Mrs. Richardson; in consequence whereof an application was made to Mr. Grant, and the following letter received from him:

SIR,—I take the liberty of sending herewith three samples of feathers, on which the experiments may be tried; but should the quantity not be sufficient, on being favoured with your commands, shall with pleasure send any quantity necessary.

The bag No. 1. contains the

commonest feathers we ever make use of—it is a Russian produce of various wild fowl; No. 2, gray Dantzic goose; No. 3, a superior kind of Dantzic goose.

The two first are in their raw state, just taken out of the bags in which they were imported; the last have been stoved the usual time (three days), but retain their unpleasant smell. Should it not be considered giving you too much trouble, shall be extremely obliged by your favouring me with a line when the experiment has been made, and I shall be happy in waiting upon you to know the result.

I am respectfully, &c.

No. 266, THOMAS GRANT,  
Piccadilly.

After the feathers last mentioned were sent back by Mrs. Richardson, Mr. Grant attended to examine them, and declared that they appeared to be perfectly well cleaned.

Certificates from Mr. Christopher Bushnan, No. 10, Beaufort-row, Chelsea, and from Mr. W. Bailey, testified to the efficacy of Mrs. Richardson's process.

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*New Method of cleansing Silk, Woollen, and Cotton Goods, without damage to the Texture or Colour. By Mrs. Anne Morris.*

[From the same.]

TAKE raw potatoes, in the state they are taken out of the earth, wash them well, then rub them on a grater over a vessel of clean water to a fine pulp, pass the liquid matter through a coarse sieve into another tub of clean water; let the mixture stand till the fine white particles of the potatoes are precipitated.



tated, then pour the mucilaginous liquor from the fecula, and preserve this liquor for use. The article to be cleaned should then be laid upon a linen cloth on a table, and having provided a clean sponge, dip the sponge in the potato-liquor, and apply the sponge thus wet upon the article to be cleaned, and rub it well upon it with repeated portions of the potato-liquor, till the dirt is perfectly separated; then wash the article in clean water several times, to remove the loose dirt; it may afterwards be smoothed or dried.

Two middle-sized potatoes will be sufficient for a pint of water.

The white fecula which separates in making the mucilaginous liquor will answer the purpose of tapioca, will make an useful nourishing food with soup or milk, or serve to make starch and hair-powder.

The coarse pulp which does not pass the sieve is of great use in cleaning worsted curtains, tapestry, carpets, or other coarse goods.

The mucilaginous liquor of the potatoes will clean all sorts of silk, cotton, or woollen goods, without hurting the texture of the article, or spoiling the colour.

It is also useful in cleansing oil paintings, or furniture that is soiled.

Dirty painted wainscots may be cleaned by wetting a sponge in the liquor, then dipping it in a little fine clean sand, and afterwards rubbing the wainscot therewith.

Various experiments were made by Mrs. Morris in the presence of a committee, at the Society's house; the whole process was performed before them upon fine and coarse

goods of different fabrics, and to their satisfaction.

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*Account of Mr. Curwen's Method of Feeding Cows, during the Winter Season, with a View to provide poor Persons and Children with Milk at that Time, from Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. for 1806.*

Sir,

EVERY attempt to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes of the community, is an object not unworthy of public attention; and has, on all occasions, been zealously patronized by the society of arts. Under this impression I hope for the indulgence of the society, in calling their attention to an experiment, which I flatter myself will, in its consequence, prove not only highly beneficial to the lower orders of society, but tend likewise to the advancement of agriculture.

There is not any thing, I humbly conceive, which would conduce more essentially to the comfort and health of the labouring community and their families, than being able to procure, especially in winter, a constant and plentiful supply of good and nutritious milk. Under this conviction, much pains have been taken to induce the landed proprietors to assign ground to their cottages, to enable them to keep a milch cow. The plan is humane, and highly meritorious, but unfortunately its beneficial influence can reach but a few. Could farmers in general be induced from humanity, or bound by their landlords to fur-

nish milk to those, at least, whom they employ; it would be more generally serviceable. Even those who have the comfort of a milch cow would find this a better and a cheaper supply, as they can seldom furnish themselves with milk through the winter. The farmer can keep his milch cows cheaper and better; for, besides having green food, his refuse corn and chaff of little value, are highly serviceable in feeding milch cows.

My object is to combat the prevailing opinion, that dairies in summer are more profitable than in winter. I confidently hope to establish a contrary fact. The experiment I am about to submit to the society, is to prove, that by adopting a different method of feeding milch cows in winter, to what is in general practice, a very ample profit is to be made, equal if not superior to that made in any other season.

I believe the principle will hold good equally in all situations: my experience is confined to the neighbourhood of a large and populous town.

The price of milk is one-fifth higher in winter than in summer. By wine measure the price is 2d. per quart new milk, 1d. skimmed.

My local situation afforded me ample means of knowing how greatly the lower orders suffered from being unable to procure a supply of milk; and I am fully persuaded of the correctness of the statement, that the labouring poor lose a number of their children from the want of a food so pre-eminently adapted to their support.

Stimulated by the desire of making my farming pursuits contribute

to the comfort of the public, and of those by whose means my farm has been made productive, I determined to try the experiment of feeding milch cows after a method very different to what was in general practice. I hoped to be enabled thereby to furnish a plentiful supply of good and palatable milk, with a prospect of its affording a fair return of profit, so as to induce others to follow my example.

The supply of milk during the greatest part of the year, in all the places in which I have any local knowledge, is scanty and precarious, and rather a matter of favour than of open traffic.

Consonant with the views I entertained of feeding milch cows, I made a provision of cabbages, common and Swedish turnips, Kohlrabi, and cole-seed. I made use also of chaff, boiled, and mixed, with refuse grain and oil cake. I used straw instead of hay for their fodder at night.

The greatest difficulty which I have had to contend with, has been to prevent any decayed leaves being given. The ball only of the turnip was used. When these precautions were attended to, the milk and butter have been excellent.

Having had no previous knowledge of the management of a dairy, my first experiment was not conducted with that frugality requisite to produce much profit.

I sold the first season, between October 1804, and the 10th of May, 1805, upwards of 20,000 quarts of new milk. Though my return was not great, I felt a thorough conviction that it proceeded from errors in the conduct of the undertaking, and that under more

Judicious management, it would not fail of making an ample return, which the subsequent experiment will prove. In the mean time I had the satisfaction of knowing, that it had contributed essentially to the comfort of numbers.

In October, 1805, my dairy recommenced with a stock of 30 milch cows; a large proportion of these were heifers; and in general the stock was not well selected for giving milk, for they were purchased with a view of their being again sold as soon as the green crop should be exhausted. If the plan be found to answer under such unfavourable circumstances, what may not more experienced farmers expect?

By the end of this present month I shall have sold upwards of 40,000 quarts of milk.

The quantity of food, and its cost, are as follow. The produce of milk from each cow upon 200 days, the period of the experiment, is calculated at no more than six wine quarts in the twenty-four hours: this is to allow for the risk and failure in milk of some of the heifers. A good stock, I have no doubt, would exceed eight quarts in the two meals, which would add 100l. to the profit.

Daily cost of feeding one milch cow:—

Two stone of green food (supposing 30 tons of green crop on an acre, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per stone would pay 5l. per acre) at $\frac{1}{4}$ per stone of 14lb. . . . .	0	0	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Two stone of chaff boiled, at 1d. per stone . . . . .	0	0	2
Two lb. of oil-cake, at 1d. per lb. costing from			

8l. to 9l. per ton . . . . .	0	0	2
Eight lbs. of straw, at 2d. per stone . . . . .	0	0	1
			<hr/>
	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$

The chaff, beyond the expence of boiling, may be considered as entirely profit to the farmer; 2d. per stone for straw likewise leaves a great profit. Turnips also pay the farmer very well at  $\frac{1}{4}$  per stone.

Expence of feeding one milch cow for 200 days, the period upon which the expenditure is made:—

200 days keep one milch cow, at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per day . . . . .	4	11	8
Attendance . . . . .	2	0	0
Supposed loss on re-sale . . . . .	2	0	0
			<hr/>
	8	11	8

Return made of one milch cow in 200 days milking:—

6 quarts per day, at 2d. per quart for 200 days . . . . .	10	0	0
Calf . . . . .	2	0	0
Profit on 20 carts of manure, 1s. 6d. each	1	10	0
			<hr/>
	13	10	0

Clear gain upon each }  
milch cow . . . . . } 4 18 4

This gives a profit upon the whole stock of 147l. 10s. The profit of another month may be added, before a supply of milk can be had from grass, which will make the balance of profit 167l. 18s. 4d. This profit, though not as large as it ought to have been, had the stock been favourable for the experiment, far exceeds what could be made of the same quantity of food by fattening cattle. Were the two quarts to be added, which on a moderate com-

computation might be expected, the gain would then be 267l. 16s. 4d. The trifling quantity of land from which the cattle were supported, is a most important consideration. One half of their food is applicable to no other purpose, and is equally employed in carrying on the system of a corn farm. I have found oil cake of the utmost advantage to my dairy, promoting milk, and contributing greatly to keep the milch cows in condition. The best method of using it is to grind it to a powder, and to mix it in layers, and boil it with the chaff: half the quantity in this way answers better than as much more given in the cake, besides the saving of 2d. a day on each beast. This I was not aware of on my first trial. The oil cake adds considerably to the quantity and richness of the milk without affecting its flavour. The refuse corn was likewise ground and boiled: it is charged also at 1d. per pound. I make use of inferior barley to great advantage. A change of food is much to the advantage of the dairy. Potatoes steamed would answer admirably, but near towns they are too expensive.

By repeated trials it was found that seven quarts of strippings, wine measure, gave a pound of butter, while eight quarts of a mixture of the whole milk was required to produce the same weight. Contrast this with milk produced from the feeding of grains, twenty quarts of which will scarce afford a pound of butter.

The agricultural report of Lancashire, treating on the milk in the neighbourhood of Liverpool and Manchester, states eighteen quarts with a hand-churn, and fourteen or

fifteen with a horse churn. In a paper published by the Bath society, twelve quarts are said to give a pound of butter; but whether ale or wine measure is not specified. A friend of mine, who feeds his milch cows principally on hay, finds sixteen wine quarts will not yield more than seventeen ounces of butter, and this upon repeated trials.

The milch cows, treated according to my new plan, have been in excellent order both seasons, and are allowed to be superior to any in the neighbourhood.

Cole seed I have found to be the most profitable of all green crops for milk; and it possesses the further advantage of standing till other green food is ready to supply its place.

To ascertain the benefit and utility of a supply of milk both to the consumer and the public, will be best done by comparison.

To prove this let us contrast the price of milk with other articles of prime necessity, and consider how far it affords a greater produce from a less consumption of food.

I cannot here omit observing, at a moment when Great Britain can hope for no further supply of grain from the continent, and must look for and depend on her own resources for feeding her population, every mean by which the quantity of victuals can be augmented, is an object of great public concern.

Each milch cow yielding six quarts of milk per day, furnishes in the period of 200 days, 2400 pounds of milk, or 171 stone of 14 pounds, equal to twice her weight, supposing her in a state fit for killing, with a third less food, and at one half less expence. The milk costs

costs 10l. whilst the same weight of butcher's meat, at 6d. per pound, would amount to 60l.

Taking the scale of comparison with bread, we shall find a Winchester bushel of wheat of the usual weight of 4 stone and 4½lb. when manufactured into flour of three sorts, yields

Of first flour . . .	2ft. 9lb.
Of second . . .	0 7lb.
Of third . . .	0 7lb.
3 9lb.	

Lost by bran, &c. . . 9½lb.

The present cost is 10s. 3d. 2,400lb. of the three sorts of flour, will cost 23l. 3s. 9d. To make it into bread allow 1s. per bushel, which makes the cost of bread 26l. 10s. 9d. or something more than 2½d. per lb. exceeding twice the price of the same weight of milk. To furnish 2,400lbs. of bread requires 47 bushels, or the average produce of two acres of wheat.

Three acres of green food supplied 30 milch cows, with two stone each of green food, for 200 days. Two stone of hay each for the same period, would have required 75 acres of hay. Chaff can scarcely be considered as of any value beyond the manure it would make, which shews the profit of keeping milch cows in all corn farms.

Certificates of the quantities of milk sold and money received, accompany this.

If the society of arts, &c. think the experiment worthy their notice and approbation, I shall be highly flattered. At all events, I trust, they will accept it as a small tribute of respect and gratitude for

the many favours conferred upon their,

Obedient and very

humble servant,

J. C. CURWEN.

Workington Hall, April 18, 1806.

To Dr. C. TAYLOR, Secretary.

Schoose Farm, April 18, 1806.

I, Isaac Kendal, bailiff to J. C. Curwen, esq. do certify that the following quantities of milk have been sold from the 1st of October last, to the 18th of April, 1806,

To Jan. 1, 1806 . . .	15,685
From that date to } April 18, 1806, }	22,027
38,712	

Cash received for new and skimmed milk . . .		320 7 5½
Calves sold . . .		44 0 0
		364 7 5½

I conceive the estimate of 5½d. per day to be correct.

300 days keep of 30 cows . . .		137 10 0
Cost of attendance . . .		60 0 0
Loss upon re-sale . . .		60 0 0
		257 10 0

Cash received as before } 600 carts of manure, at 1s. 6d. }	364 7 5½	
		409 7 5½
Profit		151 17 5½

I believe

I believe the above statement to be correct. The condition and health of the milch cows is equal, if not superior, to any in the neighbourhood.

The average of the milk is yet 300 quarts per day, varying with the weather and other accidental circumstances.

*Mr. S. Grandi's Method of preparing Pannels for Painters. From Transactions of the Society of Arts, for 1806.*

Take the bones of sheep's trotters, break them grossly, and boil them in water until cleared from their grease, then put them into a crucible, calcine them, and afterwards grind them to powder. Take some wheaten flour, put it in a pan over a slow fire until it is dry, then make it into a thin paste, add an equal quantity of the powdered bone-ash, and grind the whole mass well together: this mixture forms the ground for the pannel.

The pannel having been previously pumiced, some of the mixture above-mentioned is rubbed well thereon with a pumice-stone, to incorporate it with the pannel. Another coat of the composition is then applied with a brush upon the pannel, and suffered to dry, and the surface afterwards rubbed over with sand-paper.

A thin coat of the composition is then applied with a brush, and if a coloured ground is wanted, one or two coats of the colour is added, so as to complete the absorbent ground.

When it is necessary to paint upon a pannel thus prepared, it

must be rubbed over with a coat of raw linseed, or poppy-oil, as drying oil would destroy the absorbent quality of the ground; and the painter's colours should be mixed up with the purified oil hereafter mentioned.

Canvas grounds are prepared, by giving them a thin coat of the composition, afterwards drying and pumicing them, then giving them a second coat, and lastly a coat of colouring matter along with the composition.

The grounds thus prepared do not crack; they may be painted upon a very short time after being laid, and from their absorbent quality, allow the business to be proceeded upon with greater facility and better effect, than with those prepared in the usual mode.

*On a new Varnish for Wood, by M. Parmentier. From Annales de Chemie.*

The apothecary of the French military hospital at Genoa, M. Bompoix, has sent me some coffee-cups, the chief merit of which appeared at first to arise from their lightness, but afterwards I discovered that they were still far superior, on account of the varnish which covered them. This varnish enjoys a great reputation, and the composition of it is kept a profound secret in that country; I therefore charged M. Bompoix to use every exertion to discover the recipe from which it is made, and he at last obtained it by means of one of his pupils, whose intimacy with the master of the manufactory procured him the following recipe, and an article was produced by

by the use of it equal in quality to the original :

Take of linseed oil one pound and a half.

Amber, one pound.

Pulverized litharge, five ounces.

Pulverized minium (red lead), five ounces.

Pulverized white lead, five ounces.

Boil the linseed oil in an unglazed vessel, mak a bag of linen in which the litharge, minium, and white lead, may be contained, and suspend it, with its contents, in the vessel; taking care not to allow it to touch the bottom. Continue the ebullition until the oil begins to become brown; then take out the bag with its ingredients, and continue to boil the oil, adding a clove of clean garlic; and when this is dried up, put in another, and so on to the number of six or seven.

Then melt the amber in an unglazed earthen vessel, in the following manner, and when melted pour it into the prepared linseed oil.

*Manner of melting the Amber.*

Take about two ounces of the linseed oil, and add it to the amber, and facilitate its melting by a strong fire: when it is melted, mix it with the rest of the linseed oil, and boil the whole two minutes; then remove it, and strain it through a fine linen cloth; and when it is cold put it into a bottle and stop it well, in order to prevent it from drying up.

*Manner of using it.*

Take the article which you want to varnish, and polish it well before applying the varnish, which

is to be done in the following manner:.

Take lamp-black, the varnish thus prepared, and a little essence of turpentine; mix them together, and with a pencil lay a coating upon the piece which is to be varnished; when that coat is dry lay on others to the number of four; and when these are dry also, place the article in a stove or furnace, in order to dry it entirely, and afterwards polish it with powdered pumice-stone and Tripoli.

*Manner of preparing the Article which is to be varnished.*

It is necessary to make use of walnut-tree, ash, or cherry-tree wood, because these woods are porous, and when they are perfectly dry, they will turn better in the lathe; when the article is shaped to your liking, you must put it into a stove to dry, after which work it and polish it as if it was to be completely finished, then apply the varnish in the manner above-described.

If it is wanted to give the dish a red colour, a little minium, or rather cinnabar, must be put into the varnish; and the same may be done with any other colour you wish to give to the article varnished.

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*On the Method of extracting Spirits from Potatoes. By M. Germain, Chemist to the Military Hospital at Hanau. From the same.*

It has been the practice for a long time past, in Germany, to distil spirits from potatoes. In the eastern part of Prussia, and in Lithuania,

Lithuania, they employ an immense quantity of these vegetables in distillation. In these countries they are generally planted as the first crop in grounds which have been formerly untilled; and, with proper care, and in good seasons, they produce abundantly. The residue, after distillation, is an excellent drink for cattle, particularly cows, whose milk is greatly increased by the use of it. When potatoe spirit is properly distilled, if not mixed with any foreign matter, and if the potatoes have not been heated too much, or burnt, during their preparation, it has a taste and flavour far superior to the spirit produced from barley or oats, which is preferred only from custom.

It has been said, that potatoe spirit sours easily, and is spoiled upon crossing the line; as I have not had an opportunity of proving the contrary, I have nothing to say at present to these two objections; I know, however, for certain, that it has been preserved in good condition for eighteen months; and that, according to the areometer of Richter\*, regulated for the experiment, it marked the 35th degree, without having lost any of its good qualities, or being soured. From the result of this experiment I have every reason to believe that this spirit, if well prepared, is no more subject to the two inconveniences with which it is reproached, than that produced

from grain, and that every thing which has been said against it has arisen from prejudice.

*Method of performing the Operation of producing Potatoe Spirit.*

A sufficient quantity of malt must be added to the potatoes; for instance, 100 bushels of potatoes require 17 bushels and a half of malt; and this quantity will produce five hogheads of spirits, which, according to the areometer of Richter, marks from the 36th to the 38th degree.

I know, also, by experience, that out of 120 bushels of potatoes, and ten of malt, we obtain the same quantity of spirit, and of the same strength. It may be thought, perhaps, that to produce the same quantity of spirits from potatoes, it requires a larger proportion of fermenting materials than common grain does, as well as more room, a greater number of casks, and a greater expence of firing: but all this is a mistake; because the same casks which contain a determinate quantity of grain, will contain an equal quantity of potatoes and malt. These will also produce the same quantity of spirits, provided care is taken not to dilute the potatoes so much as grain, because they have not the same property of swelling which grain has; and provided also, that a good fermentation has been produced, and the spirits have not been burned in the still. As for the fuel required to

\* Richter's areometer is the same as that of Baume, with this exception, that each degree of the former instrument is constructed after experiments expressly made for the purpose. The scale is graduated into 100 parts, in such a manner, that the number at the level of the liquid denotes the quantity of alcohol. Thus 36, indicates 36 parts of alcohol in a hundred of the liquid.



prepare the potatoes, the additional expence is trifling, although, in every case, boiling water is made use of. Water in this state is used to prepare the potatoes, as the operation is performed by means of the steam of the water, which it is necessary to keep boiling half an hour, or three quarters longer, according to the quantity of potatoes employed; and this is the only additional expence which may be reckoned upon.

The preparation of the potatoes must be carried on in vessels made of oak, the staves of which ought to be very thick and solid, and the bottom bound round with iron, in order to guard against accidents in removing. The top of the vessel must have a square aperture, with a thick covering, which should fit exactly; this aperture serves to let the potatoes into the vessel after being well washed: there ought to be another smaller aperture in the side, with a covering to shut close, for the purpose of drawing the potatoes out of the vessel.

It is then placed upon a tressel by the side of a still, different from that which is used for general purposes. On the same side, *i. e.* opposite to the still, and a little above the lower part of the tun, there is an aperture into which the beak of the still is inserted, by means of which the steam is conveyed to the potatoes. In the centre of the bottom of the tun there should be another small aperture, through which to evacuate any thick fluids which may collect in the tun; and in order that the weight of the potatoes may not choke it, the cover should be made to open inwards. When the potatoes are

prepared, which the workmen will easily discover by means of the apertures in the tun already described, the beak of the alembic is withdrawn: the potatoes are immediately afterwards ground by a machine, or a kind of hand-mill, placed before the tun close to the small side-aperture. This mill is composed of two cylinders of very hard wood, or stone, which may be drawn, more or less together, as occasion requires, by means of a wheel and handle to it, which serves to drive the axles of the cylinders together.

Above the cylinders there is a trough or hopper, into which the potatoes are put after being drawn out of the tun, by little and little, by means of a shovel; and being bruised by the action of the cylinders in this trough, they fall immediately into the tub placed below them. What renders this tub indispensable is, that below each cylinder there is an iron scraper, to detach the boiled potatoes which may adhere to the cylinders.

When the potatoes are thus prepared, the grated barley is put into a tub, and diluted with lukewarm water, taking care not to dilute it too much; the potatoes are then mixed with it by tubfulls as they are ground, and when they are finished the necessary quantity of water is added, and both ingredients are stirred until perfectly well mixed, and not the least lump left. The liquor is then left to settle; stirring it, however, at intervals, until the whole is cold, and in a proper state to receive the yeast.

In some places beer-yeast is used, but in others an artificial ferment

is prepared, and composed simply of clean ground rice. This last yeast is prepared by kneading the ground-rice in cold water; boiling water is then added until a thick broth is formed. All the efficacy of this preparation results from the care taken in heating it: if too much or too little heated the whole mass will be spoiled.

To conclude:—it may be observed, that potatoes ferment much more easily than grain, and require less yeast; the fermentation, besides, is very strong, and produces a great quantity of froth; but it does not operate alike through the whole of it, because, in particular places, the gross and membranous part of the potatoes forms a strong crust above, through which the froth cannot penetrate so easily. Experience shews that, upon distilling potatoe-spirits with carrots and beet-root, the spirit then drawn is better and more abundant than when made with potatoes and beet-root alone; and the advantages reported to have been derived from this last method of proceeding have not been confirmed; on the contrary, it is completely proved, that the addition of carrots gives the spirit an exquisite taste and flavour.

Chemists pretend that it is the saccharine substance which causes the vinous fermentation; that the more of this substance any body contains, the better adapted it is for fermentation. The present experiment on potatoes seems to prove that assertion is not strictly correct: for they contain no saccharine substance, but merely starch, and yet they ferment. We see in corn, that the quantity of spirits is in

proportion to that of the starch, or perhaps the glutinous substance which it contains: wheat, for instance, which contains both the one and the other, in greatest abundance, yields also the greatest quantity of spirits.

The opinion of those who assert that corn, in germinating, acquires thereby a mildness, seems to me of no weight, because hitherto little light has been thrown on the subject, which has not been yet exhausted by rigorous experiments comparing the different kinds of grain, germinated and not germinated. There are some very intelligent distillers, who still doubt if a determinate quantity of grain produces a greater quantity of spirits, because that grain has germinated.

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*On the Destruction of Vermin.*

The following methods are practised in Germany for freeing granaries from mites or weevils:

1. Cover completely the walls and rafters, above and below, of the granaries which are infested by weevils, with quick-lime flaked in water, in which trefoil, wormwood, and hyssop, have been boiled. This composition ought to be applied as hot as possible.

2. A sagacious farmer has succeeded in destroying weevils by a very easy process. In the month of June, when his granaries were all empty, he collected great quantities of the largest sized ants in sacks, and then scattered them about the places infested with the weevils. The ants immediately fell upon and devoured every one  
of

of them; nor have any weevils since that time been seen on his premises.

3. Another method, not less efficacious, but which requires a great deal of care and attention in the application of it, is the following:—Place in your granaries a number of chafing dishes filled with lighted pieces of wood. Every aperture must then be carefully closed, in order to prevent any fresh air from entering. The carbonic acid gas, produced from the burning wood, proves fatal to the insects. Rats and mice, also, are so strongly affected by it, that they are seen running out of their holes, and dying in all directions. The persons employed to manage this process must take great care of their own safety, by keeping a current of air around them until the burning wood is properly placed. Another danger may arise from the premises taking fire; but this also may be avoided by proper caution, particularly if they are paved with brick or stone.

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*A Plan for improving the Growth of Tares. By Mr. Thomas Herod, of North Creek, Norfolk. From the Communications to the Board of Agriculture. Vol. V. Part I.*

To be sown broad-cast in October, from ten to twelve pecks per acre, with one peck of *wheat*, then ploughed into furrow ridges. In the months of April and May, a one-horse plough (double-breast) is to be run through the furrows; this will keep them clean, and admit the air to the roots of the

tares, and will keep them green and growing till Midsummer.

*Observations.*—Tares being found very useful for the foiling of cattle, and the best plan of growing them being required by the board, I submit one for their consideration, which I have practised seven years with success. They are a plant that contain a great deal of moisture, particularly when young, therefore it is not proper to foil cattle with them in that state without dry food; those persons who are destitute of that must give them very *sparingly*, or they injure their stock more than they are aware of. On the general plan of saving, soon after they are at an age proper for the stock, they begin to rot at the bottom; to obviate which, some people sow rye, some oats, and some barley, the stems of the latter being weak, of course they can have no effect: the former soon get hard and the cattle refuse to eat them, and by endeavouring to avoid them destroy many of the tares, treading them underfoot: therefore, on that plan, they cannot be grown to so great advantage as might be hoped for. If it had been considered that *air* is the most essential means of the life both of the animal and vegetable creation, a different plan would have been resorted to. It is well known, that tares grow so close together, at the tops, as to exclude all external air from the bottoms; and although they keep green at the tops, where they receive the air, they continue rotting at the bottoms for the want of it. When they are cut for foiling, the stock refusing to eat the decayed part, destroy a great deal of sound food:

the loss to the growers of this plant, therefore, is not to be calculated. My first attempt of improvement was on two roods of ground for the soiling of two horses, sown as first stated, and ploughed into four furrow ridges; they continued growing with rapidity to the height of near five feet *clinging to the wheat*. A high wind took them about midsummer, and bent them all down, but not close to the ground; some yards might be seen up the furrows, which appeared like an arch. These furrows admitted the *light* as well as the *air*, which is also a means of preserving the plants green; for if *air* is admitted and light taken away, they may continue growing, but they will lose their colour. These two roods produced more than my two horses could eat; after Midsummer the remainder were cut, and produced half a load of excellent hay. This land is a sandy soil upon a gravel; six loads of farm-yard dung were ploughed in with the tares. Last year and the preceding year, I had two roods in a black gravel, sown on this plan, they had no other manure than a thin covering of mould from an old bank in the same piece; the first crop was but middling; I gave it another thin covering of mould from the head-land of the same piece last year, as the ground was weak. I sowed six pecks of tares, and three quarters of a peck of *wheat*; this proved a *good* crop, and after soiling two horses with them from the end of May till the middle of August, half a load were cut for seed. I have always found that two roods of tares, sown on this plan, were *more than two horses*

*could eat*. I am well convinced, from my own practice, that tares, sown on poor land, will improve it, if repeated a few crops; they may also be grown to great advantage, if sown on this plan, as the food will not only be found and sweet, but much greater in quantity. It has been supposed that they would be inconvenient to cut on the ridges; but, I believe, they may be cut better than when they are fallen close to the ground and rotten. The reasons for my sowing *wheat* among tares, are, the stems of the wheat are not only strong and hold the tares up, but they are also so sweet, that the stock will eat them with as much avidity as they do the tares, and to as late a time as the tares are proper to be cut for soiling. If the above statement is thought worthy of notice, it is humbly submitted to the honourable board's approbation, trusting that their candour will forgive the infringement on their time.

I am, with due respect,

Their obedient humble servant,

T. H.

23d April, 1805.

We, the undersigned, have examined the subjoined statement, and find it to be correct, as our lands adjoin those of the writer, where these experiments were tried.

ROBERT PRESS, Gent.

DAVID SAUNDERS, Farmer.

JAMES SAUNDERS, Farmer.

North Creak, near Burnham,

Norfolk, April 25, 1805.

*On the Culture of Carrots: By the Rev. F. Eldridge.—From the same.*

Sir,

Seeing by the newspapers you are once more president of the board of agriculture, permit me, sir, to address you on a subject which seems not to be treated of by any author that I have seen.

Mr. Arthur Young, in his Farmer's Calendar, has given a great deal of useful information concerning the mode of feeding cattle in the yard with green fodder; but in treating of the carrot, he has entirely overlooked the great value of this most useful root.

I hope you will not think me obtruding too much on your time, if I point out to you and the board its great good qualities for feeding. My ideas are not theoretical, as I have tried it for the last six years; and though I was told by many people I was doing an injury to the carrot, I found perfectly the contrary, that I was doing it a great deal of good. In the year 1800, at Bonvillstone, in Glamorganshire, being in want of grass for a little Welch cow, as my land was all for hay, and having ten bed of carrots in a new garden, I had the tops of the carrots mowed off a little above the crown, so as not to injure by the scythe the head or crown of the roots: this, I need not inform you, was a very luxuriant food for the cow: but I thought, and so did the servant who milked the cow, that she gave more milk when she had the carrot-top than she had done before. The carrot again yielded

a fine luxuriant green head, which I treated in the same manner in October. I found when the carrot itself was taken up, that it was equally as large and heavy as a bed which I had reserved from cutting was. The gardener, who had been averse to cutting off the tops, was convinced it had not injured the root, but thought it had benefited it rather than otherwise; as he had an opportunity of hoeing and clearing them from weeds better than he could when they had their tops on them. I am, therefore, convinced, by experience, that the agriculturist who grows a quantity of carrots, loses a great quantity of most excellent green fodder for his cattle, by not mowing the tops of the carrots off twice within the year. I therefore state this to you that it may be made public, that the farmer may be benefited by his labour to the utmost of the produce of his crop; and I trust you will, as the season for sowing is coming on, communicate it in such a manner that this most valuable root may be better understood, and of course more cultivated by the farmer than it has been: for I do not hesitate in stating, that a good crop of ten acres of carrots, by being mowed, will keep ten cows in good green fodder, the months of June, July, August, September, and October: then the root itself will be found a very useful food during the winter months; so that I really think the farmer, who consults his own interest, will never, after he has once made a fair trial of this herb, be without it; for its richness causes a great flow of milk, and also it creates a sweetness in the milk, which in general the grass, unmixed

ed with the Dutch clover, has not. The farmer will also find that his horses and his pigs will eat it with avidity, and thrive well on it, as I can state from experience. And for the gentlemen wishing to keep their game in nurseries, by sowing carrots round the nursery, will find that their hares and rabbits will feed upon them in preference to any other food he can procure them; by this means they will always be at home, and not stray at a distance from their nightly provender.

Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
F. ELDRIDGE.

To Sir John Sinclair, bart. M. P.  
P. B. A. &c.  
April 7, 1806.

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*On the Means of assisting Persons in Danger of Drowning. By Mr. H. Lawson. From the Philosophical Magazine: with Observations, from the Retrospect of Arts, Vol. I.*

The absolute necessity that assistance to persons in danger of drowning should be speedy to be effectual, induced Mr. Lawson to consider what articles were most readily and universally to be found at hand in all cases, which could be converted into a floating apparatus, either for the use of the person in danger, or those who might venture to his assistance. What seemed to Mr. Lawson in a great measure to answer all those conditions, is the buoyancy afforded by a common hat reversed on the water, which will thus admit of being loaded nearly with ten pounds

weight before it will sink, and will bear seven pounds with safety; and as the body of a man is about the same weight as the water, a buoyancy equal to seven pounds will effectually prevent his sinking. To render the hat more manageable for this purpose, and less liable to fill with water from accidents, Mr. Lawson recommends that it should be covered with a pocket-handkerchief laid over its aperture, and tied firmly on the crown: Mr. Lawson asserts that with a single hat prepared in this manner, held by the tied part, a man, who even does not know how to swim, might venture safely to assist one in danger.

When two hats can be had, Mr. Lawson recommends that a stick be run through the tied parts of the handkerchiefs which cover them: and if more hats could be got it would be still better; four hats may thus be fastened to a common walking-stick, which will thus sustain at least 28 pounds.

When a stick is not at hand, another pocket-handkerchief tied to the lower parts of those which covered two hats, would thus unite them like a pair of swimming corks and make them equally convenient. If a man happens to fall out of a ship or boat, he may support himself till he can get assistance, by turning his hat on its crown, and holding by its brim with both hands, so as to keep the hat level on the water.

Mr. Lawson recommends that the humane society should have at their receiving-houses large foot-balls, furnished each with a string and small weight, to throw out to those in danger, (if the expence of swimming spencers for the same purpose

urpose should be thought too great) by which they might support themselves till better assistance could be procured.

*Observations.*—The number of accidents that happen every year both to swimmers and skaiters (the more melancholy, as the sufferers are generally in full health and vigour, and often in the midst of gaiety and frolic) make Mr. Lawson's contrivances for affording instant relief in all cases, very valuable; and should therefore obtain them notice in every publication where they can be admitted.

Large foot-balls also which Mr. Lawson recommends for assisting persons in danger, might be rendered more serviceable by uniting them in pairs like swimming corks; and would be thus nearly equal to swimming spencers, which latter differ somewhat from a cork jacket, and consist of a cork girdle, which is made by stringing a number of old bottle-corks (which may be procured at a small expence) on packthread, and uniting as many of those strings of corks as will form a belt of six inches diameter, which is inclosed in oil-cloth, and furnished with bands for girding it over the shoulders and between the legs.

It is strongly recommended, in the *Esprit des Journaux*, to carry a number of those cork spencers in every ship, for the use of the seamen; and an instance is mentioned in it where the lives of hundreds might have been saved by some such contrivance, in the fate of an English vessel of war, which was burned within view of the shore, off Leghorn.

A Mr. Mallison has invented a simple apparatus for similar pur-

poses, of cork, which he sells under the name of the seaman's friend, and is one of the most convenient articles of the kind. Those commanders of ships who would not think it worth while to attend to these minute matters for the sake of the sailors, may perhaps do so for the sake of the ship. The inaction and insubordination which total despair produces among the crew, has often caused the loss of valuable ships; and such a contrivance as this mentioned, though it might only keep those who used it afloat for a few hours, would prevent this despair, and make them stick to the ship to the last. In case of a ship taking fire, which often happens near other ships or the shore, their use would be indisputable.

In addition to the methods before-mentioned for giving assistance in case of accidents, the following means of preventing their frequency in the neighbourhood of this and other large cities, is earnestly recommended to the attention of the humane society, and other benevolent gentlemen; which would not only have this effect, but greatly contribute also to the health, cleanliness, and activity, of that valuable class of men, to whose labours the rest are indebted for most of the necessaries and comforts of life.

All those advantages would arise from having large ponds prepared near the city, of about four feet deep, well supplied with fresh water, in which any one might be permitted to bathe or swim, for a penny paid at the entrance; within some feet of the bank, these ponds should be surrounded with walls or hedges, and might be planted, in

the interval between these and the water, with shrubs, so as to form an agreeable walk all round. There is no doubt but ground might be procured in Hyde Park for this purpose, if properly applied for. The excavation to so small a depth would cost very little comparatively, and the trifle paid at the entrance would assist in paying interest for this cost. Baths for the use of the lower classes of people, furnished at the expence of the benevolent and rich, are universal in most parts of Asia, in Russia, and in several other countries. That there are none yet in England, unless some few for the actual sick, can only proceed from no one having suggested their use to the public.

As a farther inducement to gentlemen to subscribe to form such swimming places, it should be considered, that they will form excellent situations in winter for skait-

ing, where this fashionable and manly amusement may be practiced in perfect safety, which will be an argument in their favour, even to those gentlemen who do not skait themselves, as there are very few of those who have not some friends or relations who use this exercise.

For both swimming and skaiting the ponds should be made of considerable extent: if formed on a too confined scale, the cost would be thrown away, as in this case few or none would frequent them; and it is evident, that to make them serviceable in preventing accidents, they should be formed as much as possible, so as to induce people to prefer them to any other situation for the above purposes.

It need scarcely be mentioned, that the circumstances which would constitute the safety of those ponds for the above uses, would be their small depth.



## A N T I Q U I T I E S.

*Account of Roman Roads and Stations  
in Bedfordshire. By the Bishop of  
Cloyne.*

*(From Lysons' Magna Britannia,  
Vol. I.)*

**T**HIS county is crossed by three roads of undoubted antiquity: the Ikening-street, the Watling-street, and a considerable Roman road, which came from Hertfordshire to the station near Sandy, and passed from thence to the Ermin-street, at Godmanchester. The first of these differs in some respects from the others: it is by no means so direct in its line as Roman roads generally are; it shews no tendency (where it remains in its primitive state) to pass through Roman towns; nor are such towns found on it at distances suited to travelling; it does not appear to have been ever raised or paved (the peculiar and infallible mark of the roads constructed by the Romans;) and in many parts of its progress it divides itself into several branches, but all nearly parallel to its original course. These reasons, added to its name, which is British, give great countenance to the opinion that it was a track way of the

ancient inhabitants, before the conquest of the country by the Romans, in its course from the Icenii (the inhabitants of the eastern counties of England) from whom it took its name. After passing through Cambridgeshire and a part of Hertfordshire, it enters this county on its south-westerly borders, and crosses the turnpike road from Luton to Bedford, about the sixteenth milestone; here a branch seems to bear to the right, through Great Bramingham and Houghton, to the British town of Maiden Bower, while the principal road continues on the side of the hills between Great Bramingham and Limberley, over Seagrave Marsh, through the present town of Dunstable, where it crosses the Watling-street, and soon after enters Buckinghamshire. In the whole of its passage through this and the neighbouring counties, it continues on the top or sides of the chalk-hills, and is known to every inhabitant by the name of the Ikeneld or Ikening-street.

A second great military way passes through Bedfordshire, under the name of the Watling-street; this also I have no doubt was another British track-way, traversing

the island from the Kentish coast to the country of the Guetheli; and it is a curious circumstance, that an ancient trackway, under the very same name, tends from the eastern extremity of Scotland to the same country. These Guetheli were the remains of the old Celtic inhabitants of England, who had been driven by powerful and successive invaders to the extremity of Wales, and to the opposite shores of Ireland, and the communication with their country must have been of the utmost importance in those early times, as providing a passage for cattle and other articles of trade, from the extreme coasts of the west, to the great marts for foreign merchants in the eastern ports of Britain. Thus the Watling-street, (Via Guethelingua as Richard of Cirencester expressly calls it) would be the road of the Guetheli, as the Ikening-street was the road of the Iceni. Nor let such persons as have not much directed their minds to these studies, be startled at the idea of British ways. As the Britons, even in Cæsar's time, made use of chariots, it is not very probable they could have been without some sort of roads, especially as their country abounded with morasses and forests. Now, as the Romans would of course adopt such parts of these roads as suited their own convenience, and as they carried on a trade of the same nature with this people, they made use of the whole of the road, from the coast of Kent to Wroxeter, with little variation. It is carried through well-known Roman towns at regular distances, bears steadily and directly to its point, and wherever it is deserted by the modern turnpike road, (as between Weedon,

in Northamptonshire, and Wall, in Staffordshire) shews still a very elevated crest; the original pavement is also found in many places, though sometimes, where it has passed over a mossy soil, such pavement is beneath the present surface; it enters this county at the thirty-third mile-stone, in its way from St. Alban's to Stony Stratford, keeping nearly in the track of the modern Irish road, and is not to be distinguished from it; with this road also it leaves the county a little beyond the forty-second mile-stone, having passed through one itinerary station on it, which is generally agreed to have been at Dunstable. Roman coins have been found near this town; its present streets are at right angles with each other, and coincide with the four points of the compass, corroborating proofs of its having been the work of that people. The name of *Forum Dianæ*, given to it by Richard, shews it to have been a considerable mart of trade, for which its situation at the intersection of the Ikening and Watling streets, was particularly convenient; and it is indeed not improbable, that the scite was fixed upon by the Romans for their new town on this very account, in preference to that of the neighbouring British town at Maiden Bower.

But, though all our antiquaries, (except Mr. Salmon, whose fancies are so extravagant as to make him at all times an incompetent guide) agree in the existence of a station at Dunstable, there is a difference of opinion respecting its name. As long as the world suffered itself to be misled in these pursuits by a fondness for etymology, it left the safe and positive direction of the itineraries,

itineraries, to attend to the ingenious dreams of Baxter, who, finding that *Maes Gwyn* signified a white field, fixed here the station of *Magiovinium*, because it in some degree corresponded with the chalkiness of the soil; but the numbers are all in Antoninus's 2d, 6th, and 8th iters so express, that *Magiovinium* was 24 miles from *Verulam*; and the assertion is so

strongly confirmed by the first iter of Richard (in neither of which iters do the numbers permit us to suppose the station to have been out of the road,) that I subscribe to the opinion of the learned and accurate Horsley, and arrange with him the Roman stations in this part of Watling-street in the following manner:

Antonine's Names.	Richard's Names.	Modern Names.	Roman Miles.	Modern Miles.
1 Sulloniacæ	Sulloniagi's	Brockley Hill	12	12
2 Verolanium	Verolanium Municip	St. Albans	9	9
3 Durocobrivæ	Forum Dianæ	Dunstaple	12	12
4 Magiovinium	Magiovinium	Fenny Stratford	12	12
5 Lactodorum.	Lactodorum.	Towcester.	17	17

After observing this coincidence of numbers in the ancient and modern miles, we must either agree that the town called by Antonine *Durocobrivæ*, and by Richard *Forum Dianæ*, was at Dunstaple; or adopt the opinion of Mr. Ward, that *Magiovinium* and *Durocobrivæ* have changed places by the mistake of some transcriber.

The third ancient road that traversed any part of Bedfordshire was the Roman military way, which enters the country near Baldock, in the line of the present North road, with which it continues as far as *Stretton*, between the 44th and 45th milestone, where the modern turnpike road (as is often the case) turns off to the left to pass through Biggleswade, while the Roman road preserves its old straight line directly forward to Chesterfield. The Roman station near the village of Sandy, on the hill above this village, is a large camp, called Cæsar's camp (once possibly the British post), but the coins and

every species of remains decidedly point out the Roman town in the valley beneath it; and, although the road is not travelled, or the name of the town mentioned in any of the iters, it is universally and justly allowed to be the *Σαλωναί* of Ptolemy, and the *Salina* of Ravennas. From the North-east part of the station, near the banks of the Ivel, this road is continued through a small valley, leaving the British camp before mentioned on the left hand, and another hill which has been dug up for a stone quarry, on the right, straight to the hedge row, which runs down through a piece of land to a small copse in the bottom, from whence it continues equally straight, first as a boundary between Mr. Pym's land and Sandyfield, and then entering some enclosures, crosses the road from Everton to Tempsford; then passes through a farm yard (leaving the house on the left) belonging to governor Pownal; and through some more enclosures to a farm-

farm-house, belonging to general Parker, which stands upon it; then through another enclosure to Tempsford marsh (or as it is called the cow-common); after passing which, it ascends the hill, close by a barrow or tumulus (almost the invariable attendant on Roman roads,) which is planted with trees, and known by the name of the hen and chickens; then straight by the side of the hedge-row, leaving Hardwick on the right; and crossing the road from Gamlingay, and then from Cambridge to St. Neots, proceeds not far from Toseland, leaving the Offords on one side, and Papworth and Yelling on the other, to the village of Godmanchester, allowed to be a Roman town, and supposed by many antiquaries to be the scite of the ancient *Duro-lipons*.

A very considerable military way has also been observed, coming from the isle of Ely to Cambridge, and visibly tending to the borders of Bedfordshire, in a direct line for Sandy: this road, though in some parts obscure, is supposed, with great probability, to have passed through Hatley and Potton to our post at Chesterfield; and Dr. Mason (our most intelligent tracer of Roman roads) has continued it on the western side of the station, in a line bearing towards Fenny Stratford; the country is so deep, that no person, except he is well acquainted with the neighbourhood, and has an eye accustomed to these pursuits, would have any chance of following it with success; but I am clearly of opinion, from the general bearing of this road, where it is still visible, that it formed a part of

a great Roman way, leading from the Eastern coast of England towards Wales, between the two British ways, the Ikening and Rykning; but of this I mean to speak more at large when I come to treat of the course of the Ake-man-street, in the county of Bucks, Oxford, and Gloucester.

That there were connecting roads between the stations of Chesterfield and Dunstable, Chesterfield and Chesterford in Essex, and Chesterfield and Chester near Wellingborough, in the same manner as between Chesterfield and Godmanchester, there is little reason to doubt; although at present, from the constant cultivation of the whole face of the country, much of which also is old enclosure, and very deep land, the traces of them may be entirely defaced.

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#### *History of the Order of Bards.*

*From Sir Richard Hoare's Translation of Archbishop Baldwin's Itinerary.*

THE bards or reciters of songs made so very conspicuous a figure in the history of this country, that some account of their institution and proceedings will not, I hope, be deemed uninteresting; for we must not consider their songs as mere poetical compositions, but as the primary sources of much historical and authentic information. Neither were they compiled hastily from fabulous records and vague traditions; but were composed after recent exploits, and immediately copied and dispersed amongst those who had either been actors or eye-witnesses to the deeds they commemorated.

The

The Bardi were held in high estimation in Germany, and particularly amongst the nation of the Belgæ. "Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur." "Apud omnes tres passim nationes eximio in honore sunt Bardi, Vates, Druidæ. Bardi quidem laudationibus rebusque poeticis student."

By their songs they animated the troops to battle, and recorded the names and heroic deeds of those who fell in the field of glory. The poet Lusan thus addresses them :

"Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque  
peremtas,  
Laudibus in longum vates dimittis in  
ævum,  
Plurima securi sudistis carmina Bardi."

"You too, ye Bards, whom sacred rap-  
tures fire,  
To chaunt your heroes to your country's  
lyre,  
Who consecrate in your immortal strain,  
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle  
slain;  
Securely now the tuneful task renew,  
And noblest themes in deathless songs  
pursue."

The earliest mention I can find made of the bards in Wales, is in the reign of the British king Cadwalader, who died at Rome A. D. 688; and of whom the following anecdote is recorded. This king presided at an Eisteddvod, or meeting assembled for the purpose of regulating the Bardic institution; when a minstrel appeared, and played upon his harp before this illustrious assembly in so displeasing and unharmonious a key, that he was ordered, under severe penalties, whenever he again per-

formed before persons skilled in the art, to adopt that of Mwynen Gwynnedd, or the pleasing melody of North Wales.

During the reign of the great Welsh legislator Howel Dha, A. D. 940, we find that the bards were held in high estimation, and enjoyed great and peculiar privileges. Y Bardd Teulu, or the *Musicus Aulicus*, (corresponding with our poet laureat) received on his appointment, from the king, a harp, and a golden ring from the queen; which harp he was to part with on no consideration whatever.

He held his land free, and at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, he sat at the prince's table. If the bard desired any favor of the king, he was obliged to play one of his own compositions; if of a nobleman, three; and if of a plebeian, he was under the obligation of playing till he went to bed, or was tired with his music. His person was held so sacred, that whoever slightly injured the bard, was fined vi cows, and cxx pence; and the murderer of a bard was fined cxxvi cows. He preceded the army, when prepared for battle, reciting an ancient song called Unbenæth Prydain, or the Monarchal song of Britain, and for this service received his share of the enemy's spoils.

About the year 1070, Bleddyn ab Cynvyn prince of Powys (the author of another code of Welsh laws) established some regulations respecting the bards, revising and enforcing those which were already made.

After the death of Trahaearn ab Caradoc in 1079, Gruffydd ab Cynan

Cynan succeeded to the principality of North Wales. During his long and glorious reign of 56 years, he reformed the disordered behaviour of the Welsh minstrels, by a very good statute, which is extant to this day. The annotator on the Welsh Chronicle records the following particulars respecting the bards.

“ There are three sorts of minstrels in Wales.

“ The first sort named *Beirdh*, which are makers of songs, and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onlie great skill and cunning is required, but also certeine naturall inclination and gift, which in Latin is termed *furor poeticus*. These do also keepe records of gentlemens armes and petegrees, and are best esteemed and accounted of among them.

“ The second sort of them are plaiers upon instruments, chiefelie the harpe and the crowth, whose musike for the most part came to Wales with the said Gruffyth ap Conan, who being on the one side an Irishman by his mother, and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland, brought over with him out of that countrie divers cunning musicians into Wales, who derived in a manner all the instrumentall musike that is now there used, as appeereth as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used amongst them to this daie.

“ The third sort called *Ar-caneaid* are those which do sing to the instrument plaied by another, and these be in use in the countrie of Wales to this daie.

“ This statute or decree before mentioned doth not onlie prescribe

and appoint what reward everie of the said minstrels ought to have, and at whose hands; but also of what honest behaviour and conversation they ought to be, to wit, no makebates, no vagabonds, no ale-house hunters, no drunkards, no brallers, no whore-hunters, no theeves, nor companions of such. In which things if they offend, everie man by the said statute is made an officer, and authorized to arrest and punish them, yea and take from them all that they have about them. They are also in the same statute forbidden to enter into anie mans house, or to make anie song of anie man without speciall licence of the partie himselfe. And this statute or decree hath beene oftentimes allowed by publike authoritie of the cheefe magistrats of that countrie, as appeareth by sundrie commissions directed to divers gentlemen in that behalfe.”

The character of king Edward the first has been blackened by the imputation of the greatest cruelty towards the bards; for after the final subjugation of Wales, he is said to have issued an edict for their extermination, on the false plea of exciting their countrymen to sedition, by the recital of the heroic deeds performed by their ancestors. This idea has been generally adopted both by poets and historians; but perhaps without good foundation. The historian Carte says “ that the only set of men who had reason to complain of Edward’s severity, were the bards, who used to put those remains of the ancient Britons in mind of the valiant deeds of their ancestors. *He ordered them all to be hanged, as inciters of the people to sedition,*

sedition. Politics in this point got the better of the king's natural lenity; and those who were afterwards entrusted with the government of the country, following his example, the profession, becoming dangerous, gradually declined, and in a little time, that sort of men was utterly destroyed."

Sir John Wynne in his history of the Gwedir family, following the same opinion, says, "Edward the first, who caused our *Bards* all to be changed by martial law, as stirrers of the people to sedition, whose example being followed by the governors of Wales, until Henry the fourth his time, was the utter destruction of that sort of men. Since thence this kind of people were at some further libertie to sing and keep pedigrees as in ancient time they were wont; since which we have some light of antiquitie by their songs and writings. From the reign of Edward the first to Henry the fourth, there is therefore noe certainty, or very little, of things done; other than what is to be found in the prince's records, which now, by tossing the same from the Exchequer at Caernarvon to the Tower, and to the offices in the Exchequer at London, as alsoe by ill-keeping and ordering of late dayes, are become a chaos of confusion, with a total neglect of method and order as would be needful for him who would be assured of the truth of things done from time to time."

Mr. Pennant, in his tour through North Wales, informs us, that in the 15th Henry VIII. an Eisteddfod was held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in which the ancient laws respecting the bards were confirmed.

And he further adds, that A. D. 1568, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, a royal commission was issued for holding an Eisteddfod at the same place; on which occasion several bards received their degrees. This commission is the last of the kind which has been granted, and is still in the possession of the Mostyn family, together with the silver harp, which, from time immemorial, had been in their gift to bestow on the chief of the faculty.—This badge of honour is about five or six inches long, and furnished with strings equal to the number of the Muses. See Pennant, vol. i. p. 463; where a copy of the commission, and an engraving of the harp are given.

Such is the information which I have been able to collect from written authorities respecting this celebrated order of men in Wales. The following notes, drawn up by Mr. William Owen, at my request, will enable me to enter more fully, and, I trust, satisfactorily, into this subject.

"BARDS.—What we find to have been most prominent in the religion, laws and manners of the patriarchal ages, and in that part of the world which has been generally deemed the cradle of the human race, namely the western regions of Asia, prevailed likewise among the distant colonies of Britain.

"Were we inconsiderately to pronounce the early inhabitants of this island to have been in a savage state, according to the common acceptation of the term, it would be contrary to the tenor of a multitude of historical facts. But this is the character generally drawn

drawn of the Druids, and of the religion they practised among the Cymry. Such a picture is so contrary to the evidence we are enabled to collect from the monuments which they have left behind them, and even to the few notices taken of them by the Greek and Roman writers, that I think it useless to enter into a detail of things so much misrepresented. The common observation that the whole of the people were overawed by the terror of priestcraft, is foolish; for every nation is governed by the influence of its religion: and we have no evidence of any particular abuse of this power amongst the ancient Britons.

“ In considering their state of religion and society, the first object that arrests the attention is the system of the bard; the principles of which are clearly identified among the first patriarchs of mankind, and were extended to the farthest regions of India, in common with the western borders of Europe; and the agreement of systems in these two extreme regions is astonishing, as might be illustrated by numerous facts; such as the exact identity of character of the Indian Menu, and the Menw of the British Triads and romantic tales.

“ One of the most striking peculiarities of the bardic system was the invention of an *oral record*; more certain than the art of writing itself, especially as it existed in its infancy, or perhaps at any other period before the discovery of printing. For the bards required that every branch of knowledge embraced by them should be

committed to memory; and this their disciples were obliged to do before they could be fully initiated into the order; and with a view of rendering them perfect therein, nothing that appertained to the institution, was allowed to be committed to writing. What they thus taught was reduced into a peculiar kind of aphorisms, called *Triades*, from their comprehending three different articles classed together according to the characteristic analogy subsisting between them; and these *Triades* embraced the leading points of theology, morality, science, and history.

“ Solemn meetings were held at certain seasons of the year, such as at the new and full moon, but more particularly at the solstices and equinoxes the four principal meetings of the year took place, for the promulgation of the maxims of the Bardic religion, and for other purposes. But there were other superior triennial meetings, which were great national assemblies, wherein were ratified such things as were proposed for their oral record.

“ These conventions of every description took place within circles of unhewn stones, in the most public and convenient situations, such as in the open plains in the county of Wilts, whereon the principal stone circle of the whole island was raised, and of which Avebury and Silbury hill present, at this day, to our observation some of its vast and wonderful remains.

“ The institution consisted of three orders: the Bards Proper, the Druids, and the Ovates; and



and to each of these were attached peculiar pursuits and functions.

“ The order called the Bardic was the predominant class, or that into which all the disciples were initiated in the first instance; it was, in short, the privileged national college of the Britons, for on being admitted into it, the members assumed one or the other of the three classes, as their inclination or interest directed them. To this primary order appertained the perpetuation of the privileges and customs of the system, and also of the civil and moral institutes and learning. If a Bard assumed the character of a Druid, he had to perform the functions of the priesthood; and as there was a priest or Druid in every community, and the greatest influence was attached to him, this was the class into which the greatest number of the Bards were necessarily entered. Therefore, owing to the power belonging to this character, the Bards appeared more conspicuous to strangers in the Druidical character, than when they officiated in the others; so that the accounts we find in ancient writers, who describe them, are often contradictory, but generally the names of the other orders are lost in that of the Druids.

“ The Ovates were such of the Bards as cultivated particular arts or sciences: therefore it was the order to which belonged artists and mechanics of every description. And this was the only character in which the Bards were permitted to hold private meetings; in performing the functions of the other classes, they were obliged to assemble, as they expressed it, in the

eye of light, and in the face of the sun. I have not the least doubt, from the information I have obtained, but that this class of craftsmen was the origin of free masonry; for in times of perfection, the Bards found it too dangerous to hold public meetings: they therefore assumed the *ovate* character, which permitted them to meet under cover; and indeed many of the very terms, arrangements, and principles of masonry are to be found in bardism. So that masonry is bardism in disguise; being so involved in technical terms that it requires great application in those who are initiated, to see through the mysterious covering. The bards too have a secret like the masons, by which they can know one another. The three letters O. I. W. are with them the unutterable name of the Deity: they therefore made use of another term known only to themselves, just as the Jews, who always make use of *Adonai* when the name of Jehovah occurs. Each of the letters in the Bardic names is also a name of itself: the first is the word when uttered, that the world burst into existence; the second is the word, the sound of which continues, by which all things remain in existence; and the third is that by which the consummation of all things will be in happiness, or the state of renovated intellect, for ever approaching to the immediate presence of the Deity.

Each of these three orders wore an appropriate dress. That of the primary order, or the Bards in general, was of sky-blue, emblematic of light, or truth, and of peace.

peace. White, as a mark of purity and holiness, was appropriated to the Druids. The *Ovates* wore green, thus denominating that the earth was the object of their pursuits.

The fundamental object and principle of the Bardic system were, the search after truth, and a right adherence to justice and peace. They never bore arms, nor engaged in any party disputes; so that eventually they became totally exempted from all political connections; and they were therefore employed as heralds in war between different powers. So sacred were their persons considered, in the office of mediators, that they passed unmolested through hostile countries, and even appeared in the midst of battle, to arrest the arm of slaughter, while they executed their missions. But this state of disinterested virtue was at length the means of procuring to the order the supreme influence in the nation, by the perversion of its original principles; as we find to have been the case amongst the Gauls, where the office of archdruid was established and made permanent, in direct violation of those principles; and this high-priest had acquired so great an ascendancy as to struggle successfully against the Roman power for nearly five hundred years.

Their idea with respect to the moral government of the world was, that life was gradually increasing in perfection; that therefore truth and justice were advancing therewith; so that the Bards looked for a period when those attributes should predominate over the principles of evil and devastation; that

when that period arrived, man would begin to make rapid approaches towards that perfection which his state was capable of undergoing; and then, on the consummation of such an event, the design of this terrestrial world was answered, and it would be changed into another state by fire.

The theology of the Bards was shortly this: they believed in the existence of one Supreme Being, of whom they reasoned, that he could not be material, and that, what was not matter, must be God. The soul was considered to be a lapsed intelligence; and the punishment it was susceptible of, was a total privation of knowledge; and the possession of that knowledge was deemed essentially to imply happiness. To effect this punishment, and destruction of evil, the soul was cast into *Anoon*, the extremity of which was the lowest point of existence; and to regain its former state, it must pass through all the intermediate modes of existence. For such a purpose, they say, God created this as well as other innumerable worlds; that is, for the progression of intelligences through all modes of being, approximating eternally towards himself. Further, that this earth was originally covered with water, which gradually subsiding, land animals appeared, but of the lowest and least perfect species; and thus corresponding in organization with the then capacity of the soul. New orders in the scale of being were successively produced from these, whose frames and intellects improved through many ages: thus also augmenting the store of knowledge, or happiness; so that ultimately

mately man appeared the most perfect receptacle of the soul on this earth. For this was a state wherein the soul had so augmented its faculties or knowledge, as to be capable of judging between good and evil; consequently it was a state of liberty and of choice. If the soul became attached to evil, it fell again to brutal life, or state of necessity, to a point corresponding with its turpitude of human existence; and it again transmigrated towards the state of man, for a renewed probation.—When the soul became attached to good, death was its release from the human to a higher sphere of existence, where the loss of memory was done away; so that it then recollected the œconomy of every inferior mode of existence; thus being made happy in the knowledge of all animated nature below its then condition, it became elevated higher and higher in the scale of intelligence to eternity, and consequently increased in knowledge and happiness.

Such was the original system of the Bards; but like all other systems of theology, it was corrupted and abused: the rank weeds of superstition were sown for the sake of power, and they grew luxuriantly in a field originally cultivated to yield more wholesome fruit.

Amongst the first aberrations, may be traced that of the knowledge of the great *Huon*, or the Supreme Being, which was obscured in the hieroglyphics or emblems of his different attributes, so that the grovelling minds of the multitude often sought not beyond those representations, for the objects of

worship and adoration. This opened an inlet for numerous errors more minute; and many superstitions became attached to their periodical solemnities, and more particularly to their rejoicing fires, on the appearance of vegetation in spring, and on the completion of harvest in autumn. Others of less note grew into importance, from the peculiarity of some ceremonies; such as cutting the mistletoe with a golden hook by the presiding Druid; the gathering of the cowslip, and other plants consecrated to the power of healing. The autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion, to escape from the black short-tailed sow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water: each throwing a nut into the fire; and those that burn bright, betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.

The authority assumed by the Bards of excommunication during the purity of the system, was an useful corrective in their discipline; but when the civil government became in a degree coalesced with the order, the sentence pronounced in the circle was clothed in all the

terrors that surround an outlaw in modern times. Then too, their doctrine of expiation by sacrifice extended to more awful victims, for all the criminals (among whom captives taken in war were often considered the most guilty) were collected together at the great yearly assemblies; and there, in atoning for their offences, presented a spectacle to the whole nation at once impressive and tremendous.

In tracing the origin of the Bardic system, we are led back to very remote antiquity. The first who made verse the vehicle of instruction and of record, according to the Triads, was Tydain Tâd Awen, or Tydain father of the Muse, between whom and Taaut, Thoth, or Hermes of the Ægyptians, there is a striking conformity, as well in the names as in their attributes. From this original were derived the privileges and peculiar customs, which were arranged and methodized by the three primæval bards, Plennydd, Alon and Gwron, and then sanctioned and adopted as a part of the constitution of the nation, and which before only received through courtesy what afterwards was insured by law. The Triads differ as to the period when this took place, whether in the time of Prydainson of Aedd the Great, or of Dyvnwal Moelmud his son. The exact æra of all these personages is lost in antiquity; but it is curious to observe that the Alon here mentioned, seems to be the same with Olen the Hyperborean, Ailinus or Linus in the Græcian mythology. It may be pertinent here to notice another Triad, wherein it is said, that Gwyddon Ganhebon was the first who composed verse; that Hu the Mighty

was the first who made it the vehicle of record and instruction; and that Tydain Tâd Awen was the first who reduced it to an art, and fixed rules of composition; and hence originated bards and bardism, and the regulation of the system in all its privileges, by the three primæval bards, Plennydd, Alon and Gwron. The Gwyddon Ganhebon above mentioned, seems, according to another Triad, to have achieved a work that is to be identified with the pillars of Hermes in Egypt; for this Triad mentions three great exploits, one of them being 'The stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon, upon which were to be read all the arts and sciences in the world.'

It does not appear that the bards had any mythological fables. They had Triads, and other kinds of apophisms, containing their political, moral, religious, and other maxims and branches of knowledge, which it was necessary that every disciple should learn by heart, before he could gain admission into the order. Of these things as many are still preserved as would take up a long time for a person of common capacity to acquire.

Whatever superstitions might have originally belonged to the system must, in a great measure, or perhaps totally, have been expunged by the introduction of Christianity. In other respects, I believe that the system is still preserved, as to the general principles, within a small district of Glamorganshire; whilst it has become nearly unknown in every other part of Wales for several ages. This appears more particularly from a celebrated eisteddvod, or congress, held at Carmarthen, about the year 1450, against which the synod of the

the bards of Glamorgan protested, as being totally subversive of the ancient institutions as preserved by them. This congress at Carmarthen, and those subsequently held in North Wales, were scarcely any thing more than the simple meetings of poets and minstrels under a few common and indispensable regulations for the sake of good order; and therefore not worthy of particular notice.

The chair of Glamorgan being the only one that preserved the ancient bardic institutes, it is of consequence to bring it more particularly to the notice of the public: for without it, we should have probably nothing left of bardism or druidism except in scattered ruins, of which nothing satisfactorily could now be made out.

This provincial chair or gorfedd has regularly preserved the ancient discipline, and has occasionally held public meetings to give effect to the functions of the bards belonging to it. Some of these meetings were expressly convened at the desire of the lords marchers, and other powerful families, who were desirous of learning something of this extraordinary system, which was so formed, as to have within itself the means of self-preservation under all the great changes of the nation. And to satisfy the wishes of those noble personages, several of the most intelligent bards of the times were appointed to collect together and digest every particular relating to the order. Of the congresses convoked by such authorities, the first was under the patronage of sir Richard Neville; a subsequent one was held under the auspices of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, at Cardiff castle, in

1570; another in 1580, under the direction of sir Edward Lewis, of the Van; and the last for such special purpose was held at Bewpyr castle, in 1681, under the authority of sir Richard Basset.

The result of these meetings was entered into books, which were revised in the last mentioned congress, and of which manuscript copies are still extant; and the original register of the last meeting is in the possession of Mr. Turberville, of Llan Haran, in Glamorganshire.

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*Account of the Ruins of Carthage, and of Udena, in Barbary, by John Jackson, Esq. F. A. S. in a Letter to John Wilkinson, M. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S.*

*From the Archæologia, Vol. XV.*

Read Dec. 15, 1803.

*Tonnisholm Hall, Nov. 25, 1803.*

Sir,

The site of ancient Carthage appears to have been a most excellent situation for commerce, no part of the world could afford better accommodation for shipping; here is a lake about ten miles long, and five broad at the widest part, in a direct line between the ruins of Carthage and the city of Tunis; and communicating with the sea by a navigable canal at the Goletta, near Carthage. On examining this lake, I found that it had once been about eighteen feet in depth, with an hard bottom, except a part of the east side, lying near the sea, between the Goletta and Tunis. Here are the remains of houses for

about three miles; their breadth, at the broadest part, does not appear to have been above a mile. I took a great deal of pains to satisfy my curiosity respecting these houses: having a boat belonging to a ship of war, no other being permitted to navigate on this lake at low water. Some of the tops of them were not above a foot under the surface of the water; at the Goletta there is generally a rise and fall of the tide about three feet; but the canal between the sea and the lake being very narrow, it does not raise the water in the lake so much. My people frequently got out of the boats, and walked on the tops of the houses, but were sometimes in danger, often meeting with places beyond their depth; one of them having shot at a flamingo, and broke its wing, pursued it over these houses, where the boats could not go, and had nearly lost his life by falling into some deep holes. Many parts of this lake are now scarcely navigable, and particularly towards Tunis, since the Moors will not take the trouble to clear away the immense quantity of mud and filth, that is continually washing into it, from the city of Tunis, and which has been accumulating for many centuries.

The ruins of ancient Carthage are about twelve miles north west from Tunis, in a pleasant situation, and reckoned very healthy, commanding an extensive prospect over the gulph of Tunis, as well as the interior of the country, but there are no fresh running streams of water near them: to remedy this inconvenience, the Carthaginians, at the time of their prosperity; were at immense labour and expence in

conducting a considerable stream of fresh water from the mountain Zuan, about forty-five miles south-east from Carthage. This stream is still very remarkable for its good quality in dying scarlet, and the Tunifians are now obliged to carry all their articles that are to be dyed of that colour to Zuan. The length of this aqueduct is above seventy miles, and by means of it the Carthaginians conducted the stream through mountains and over vallies; considerable remains of it are still to be seen: near Udena there is a range of above one thousand arches, where it had been conveyed across a valley: some of the arches in the middle of the valley are above one hundred feet high. I have every reason to believe this aqueduct, but more particularly this great range of arches near Udena, had been repaired by the Romans, every arch being regularly numbered in Roman characters. In building this aqueduct, they have made use of a strong cement, which seems to be as durable as the stones themselves, though they are harder than our limestone and of a yellowish colour. In the conduit where the waters have run, there is a cement of about four inches thick, which in some places has fallen down in flakes one hundred feet in length, yet still adheres together. The conduit is about six feet high within, and four feet broad, yet two people cannot conveniently walk abreast within it, by reason of its being arched to a point at top. At Uriana, a village four miles north-west from Tunis, many arches of the aqueduct are of a considerable height, but not in so perfect a state as at Udena, the bey of Tunis having taken

taken away many of the stones to build his palace at Manuba. Where the stream has been conveyed through a mountain, at every sixty yards there is a round hole, about four feet in diameter, and very neatly walled with hewn stone, and the wall is continued about four feet above the surface of the earth, to prevent any thing falling in; the stones are very neatly rounded at top.

There is no difficulty in tracing the remains of this aqueduct all the way from Zuan to Carthage, following the course of it through mountains and over vallies. In magnitude it far exceeds any thing I have yet seen in Asia or Europe, of either ancient or modern architecture; it has been neatly executed, and very highly finished, which has been the cause of its lasting so many ages; in some places it is so very perfect, that it does not appear to have received the least injury. This country abounds in ruins, many of which are still very considerable; even in Carthage there are some remains of its former greatness. The reservoirs for water are still very perfect, being all arched over; they are not exposed, the walls being covered with a thick and strong cement in general. Those remains are in a tolerable state of preservation, which have not been exposed to the sun and air. I very frequently visited these ruins, and found, though they were very extensive, the greatest part to have been undermined, and supported by very strong arches; some of these have fallen in, which makes it rather dangerous to take a horse amongst the ruins. Through some of these broken places in the arches

I descended, and went into some neat square chambers, communicating one with another, being covered with a strong cement, still used in this country; its present name is gyps. Some of the rooms were so very perfect, that I could not discover the least flaw in the plaister, and very little discoloured, being still a tolerably good white. I was informed that the walls of some of those chambers were covered with handsome paintings, in a tolerably perfect state; but I did not discover any of those painted chambers, nor could I find any guide able to conduct me to them.

The plough now passes over the greatest part of the ruins of Carthage. I have seen a very abundant crop of wheat, under which were many handsome apartments, in a very perfect state; the floors of the chambers were all laid with gyps. It is rather unpleasant searching amongst these ruins; to get down into the chambers, I was frequently obliged to creep upon my hands and knees, but after I got into them often found it cool and pleasant. I never saw any scorpions, or other venomous reptiles, in any of the chambers, though they were very numerous on the surface; to guard against them, I wore boots and strong gloves.

There are no very considerable remains of buildings to be seen on the surface: the principal is what I was told were the ruins of the temple of Æsculapius, but I am of opinion that must be merely conjecture. There are now only some massy walls, about twelve feet thick, and no part above thirty feet in height; the whole is lying

in such confused heaps, I could not trace the form or extent of the building. These ruins lie near the sea, at the lower part of Carthage, towards the Goletta, along the shore facing the gulph of Tunis, where for above one mile and a half the sea has made some encroachment on the land: here I discovered the foundations of houses. The stones were in general very large, some above and some below the surface of the water; the sea being very clear, I could discern the whole very perfectly. The foundations are an oblong square, their greatest length projecting towards the sea. They have been at least three times as large as the rooms I saw in the midst of the ruins, which were in general about eighteen feet square. There are still a great many ancient coins and antiques discovered amongst the ruins; they are chiefly found by the Bedouins, who are not well acquainted with their value: the Bedouins sell them to the Jews.

The present bey of Tunis is very jealous, and will not permit any christian to dig amongst the ruins, though it has often been proposed to him, to return the same weight of whatever valuable metal might be found.

In this country they have plenty of naphtha, or bitumen, but I never found that they had made use of it in any of their buildings, as I have seen at Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and other ancient ruins, in that part of Asia; here the gyps appears to have been generally used.

It is very difficult to form an accurate idea of the extent of ancient Carthage, but it does not appear to have been above nine miles

in circumference; the principal part lies on the side of a hill, which narrows as it rises, almost to an angle on the north side, towards Porta Farina; from the top of this hill there is a very extensive and most beautiful prospect. This promontory, or cape, is still distinguished on the charts by the name of Cape Carthage.

On the north side of the hill, down to the sea, it is very steep, and does not appear ever to have been much inhabited; it continues very steep on the east side, towards the sea, to a considerable distance.

At present, the bey of Tunis employs a great many Christian slaves in carrying stones from the east side to the pier now making at the Goletta; the slaves roll the stones down the steep, then put them into sandals, a sort of flat-bottomed craft used in that country; they have only to carry them a few miles on the gulph of Tunis, then throw them overboard, to form the pier at the Goletta. This pier now extends a considerable way into the sea, and is a very great improvement to the port of the Goletta, and an accommodation to vessels of an easy draft of water, as they may now lie in perfect safety; and it is intended to carry the pier further out into deep water, where the largest ships may be protected by it, and lie in perfect safety.

Amongst the ruins of Carthage I have found marble of almost every description, but mostly in small pieces.

The principal cause which has contributed so much to reduce the ruins of Carthage to its present insignificant appearance, is its proximity to Tunis, and the palace of Bardo,



Bardo, &c. The beys and the principal people have, for a considerable time past, built their palaces from the ruins, and they have always been particularly careful to collect the most beautiful marbles.

Udena is situated about twenty miles south from Tunis; it appears to have been a city of some consequence, though it has never been mentioned by Lee, Dr. Shaw, or any other traveller or historian. The remains of this city are still in a more perfect state than any other ruins in Barbary. Having no guide to instruct me what this city was formerly, or even its ancient name, or whether it has always been distinguished by the name it bears at present, I could form no other idea of it, than what fell within my own observation. The Tunifians at present call it Udena; it is situated upon a hill, having an easy ascent to it on every side; from the best observations I could make upon the spot, the ruins still visible do not exceed five miles in circumference. The cisterns, or reservoirs for water, are in a much more perfect state than those of Carthage; they scarcely appear to have received any injury, and still contain a considerable quantity of good fresh water. The arches which form the roofs of the cisterns are covered with earth a considerable depth, which appeared to me to have preserved them in their very perfect state. The cisterns are at least a quarter of a mile south from the principal ruins of the city.

There are the remains of a noble amphitheatre, about two hundred yards in circumference, taking its extent from the highest seats in the galleries; it is of an oval shape, the

principal entrances into it are one at each end, at the bottom, or ground floor of the building; these two entrances have been very broad. There are sixteen other entrances for the spectators, eight on each side, perfectly uniform, and from each entrance there is a staircase to ascend into the galleries. From the bottom, or ground floor of the amphitheatre, to the lowest seats in the galleries, is about thirty feet perpendicular solid wall, quite smooth; the whole has been built with hewn stone, generally of a large size, harder than our limestone, and of a yellowish colour.

Near the amphitheatre are the remains of several large marble columns, standing in rows, at equal distances. There appears to have been an immense pile of building standing on the highest ground: I conceived it must have been the citadel. Within this building there is a bath of semi-circular form, and almost perfect; the whole of the bath is beautifully inlaid with Mosaic work; in which are drawn several female figures, swimming in various attitudes, as perfectly as in any painting; being done with various coloured marbles, they do not seem in the least to have lost their colour. There are several aquatic fowls, drawn in the same style, above the human figures: the whole are coloured so as to resemble nature. I was much mortified that I could not take away any of those figures entire, having no instruments to cut them out, and it is very difficult to make any impression upon the mosaic-work, being so strongly cemented together; it has been so very highly finished, that I could not distinguish: as mosaic-work, without a very nar-

row examination. Near the bath are the ruins of many very elegant buildings, which I imagined to have been temples, or some other public works: one of the most perfect has two rows of pillars in the inside, and a gallery still entire, by which I walked round the whole of the building on the outside. This temple is an oblong, about forty yards in length, an entrance at each end: at present it has no roof over the centre of the building, being only covered on each side, as far as the two rows of pillars. I observed particularly in this building, that all the masonry was very handsome, highly finished, and not of the massy structure that I have often observed amongst other ancient ruins; the pillars, and the whole of the building are quite plain, without any carved ornaments.

Very near this temple is an immense heavy pile of building, which seems to have been a place of considerable strength; the stones with which it has been built are very large; I am persuaded many of them would weigh three tons. The whole of this building is arched over: upon a careful examination of this heavy pile, it appeared to me to have been a prison. There is a very large hall, which seems to have been upon the ground-floor, and into this hall there are four large entrances, all arched over: on entering, it is very similar to passing under the arch of a bridge; this hall is certainly capable of containing more than two thousand people. Underneath this building there are vaults, or cells, which go round the whole; there is a stair-case on each side of the hall, leading down to the vaults; I went with my companions down one of

these stair-cases, each carrying a light: we found it very difficult to enter the vaults, not having more than eighteen inches in height at the bottom of the stair-case, and were obliged to creep down flat upon the rubbish before we could enter. We found the vaults, or cells, were about fifteen feet in height. The door-ways between the several cells are very small; from the surface of the earth to the bottom of these vaults is at least forty feet perpendicular: we could not prevail on any of our servants, or the Bedouins, to accompany us down into the vaults. It does not appear there has ever been the least ray of light in any of these cells; and the air being so much confined, I felt some inconvenience. On entering these horrid gloomy cells, I was fearful we might meet with some ravenous beast, as this country abounds with wild beasts of prey of almost every description; to guard against them, I took a double-barrelled gun down with me; however, I met with nothing but foxes, which appeared to be numerous, and even here, at so great a depth, burrow amongst the rubbish at the bottom of the cells. The ceiling of the cells is covered with bats of a large size, which, when disturbed, flew about the cells, and sometimes struck with considerable force against our heads, and if the greatest care had not been taken, they would soon have put out the candles; we took down with us a dark lanthorn, to prevent any accident of this kind: without proper precaution, it might have been attended with very serious consequences; not having the least ray of light, it would have been very difficult to have found our way out again. In one of  
the

the smallest cells I fired my gun, to try what effect it would have in such a confined place, so far below the surface of the earth; though the gun was very well charged it had little effect, and was scarce heard by the people at the top; it seemed to rarify the air a little in the cell, and make it more tolerable. All the walls and cieling in these vaults are quite black, as if occasioned by smoke, yet it does not stain the hand.

About two miles north from the citadel, is a very fine stream of fresh water; over the valley through which this stream runs, is the greatest range of arches in the Carthaginian aqueduct. The whole of the surrounding country appears to have been once cultivated; and I have no doubt it would still yield abundant crops with very little trouble; at present there is not the least cultivation for a great many miles, except among the ruins of Udena, and no fixed habitation nearer than Tunis. Such is the present degraded state of what was formerly considered one of the most fertile countries in the world.

There were a few Bedouin tents in the neighbourhood. The Bedouins appear to be almost half-starved, and were very happy to accept of any part of our victuals that we chose to give them, and were very ready to fetch us fresh water. There are still some small tribes of Bedouins in this country, who profess christianity; they are chiefly to be met with about Zuan and that neighbourhood.

Among the ruins of Udena are a great many deep wells, and in these the wild pigeons build their nests; by throwing stones down the wells, the pigeons flew up, by which means we caught several.

While examining the ruins of Udena, the strange infatuation of the ignorant Bedouins, to prefer sowing their corn in the midst of ruins, struck my mind very forcibly; these ruins being in a more perfect state than those of Carthage, there is, consequently, not so much arable land; but wherever they find a small patch amongst the ruins, they are sure to plough it. I could not easily account for this strange notion of the Bedouins, because it is certainly contrary to nature. In the kingdom of Tunis, the quantity of corn depends entirely on the quantity of rain, and it cannot be supposed that water can lodge much amongst ruins, where the whole is undermined; it must of course drain off almost as fast as it falls: it cannot do so upon a good solid ground, which will naturally imbibe the moisture, and retain it a considerable time.

I imagined they might have some other inducement, more than the bare prospect of the crops of corn; and that was the prospect they had of finding treasure; was this their principal motive, they certainly would know how to turn whatever they found to a better account. A Bedouin will sell the most valuable antique to a Jew for a *caroob*, ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. English money) and the gold and silver for much less than their weight in the current coin of the country. I have very often enquired why they preferred ploughing amongst the ruins of ancient cities, but could never get a satisfactory answer.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN JACKSON.

*John Wilkinson, esq. M. D. F. R. S.  
and F. A. S.*

*Account of an Ancient Geographical Tablet in the Museum of Cardinal Borgia, from \* a Memoir presented to the Academy of Gottingen by Professor Heevern.*

*From Nicholson's Journal.*

IN the museum of Cardinal Borgia there is deposited an ancient geographical tablet, from which an engraving has been made, one of the impressions of which is in the possession of the author of the memoir. This remarkable monument is not a chart drawn by the pen, but a round tablet, of which the design occupies a space about two feet in diameter, on which the hemisphere, known at that time, is represented in coloured enamel, like a round surface. The countries and the places are marked by their proper names, but the limits of the countries are not traced; the mountains, the rivers, the people, and all things remarkable, (as the animals, the battles, the caravans, the bazars, the camps, the wandering tribes, &c.) are represented and explained on it by inscriptions in the Latin tongue, but written in German characters. It may be conceived, from this first view, how interesting this monument is, and also with what art it is executed, so that it is impossible to suppose that it was made for the use of a private person. Its date is not mentioned, but it may be determined with certainty that it was constructed in the first half of the fifteenth century. In reality, the most recent event marked on it is the victory of Tamerlane over

Bajazet, in 1402; there is no mention of the taking of Constantinople, or the least trace of any of the discoveries of the Portuguese. Of the geographical charts known at present, that of *Marino Sanudo*, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, is the only one certainly more ancient; but that of *Andre Bianco*, of 1486, which *Formaleoni* has made known, is very nearly of the same time as this monument. No general source of information can be discovered by which the author of the tablet has been assisted. It is not made according to documents from Ptolemy; it more follows those of the Arabians, especially with regard to Africa. Of the names which are found in the work of *Marco Paolo*, and the other more ancient travellers in Asia, only some are seen on that part of the world. The extent of Europe is represented as much greater than that of Africa, and at least as large as that of Asia. The following are some of the most remarkable particulars of it: Sweden is set down under the name of *Magna Gothia*, and Denmark is wanting. In Prussia, the seat of the wars of the teutonic order with the Lithuanians, represented with this inscription: *Hic sunt confinia paganorum et christianorum, qui Prussia adinvicem continuo bellant*. It may be perceived by this, that the Lithuanians were therein considered as pagans, although christianity was introduced among them before this period. Russia appears under the denomination of Tartary, and near the Caspian Sea, and the Sea of Asof, are represented the famous

\* This memoir is entitled, "Explicatio planiglobii orbis terrarum faciem exhibens, ante medium seculi XV. summa arte confecti; agiuntur singula de historia mapparum geographicarum recte instruenda consilia.

bazars of those times. England and Scotland appear at the border, but there is no more room for Ireland. Africa exhibits none of the discoveries of the Portuguese, but the northern half of it was known to the author, as far as Soudan. He names not only the villages along the coast, but he moreover knows that the inhabitants of Mount Atlas, the people of Barbary, are at war with the Saracens. Near these mountains is inscribed, *In illis montanisque habitant plures principes et reges, et habitant continuo in tentoriis, et præliantur continuo contra Saracenos, et contra juxta castra et civitates\**. In Egypt the junction of the grand caravan to Mecca is marked, and not only the names of the deserts of sand are inserted, but those also of the places most important to commerce, as Tagaza, Ganusia, &c.

The kingdom of Prester John extends in Nubia *ab ostio gaudis* (Cape Gardesfan) *usque ad fluvium auri*. Bianco likewise sets down the king-

dom of Prester John in Africa, in the same manner, so that the Portuguese are not the first who have thus described it. Asia does not present fewer singularities. In Asia Minor the camps of the Tartars are represented, *Tartaria reges maxima, quæ Tartari cum suis jumentis et bobos excurrunt, civitatem ex multis tentoriis et carutes situant*.

India is divided into *India superior*, where the body of St. Thomas is found, and many christian kingdoms, and *India interior*, in quos *Cathai civitas et magnificanis Imperatoris Tartarorum sedes*. China is likewise inserted in it, and its capital Cambalk (Cambalu Pekin) is also named. On the frontiers of Little Bucharria, at Organti, (*Urgang*) *de Organti ad Carthagium vacunt cameli in quatuor mensibus*, the caravans going and returning to Cathai are represented. On the eastern border the country of *Gog* and *Magog* is set down, and finally *locus deliciarum*, or Paradise.

\* The Latin of the inscriptions in this paper is not very correct, *continuo* is used in them for *semper*, and *juxta* for *vicina*; the word *situant* is also improper, and some others, but these circumstances perhaps only mark more strongly the authenticity of the account. In the inscription relative to *India interior*, a small alteration has been made from the memoir in this translation. The word *magnificanis* has been formed from *magnis canis* in the memoir, which being so printed, evidently was an error.—B.

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Letters from Dr. Beattie to his  
Friends.*

[*From Sir William Forbes's Life of  
Dr. Beattie.*]

*From Dr. Beattie to Robert Arbuth-  
not, Esq.*

*Aberdeen, 29th March, 1762.*

“ I HAVE now read Fingal, but I am at a loss to know whether I should give you my opinion of it or not. My humble tribute of praise (were I disposed to praise it) would be lost amidst that universal deluge of approbation poured upon it, both from the critics of London and Scotland. And were I inclined to censure it, my suffrage would be as little regarded as the loitering javelin which palsied Priam threw against the heaven-tempered shield of Pyrrhus—*telum imbelles sine ictu*. The particular beauties of this wonderful work are irresistibly striking, and I flatter myself that I am as sensible of them as another. But to that part of its merit which exalts it, considered as a whole, above the Iliad or Æneid, and its author above

Homer or Virgil, I am insensible. Yet I understand, that of critics not a few aver Ossian to have been a greater genius than either of these poets. Yet a little while, and, I doubt not, the world will be of a different opinion. Homer was as much admired about three months ago—I speak not of the present moment, for Ossian just now is all in all—I say, Homer was lately admired as much as he was three thousand years ago. Will the admiration of our Highland bard be as permanent? And will it be as universal as learning itself?

“ Knowledge of the human heart is a science of the highest dignity. It is recommended not only by its own importance, but also by this, that none but an exalted genius is capable of it. To delineate the objects of the material world requires a fine imagination, but to penetrate into the mental system, and to describe its different objects, with all their distinguished (though sometimes almost imperceptible) peculiarities, requires an imagination far more extensive and vigorous. It is this kind of imagination which appears so conspicuous in the works  
of

of Shakespeare and Homer, and which, in my opinion, raises them above all other poets whatsoever; I mean not only that talent by which they adapt themselves to the heart of their readers, and excite whatever affection they please, in which the former plainly stands unrivalled; I mean that wonderfully penetrating and plastic faculty, which is capable of representing every species of character, not, as our ordinary poets do, by a high shoulder, and a wry mouth, or gigantic stature, but by hitting off, with a delicate hand, the distinguishing feature, and that in such manner as makes it easily known from all others whatsoever, however similar to a superficial eye. Hotspur and Henry V. are heroes resembling one another, yet very distinct in their characters. Falstaff, and Pistol, and Bardolph, are buffoons, but each in his own way; Desdemona and Juliet are not the same; Bottom, Dogberry, and the grave-diggers are different characters; and the same may be said of the most similar of Homer's characters; each has some mark that makes him essentially different from the rest. But these great masters are not more eminent in distinguishing than in completing their characters. I am a little acquainted with a Cato, a Sempronius, a Tinsel, a sir Charles Easy, &c. but I am perfectly acquainted with Achilles, Hector, Falstaff, Lear, Pistol, and Quickly; I know them more thoroughly than any other person of my acquaintance.

“If this accurate delineation of character be allowed to be the highest species of poetry (and this, I think, is generally allowed), may I not ask whether Ossian is not extremely

defective in the *highest* species of poetry? It is said, indeed, that this poet lived in an age when mankind, being in a state of almost total barbarism, were incapable of that diversity of character which is found in countries improved by commerce and learning, and that therefore he had no materials for a diversity of character. But it is certain that diversities of character are found among the rudest savages; and it is the poet's business not to pourtray the characters as they really exist, (which is left to the historian), but to represent them such as they *might have* existed. But to have done, Ossian seems really to have very little knowledge of the human heart; his chief talent lies in describing inanimate objects, and therefore he belongs (according to my principles), not to the highest, but to an inferior order of poets.”

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*Dr. Beattie to Robert Arbuthnot,  
Esq.*

*Aberdeen, 12th December, 1763.*

“SINCE you left us, I have been reading Tasso's ‘Jerusalem,’ in the translation lately published by Hoole. I was not a little anxious to peruse a poem which is so famous over all Europe, and has so often been mentioned as a rival to the ‘Iliad,’ ‘Æneid,’ and ‘Paradise Lost.’ It is certainly a noble work; and though it seems to me to be inferior to the three poems just mentioned, yet I cannot help thinking it in the rank next to these. As for the other modern attempts at the ‘Epopée,’ the ‘Henriade’ of Voltaire, the ‘Epi-  
goniad’ of Wilkie, the ‘Leonidas’

of

of Glover, not to mention the 'Arthur,' of Blackmore, they are not to be compared with it. Tasso possessed an exuberant and sublime imagination, though in exuberance it seems, in my opinion, inferior to our Spenser, and in sublimity inferior to Milton. Were I to compare Milton's genius with Tasso's, I would say, that the sublime of the latter is flashy and fluctuating, while that of the former diffuses an uniform, steady, and vigorous blaze: Milton is more majestic, Tasso more dazzling. Dryden, it seems, was of opinion, that the 'Jerusalem Delivered' was the only poem of modern times that deserved the name of epic; but it is certain, that criticism was not this writer's talent; and I think it is evident from some passages of his works, that he either did not, or would not understand the 'Paradise Lost.' Tasso borrows his plot and principal characters from Homer, but his manner resembles Virgil's. He is certainly much obliged to Virgil, and scruples not to imitate, nor to translate him on many occasions. In the *pathetic*, he is far inferior to Homer, to Virgil, and to Milton. His characters, though different, are not always distinct, and want those masterly and distinguished strokes which the genius of Homer and Shakespeare, and of them only, knows how to delineate. Tasso excels in describing pleasurable scenes, and seems peculiarly fond of such as have a reference to the passion of love. Yet in characterising this passion, he is far inferior, not only to Milton, but also to Virgil, whose *fourth book* he has been at great pains to imitate.

The translation is smooth and flowing; but in dignity, and variety of numbers, is often defective; and often labours under a feebleness and prolixity of phrase, evidently proceeding either from want of skill, or from want of leisure in the versifier."

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*Dr. Beattie to the Honourable Charles Boyd.*

*Aberdeen, 16th Nov. 1766.*

"Of all the chagrins with which my present infirm state of health is attended, none afflicts me more than my inability to perform the duties of friendship. The offer which you were generously pleased to make me of your correspondence, flatters me extremely; but, alas! I have not as yet been able to avail myself of it. While the good weather continued, I strolled about the country, and made many strenuous attempts to run away from this odious giddiness; but the more I struggled, the more closely it seemed to stick by me. About a fortnight ago, the hurry of my winter business began; and at the same time my malady recurred with more violence than ever, rendering me at once incapable of reading, writing, and thinking. Luckily I am now a little better, so as to be able to read a page, and write a sentence or two, without stopping; which I assure you, is a very great matter. My hopes and my spirits begin to revive once more. I flatter myself I shall get rid of this infirmity; nay, that I shall ere long be in the way of becoming a *great man*. For have I not headaches, like Pope? vertigo, like Swift? grey hairs, like Homer?

Do



Do I not wear large shoes, (for fear of corns) like Virgil? and sometimes complain of sore eyes, (though not of *lippitude*) like Horace? Am I not at this present writing invested with a garment, not less ragged than that of Socrates? Like Joseph, the patriarch, I am a mighty dreamer of dreams; like Nimrod, the hunter, I am an eminent builder of castles (in the air.) I procrastinate, like Julius Cæsar; and very lately, in imitation of Don Quixote, I rode a horse, lean, old, and lazy, like Rosinante. Sometimes, like Cicero, I write bad verses; and sometimes bad prose, like Virgil. This last instance I have on the authority of Seneca. I am of small stature, like Alexander the Great; I am somewhat inclinable to fatness, like Dr. Arbuthnot and Aristotle; and I drink brandy and water, like Mr. Boyd. I might compare myself, in relation to many other infirmities, to many other *great men*; but if fortune is not influenced in my favour, by the particulars already enumerated, I shall despair of ever recommending myself to her good graces. I once had some thoughts of soliciting her patronage on the score of my resembling great men in their good qualities; but I had so little to say on that subject, that I could not for my life furnish matter for one well-grounded period: and you know a short ill-turned speech is very improper to be used in an address to a female deity.

“ Do not you think there is a sort of antipathy between philosophical and poetical genius? I question, whether any one person was ever eminent for both. Lucretius lays aside the poet when he assumes

the philosopher, and the philosopher when he assumes the poet: in the one character he is truly excellent, in the other he is absolutely nonsensical. Hobbes was a tolerable metaphysician, but his poetry is the worst that ever was. Pope's ‘*Essay on Man*’ is the finest philosophical poem in the world; but it seems to me to do more honour to the imagination than to the understanding of its author: I mean, its sentiments are noble and affecting, its images and allusions apposite, beautiful, and new: its wit transcendently excellent; but the scientific part of it is very exceptionable. Whatever Pope borrows from Leibnitz, like most other metaphysical theories, is frivolous and unsatisfying: what Pope gives us of his own, is energetic, irresistible, and divine. The incompatibility of philosophical and poetical genius is, I think, no unaccountable thing. Poetry exhibits the general qualities of a species, philosophy the particular qualities of individuals. *This* forms its conclusions from a painful and minute examination of single instances: *that* decides instantaneously, either from its own instinctive sagacity, or from a singular and unaccountable penetration, which at one glance sees all instances which the philosopher must leisurely and progressively scrutinize, one by one. This persuades you gradually, and by detail; the other overpowers you in an instant by a single effort. Observe the effect of argumentation in poetry; we have too many instances of it in Milton: it transforms the noblest thoughts into drawling inferences, and the most beautiful language into prose: it checks the tide of passion, by giving

giving the mind a different employment in the comparison of ideas. A little philosophical acquaintance with the most beautiful parts of nature, both in the material and immaterial system, is of use to a poet, and gives grace and solidity to poetry; as may be seen in the 'Georgics,' 'the Seasons,' and 'the Pleasures of Imagination;' but this acquaintance, if it is any thing more than superficial, will do a poet rather harm than good; and will give his mind that turn for minute observation, which enfeebles the fancy by restraining it, and counteracts the native energy of judgment by rendering it fearful and suspicious."

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*State of Education in France. From Recollections of Paris, in 1802-3-4-5. By J. Pinkerton. Vol. I.*

THE state of education, in any country, is of infinite consequence to its prosperity and glory. It may be doubted whether even the form of government have such decided influence on the talents and happiness of the individual.

In the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, education had become extremely neglected, before the Jesuits lent their attention to this department. Their method of education has been highly praised; and it is to be supposed that they studied the character of the youth entrusted to their care, and, by the spur of a predominant passion, instigated them in the path that was most adapted to their capacities. It is, however, to be wished, that some patient writer would, from their own publications on this subject, delineate

the complete plan of education practised by the Jesuits.

Numerous universities were also scattered over the kingdom; but the mode of education there followed, was far from being the best, as, instead of changing their forms, and adapting themselves to the progress of national illumination, they retained a pedantic routine and jargon, wholly useless in the high road of human affairs. This obstinacy led, as usual, to their own destruction; as they could not bend they must break: while some colleges, as that of Louis the Great, still exist, because the professors did not choose to sacrifice an useful institution to their own obstinacy or caprice.

As it often happens in human affairs, that the useful is sacrificed to the splendid, the foundation of universities, of very dubious utility, supplanted that of common schools, which may be regarded as the chief pillars of national education. For, if we except divinity and medicine, in which regular degrees are bestowed, it may be questioned whether the education at the French universities, were of the smallest advantage to any other class of mankind. As the military schools have been found to confer such great advantages, it would seem to follow, that similar institutions might be allotted to other professions, after the bias of the child has been discovered, which may generally be done about the age of twelve years; before which period the gymnastic exercises ought to be the chief part of education, but might be interspersed with the native language, writing, and arithmetic. To these, in a French education, ought to succeed

ceed a long course of the mathematics, in order to allay the volatility and evaporation of their character.

In the parochial, or common schools, might therefore be taught horsemanship, swimming, fencing, and other gymnastic exercises, and amusements, interspersed with the French language, writing, and arithmetic, and followed by the course of mathematics, which would be found useful in every possible profession. If the conscription must be continued, it is to be regretted that the lots are not drawn at the age of twelve, that needless care and expence might be saved in the education of the boy for another pursuit. At the age of twelve, the boys might be transferred to the Lyceums, or to the special schools for each profession. This separation at the age of twelve, would also be attended with certain beneficial effects, moral and physical, which may easily be divined by parents; the mixture of little boys with those more advanced being of so pernicious a tendency, as to require prohibition by positive laws. In some schools, containing generally boys from the age of seven to that of twelve, a great lad of seventeen or eighteen arrived from some colony for the first rudiments of his education, has been known to corrupt the morals and health of thirty little boys, who before had not even an idea of vice.

After these considerations, the present plan of the Lyceums cannot be approved, as there is a great mixture of ages, while they ought not to be permitted to receive any scholars till after the age of twelve years complete. Other foundations

might be allotted to the earlier years of the children of officers killed in battle, or others deserving the public care, an institution, by-the-bye, worthy of imitation. Such foundations might still be styled *Prytanées*, as maintaining those who have deserved well of their country; while the Lyceums derive their name from a famous university at Athens.

At present the primary schools are those which deserve the greatest attention, and would attract the chief care of an enlightened government; but the masters of the Lyceums, and other persons consulted on education, unhappily either affect a contempt for the primary schools, which can alone diffuse a general national education, open the bud of the village rose, increase its scent, and destroy its thorns; or regard them as rivals who may withdraw a part of their gains. Hence, in conversations with directors and professors of the *Prytanées* and Lyceums, I have been not a little hurt by their apparent spirit of monopoly, and their estrangement from the idea of a national education, which might deeply influence the public character, and by opening the mind to moderation and modesty, the usual concomitants of knowledge, prevent the recurrence of scenes of outrage and blood, the fruits of ignorance conducted by knavery. These effects of rivalry and jealousy, between the Lyceums and primary schools, would also be effectually prevented by the division of ages above proposed.

There were formerly two *Prytanéums* in France, one in Paris, another at St. Cyr, chiefly destined, as the name imports, for the children

of men who had deserved well of their country, though they also boarded and educated other scholars. But within these two years the name has been formally changed for the common appellation of Lyceums. The most important is that at Paris, formerly the college of Louis the Great. The director Champagne, a member of the Institute, and a man of considerable talents, gave me a plan of the education here pursued, with a work written by himself, on the organization of public instruction. The importance of the subject will merit a few extracts and observations.

It was under the administration of François de Neufchâteau, that the new name of Prytaneum was adopted; and when Chaptal became minister of the interior, one hundred and eighty scholarships were granted at the public expence, and soon after one hundred others, all to be named by the first consul. It was at the same time permitted that other children might share the advantage of the careful education proposed, on paying a moderate salary. This institution is immediately under the care of the minister of the interior, who names the directors and professors. Mass is celebrated every morning, but no blame is attached to those who do not attend: gymnastic exercises are also mingled with instructions in the moral duties towards their parents, their country, and the Supreme Being; but each scholar is at perfect liberty to follow his own mode of worship.

Instead of the old pedantic routine, simple and practical methods have been adopted. Instead of a general tinge of superficial knowledge, the talents and inclination

of the scholars are carefully observed, and directed to such studies as they may pursue with most advantage.

The course of study is divided into three distinct parts. Children are first taught the French language and grammar, a first and indispensable branch, which is never neglected during the whole period of instruction. The Latin tongue is carefully taught by the methods of Condillac and Dumasais, which spare the time, and sometimes prevent the disgust of the scholars. In this first course, all are taught the elements of arithmetic.

To this course, merely elemental and grammatical, succeeds another, in which the scholars are taught composition; and instituted in the elements of literature, French, Latin, and Greek.

In the third course, the education is completed by that kind of instruction which is adapted to their talents and inclinations: rhetoric, philosophy, and the mathematics, with mechanics, surveying, and the first principles of astronomy and chemistry, are laid before the students. Geography is not only studied, but accompanied with the practical art of drawing maps and plans. In history, the scholars write down the lessons, so as to form a little collection of their own composition. In the second and third course all are taught the German and English languages; and the study of drawing is alike universal. A fencing master and a dancing master are each charged with a class of twenty-five scholars, chosen for their good behaviour; but any may be taught these arts, and music, at the expence of their parents. Gymnastic and  
military

military exercises, and swimming, are practised by all on the days of vacation. The instruction is not uniform, a plan rather calculated to enchain than to develop the faculties, but is varied according to the talents, dispositions, and future views. A select and ample library is open to the scholars.

They are divided, according to their age and studies into classes of twenty-five; each forming a separate habitation, with a school and sleeping rooms, under the care of an experienced teacher, who watches over their manners and conduct, assists their inexperience in literary toil, forms their character by remonstrating on their faults and teaching them their duties, sees that they read no improper books, and that they write regularly to their friends. He presides over their repasts, attends when they rise and go to bed, in short, never quits them, except when he brings them to the professors, adopting every care of a good master and father of a family. A careful servant confined to each class or division, is charged with the physical care of the children, their dress, and personal cleanliness. It may not be improper to add, that they sleep alone, and are carefully watched by the teacher, who is placed in the centre of the division; and that the domestic and a night watcher walk through the sleeping rooms, to guard against the smallest accident or impropriety.

The games and recreations of the children are always superintended by the masters, and their walks in particular are well watched. A regulation approved by the government, forbids them to leave the house upon any pretence, except during the vacation, when

they may visit their families. They are, however, indemnified by the extent of their own domains, even those at Paris passing the summer days of vacation at the large house and park of Vanvres, in gymnastic exercises, swimming, and such little exercises in gardening and agriculture, as they may choose.

Although sickness be rare, a physician and surgeon constantly reside in the house; and there is an infirmary where the sick children are attended with the same care as if they were in their own families. At the same time every attention is paid to the general health. The halls and rooms are well aired, a regular warmth distributed in winter, the food of a salutary nature, and the beginning of any disease carefully marked and opposed.

Such is the general plan of this institution, in which there is doubtless much to be praised; but in the division of the courses, it may be doubted whether the Latin should enter into the first course, where writing might supply its place; and, in fact, this first course ought wholly to belong to the primary school. Yet, upon the whole, the education is excellent, and the distribution of the prizes, which takes place before the summer vacation, forms a very interesting and crowded spectacle. After discourses by the director, and by the minister of the interior, or any other member of the administration named to dignify the ceremony by his presence, the names of the boys who have distinguished themselves in each branch are solemnly proclaimed, with flourishes of music, and the plaudits of the audience. The boy advances,

is embraced by the minister, who places on his head a wreath of laurel, and gives him some valuable book. The catalogue of the victors and prizes is afterwards published, to the great satisfaction of parents and friends.

Let me not be accused of being tedious on a subject of such infinite importance as practical education, the subject of innumerable books, but of difficult execution, as what seems true and salutary in theory, often in practice proves false and detrimental. Nor shall an apology be offered for some further illustrations of this interesting topic, and which though sometimes minute, may be of lasting consequence to the community.

The board at the Prytanée, now the Lyceum at Paris, is nine hundred francs a-year (not thirty-eight pounds sterling), but each boarder must pay quarterly, and by advance. Each boarder must bring a trunk, containing the following articles ;

A great coat of broad cloth, colour, iron grey—the uniform of the school.

An uniform coat of iron grey, with blue collar and sleeves.

Two waistcoats, &c. of the same.

Two white waistcoats, one of cloth, the other of dimity.

Two pair of sheets of ten ells.

One dozen napkins.

One dozen of shirts.

Two bed-gowns.

Twelve handkerchiefs.

Six cravats of double muslin, and two of black silk.

Six pair of cotton stockings, of mixed blues, and two white.

Six cotton night caps.

Two hats, one three cornered.

Two pair of shoes.

Two combs, and a comb brush.

A clothes brush.

A plate and goblet of silver, or other metal, at the choice of the parents, and marked with the number of the scholar, which is also put on his other effects, that no other may use them.

After this first equipment, no further expence is incurred for the children, whether sick or in health. The dress and all the other articles are renewed at the expence of the institution, during the whole course of the studies, except losses positively ascertained to have been made by the scholars themselves. For books, maps, and paper, used in the third course, there is an additional charge of twenty-five francs, or a guinea a year. The trunk, except the sheets and napkins, is returned when the scholar leaves the Lyceum ; and as only French manufactures are permitted, the articles, in case of difficulty, may be easily procured at the house.

The boys educated at this seminary are very numerous, generally appear stout and healthy, and possessed with an interesting emulation. The military part of their education is rather to be regretted ; but it is to be feared that the ambition of France will render it necessary in other countries.

The work of Champagne, the director, on Public Education, is valuable, as the production of a practical man ; but several of his ideas are objectionable. That education should be connected with politics seems illusory, it ought rather, like a national bank, to be independent of the government, and an absolute silence observed on political subjects. Of what consequence are the politics of a boy ?

Even

Even a thinking man finds it difficult to choose, when there are faults on all sides, and attended with such dismal and unforeseen consequences. He supposes the primary schools are between six and seven thousand, a number certainly too small for the extent of France; and he justly observes great defects in the organization, especially the want of encouragement for the masters, and the deficiency of fixed elementary books.

The population of the French empire being at this moment about thirty-four millions, there must be three millions of children under the age of twelve; and supposing that the sixth part of the parents can afford to pay liberally for the education, and that there be sixty scholars for each country school, more than forty-seven thousand teachers of both sexes will be required. The commencement ought of course to be to teach the teachers, by instituting a grand foundation for needy and deserving young men, in order to qualify them for this office, which should be accompanied with a salary for life, only to be lost by notorious and scandalous misconduct. If, during the rage of innovation, the voice of reason could have been heard, the funds, revenues, and buildings of the ancient universities, would have been admirably adapted to this purpose; and the useless fellowships, and other sinecures; might have been supplanted by a most useful body of men, the future schoolmasters, who, after a residence of two years might have made room for others.

A moderate salary to the masters of the primary schools ought to be secured by a tax upon land and

houses; but it is supposed that one half of the salary might be paid by such parents as are in tolerable circumstances, while the poorer class ought to pay nothing. This land-tax might be called the tax of instruction; and ought to be rendered perpetual as far as human foresight can penetrate into futurity.

But I forget Champagne, who recommends public schools supported by beneficent societies. He justly observes, that before parochial schools were spread through the Highlands of Scotland, there were frequent disturbances and rebellions, which have ceased since the country became more enlightened. He proposes that the tax upon bachelors should be allotted to the public instruction; and that, of fifty thousand places of clerks, employed in the different offices under government, one quarter should be reserved for schoolmasters who have performed that office during ten years. But the chief object would seem to be, that, by a moderate tax on land and houses, each parish should support its own schoolmaster.

This practical writer also observes, that there was too violent a transition between the primary and the central schools, where the boy who had only been taught to read and write, and the four first rules of arithmetic, was suddenly introduced to the ancient languages. This defect was chiefly owing to the boy's not having been taught grammar and orthography. Before the revolution there were three gradations, the little schools, the colleges, the universities; the instruction of the first being necessary to all ranks; that of the second for liberal professions;

fections; while the universities qualified men to become masters themselves. That the utility of the secondary schools may become more apparent, he computes that in the French empire there are sixty thousand officers in the land and sea service; fifty thousand agents and clerks in the administration and finances; some thousand judges and professors; while there ought to be at least twenty thousand masters of primary schools, not to speak of men of business, merchants, and artists, who ought to receive a liberal education. Of these a great part must necessarily belong to poor families, for the son of a rich man will not employ his time for such moderate salaries. It therefore becomes necessary that the colleges be encouraged by the government, and the three hundred and twenty colleges, formerly existing in France, were ill supplanted by one hundred and four central schools, one for each department. These schools were also objectionable, as each was to contain nine masters and a librarian; a number often ridiculously disproportioned to the little villages, which have become the chief places of the departments.

Champagne proposes that the central schools, or universities, should be restricted to the twenty-nine cities where there are tribunals of appeal; and that there be founded one hundred and fifty small colleges, each with five professors, in towns of the second order. This idea seems to have been in part adopted by the government, the secondary schools, or colleges, having been re-established; while the lycées supply the place of the central schools or universities.

He afterwards proceeds to con-

sider the plan of education, supposing that the boys leave the primary schools at the age of ten years, and remain at the secondary till the age of thirteen or fourteen. He proposes, as already mentioned, that there should be five professors in each secondary school, two for grammar, one for elements of history and the arts of composition; one for arithmetic and simple geometry, one for drawing. The professors of grammar are chiefly for instruction in the French language, interspersed with elements of Latin and of geography. He rightly recommends that grammar be taught from the native tongue; and regards it as absurd to place abruptly the rudiments of Latin in the hands of children, to whom the words adverb, pronoun, verb, mood, number and case, are as unintelligible as the Latin itself, and the child is taught the unknown by the unknown; a great cause that so many educations totally fail: nay, perhaps, the more understanding a child has, the more he appears a dunce, because dulness may learn by perseverance, where intelligence is totally confounded by seeing the palpable darkness. This observation may explain why so many men of distinguished talents have appeared dunces in common schools.

After some observations upon the hours of labour employed by each professor, he recommends that a person skilled in natural history should accompany the boys in their walks, to give them some rudiments of botany and mineralogy, which might be useful to them on many occasions. His remarks on the central schools are also just and practical, but do not fall into my present



present design. The professorship of legislation is a truly singular title for a teacher of the laws of nations, and of the French laws. The academy of legislation existing at Paris, is liable to the same objection, and should be styled the academy of jurisprudence. There ought, as he observes, to be four professors, of natural laws, of ancient laws, of civil and French law: and he adds that there might even be a professor of the forms of procedure, which might tend to prevent the avidity and cunning of some professional men. "Yet, amongst the ancients and the moderns, the wisest laws have not been able to prevent this evil, which re-appears under a thousand shapes. If the knowledge of the forms of procedure were generally spread; if all the tricks and turns of chicanery were well known, and ceased to be the useful secret of knaves; no one would dare to use them: and, perhaps by means of this course, the gradual destruction might be operated of that chicanery, which is the most dangerous malady of justice." Though there be schools for the education of lawyers and physicians, it is believed there are none especially dedicated to that of the clergy; and with the universities all degrees have expired. He justly praises the liberality of the ancient government, which, at the college of Louis the Great, educated six hundred boys, free of all expence, and founded the excellent military schools, which formed so many great men. The various universities also enjoyed very numerous free scholarships. He justly regrets the sale of the funds destined for these laudable purposes, and quotes, with deserved applause, the example of Washing-

ton, who bequeathed a great part of his wealth for the public instruction of his country. He proposes, therefore; 1. That such donations be authorized by law. 2. That small contributions be paid by those who have received their education in these seminaries. 3. That the government, actually in possession of eight millions of acres of woods, sold for a very trifling profit, should allot the whole, or a part, for this purpose. 4. That a part of the national lands, generally sold at five or six years purchase of the rent, should be disposed of to administrators, on condition of paying the price at the end of six years, when the departments might be excited, by the certainty of the pledge, to contribute by gifts or loans to defray the expence.

He concludes with remarks upon the rewards to be offered, in order to excite emulation; and recommends that, after solemn examinations, the most meritorious of the poor scholars should have an allowance of certain sums, in order to prosecute their studies, or be placed at the public offices, where intrigue and interest have too long supplanted merit, and states sometimes perish by the ignorance of subalterns. He justly and somewhat boldly reprobates the military education given by the ancient Greeks and Romans, "Where what was called a republic was a handful of men, who kept the rest of the people in oppression and slavery."

If this important subject of national education have diffused itself to more length than was intended, it must be considered in apology, that some degree of minuteness is essential to its illustration: and it was thought that the practical opi-

nions of an experienced master, in a country where an unprecedented revolution had authorized every experiment and innovation, deserved to be weighed with particular attention.

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*On the Luxury of Paris.*

*From the same. Vol. II.*

AN Englishman, who has not visited Paris, will scarcely believe that the luxury of London can be exceeded. But in fact the luxuries and opportunities at Paris are allowed, by all candid judges, infinitely to surpass those of the English capital, in the variety, and the cheap rates at which they may be procured. The superior dryness of the air also exhilarates the spirits, and gives a keener relish to many enjoyments.

The well known work, called "The Almanach des Gourmands," by Grimod de la Reyniere may serve in some measure as a text book in treating of the luxuries of Paris. But it is in so many hands, that a few extracts, or rather remarks, suggested by its perusal, may suffice. That work, indeed, only embraces one branch of luxury, but a branch particularly cultivated by the new rich, whose cellars and larders are far better replenished than their libraries. This taste has become so general, that many book-fellers have become traiteurs, and find the corporeal food far more profitable than the mental.

The old new year, the first of January, is still the season of little gifts, chiefly eatables and sweet-meats, for which last the Rue des

Lombards is deservedly famous. The best beef at Paris is that of Auvergne and Cotentin, and the *aloya*, which seems to be the inner part of our sirloin, is regarded as the most chosen morsel; but the French custom of sticking such pieces with little morsels of lard, is to an English palate truly nauseous, and irreconcilable with any just principles of cookery, as it diminishes the juice, and injures the flavour of the meat. When M. Grimod supposes that beef-steaks form the chief dish of an English dinner, he shews a ridiculous ignorance of our customs. The best veal is that of Pontoise, not far from Paris; but as they are strangers to our mode of nourishing the animals, this food is regarded as of difficult or irregular digestion, nor can it ever be compared with English veal. Our author says, that the French calves are fed with cream and biscuits, which may account for this quality. The lamb is also so young, so insipid, so vapid, that it bears no resemblance to the delicate juices and flavour of the English. The mutton is from the Ardennes; but it is as rare as Welch mutton in London. In general the mutton cannot be praised; and while the French import the Spanish breed on account of the wool, they ought also to import some other for the meat. Nor does their pork seem equal to the English.

The game is, in general, superior to that of England; and the red partridge forms an elegant regale. The pheasant has become extremely rare, the pheasantries having been destroyed with the other marks of rank. The quails in the neighbourhood of Paris are excellent.

Young

Young turkies of the size of a large fowl, are very common, though somewhat higher in price; and poultry in general is about one third cheaper than in London, if bought in the large markets. Among the vegetables, spinach is particularly well cooked, and not diluted with water as in London. As the leaves take up much space, it is always sold at the green-shops simply boiled, and is afterwards cooked according to the fancy of the purchaser. The vinegar put into the sauce for cauliflower destroys its flavour; and in general a mixture of the English and French modes of cookery would be the best. Boiled endive, rare with us, is a common and healthy dish at Paris, being mucilaginous, and agreeable to weak stomachs. But another usual dish, a partridge boiled with bacon and cabbage, seems an absurdity, the flavour being lost, and the whole nauseous to the English palate. Carrots are regarded as stomachic, and a basin of vermicelli soup, with grated carrot, is a famous breakfast. The French pastry is much celebrated, but many persons seem deservedly to prefer the English. Some have an aversion to the pigeons of Paris, because they are led from mouth to mouth. The goose is left to the populace, being in general meagre and unfavourable; but the ducks are often excellent.

In the winter there is a sufficient supply of excellent fish, and turbot is sold by the pound. A rich farmer-general, about to give a solemn dinner, sent his maitre d'hotel for fish, who reported that there was only a large turbot, for

which a counsellor had paid two louis d'or. "Here," said the farmer-general, throwing four louis on the table, "go and buy me the turbot and the counsellor." During the summer the fish is scarce and bad, and a large fortune might be made by bringing this article to Paris in ice. Fish-women carry about live carp in leathern vessels, suspended at their girdles: these are dangerous to encounter, as any derangement of her fish-pond occasions a torrent of abuse; and sometimes a live carp serves as an instrument of manual exercise. A dish of gudgeons is a favourite food of a *petite maitresse*. The hams of Bayonne are excellent, and extremely mild; but those of Mentz, though harder, are more favourable. The milk and eggs of Paris are superior to those of London. Of artichokes and strawberries the season is prolonged by the art of the gardener, and both may be had at the end of September.

M. Grimod has wittily observed, that thirteen form an unlucky number at table, when there is only food for twelve; and that the falling of the salt-seller is very unlucky, when it spoils a good dish. Yet he recommends as sacred another prejudice, that of paying a visit at the house where you are treated, some days after the dinner; as if the business of a forenoon could be neglected for such an idle ceremony. His parallel, vol. i. p. 225, between the pleasures of the table and those of love, gave some offence to the Parisian belles, and he was obliged to soften it in a second edition.

*Le dejeuner à la fourchette*, or fork.

fork-breakfast, is so called, because in eating meat you have occasion for a fork. Since the lateness of the dinner hour, and the discontinuance of supper, this repast has become very common. It generally consists of cold meats; but broiled fowls, kidneys, and sautages, are admitted with *petit-pâtes*. During the winter, oysters from the rock of Cencale, a public house so called, and much celebrated for this article, form the usual introduction.

The master and mistress of the house continue to carve, while it is to be regretted that the German fashion is not introduced, of having the dishes carved by a servant at a side-table. The *plateau* which decorates the middle of the table, is often strewn with fine sand, of various colours, in compartments, and decorated with small images, and real or artificial flowers. Images of porcelain seem particularly adapted for this purpose; and the proper decorations are peculiar objects of good taste. In England it is not uncommon to see a splendid silver vase, containing a few oranges, or a salad, placed in the middle of the table, with, perhaps, two smaller vases at either extremity, filled with similar articles, or with bottles of favourite wine. Nothing can be more void of taste, as the contents do not correspond to the richness of the vases, and a statue of clay might as well be mounted on a horse of gold. A bottle of wine, a few oranges, or a salad, can never delight the eyes, the chief intention of the *plateau*, and the vases are only profitable to the silversmith. It was at the marriage of Louis XV. in 1725, that the first *sanded plateaux* appeared at Paris. Desforges,

father of the celebrated author of the *Jealous Wife*, *Tom Jones* at London, &c. introduced artificial verdure with great success. The son was no less remarkable as an actor and dramatic poet, than as the author of the very singular and erotic *Memoirs of his own Life*, in eight small volumes, under the title of *Le Poete, ou Memoires d'un Homme de Lettres*. Little temples were added by Dutofy, who also invented artificial fire-works in miniature, delighting at once the eye and the smell.

The custom of dining without the attendance of servants is warmly recommended by M. Grimod, who justly observes that they throw a constraint over the conversation. He recommends the use of numerous dumb waiters, and that the servants should only bring in the services. The custom of visiting during the dinner, not uncommon at Paris, seems contrary to every rule of true politeness, as it disturbs the guests, and prevents the enjoyment of the repast. But the French talk so much during the dinner, that one would conceive they are anxious not to know what they are eating. The want of carpets in a French dining room forms also, as already mentioned, a great and unhealthy inconvenience.

The hour of invitation is marked in three ways. If it be *a six heures*, it is understood that the dinner will be served at seven; if *six heures précises*, it is half after six; if *six heures très précises*, it is an invitation for six o'clock exactly. The art of arranging the guests, so that the characters and conversation may correspond, is regarded as the height of good breeding.

Amongst

Among the finest wines of France are esteemed Clos-Vougeot, Romanée, Chambertin, S. Georges, Pommard, Volnay, Vosne, Nuits, Beaune, Tonnerre, Mâcon, La Fitte, Château Margot, S. Julien, S. Estephe, Pic-Pouille, Tavel, S. Giles. The white wines are those of Montrachet, Mursault, Pouilly, Chablis, Sillery, Pierry, Ai, Sauterne, Grave, Barsac, Condrieux, Hermitage, Côte-Rotie, Rhenish, Moselle, Bar, &c. The sweet wines served at the desert, are those of Lunel, Frontignan, (which we call Frontiniac) and Rivesaltes, which last is esteemed the best. That of St. Peray, near the Rhone, which the eye cannot distinguish from water, is also excellent. The foreign wines are those of Malaga, Alicante, Xérès (Sherry,) Pacaret. Madeira, Clazomède, Constantia, Calabria, Tokay, Lachrima Christi, Canarie, &c. Nor should that called the wine of Syracuse be omitted. When it is considered that all the French wines have different and peculiar flavours more or less acceptable to the stomach at particular times, and with various aliments, the luxury may be compared with our very homely port wine and claret.

The ordinary wines common at Paris, are often those of Orleans, which rather load the stomach; and those of Lower Burgundy, which are also known under the name of Macon, though they chiefly come from the neighbourhood of Auxerre. These last are often healthy, nourishing, and generous, without being in the least heady. But, at the best tables the ordinary wine is sometimes of a bad quality. The beer at Paris resembles our table beer, but is always in bottles.

There are two kinds, the white and the red, the malt used in the latter being higher dried. What is called double beer, approaches to our strong beer. *Bierre de Mars*, or March beer, is the most esteemed, and advertised at every public-house, though it can seldom be found within. The signs are often singularly improper; one of the best brewers of Paris lives at the Incarnation of the Word, in the street Ourfine.

Great quantities of cyder are brought from Normandy by the Seine, and lodged on the quay of the Louvre, where the venders may be found in a kind of sentry boxes. Another quay on the other side of the town, is often loaded with thousands of barrels of wine, from Auxerre and Orleans. As the Normans do not make good keeping cyder, it is a winter drink at Paris, being always made in the preceding autumn. For the Parisians, who love sweets, it is also mixed with honey, &c. so as to be a corrupt and unwholesome beverage.

The *coup de milieu* is a recent refinement, which has passed from Bourdeaux to Paris. It is thus described by the modern Apicius.

Between the *rôti* and *entremets*, that is, about the middle of dinner, you see at Bourdeaux the door of the dining-room open, and a young girl appear, between the age of eighteen and twenty-two, tall, fair, and well made; with features bespeaking affability. Her sleeves are tacked up to her shoulders; and she holds in one hand a tray of mahogany, replenished with glasses, and in the other a decanter of Jamaica rum, Wormwood wine, or that of Vermouth. This Hebe  
goes

goes round the table filling to each guest, and then retires in silence. [The glass is thought to restore the appetite to its original vigour.]

The French liqueurs form another article of their luxury; and even those of the isles or West Indies are sold at less than one quarter of the price which they bear in London. The variety is also great; but many deservedly refuse this luxury, and even coffee. M. Grimod observes, that "coffee, mixed with milk or cream, forms a common breakfast of nine-tenths of the Parisian females, in spite of the inconveniences, which result from its habitual use; the consequences of which are prejudicial to their health and freshness, and often cause the infidelity of a husband or lover\*." After dinner, and simply prepared with water, coffee is thought to assist the digestion; but many find it on the contrary, heating and prejudicial.

To such a pitch is luxury carried by some, that their cooks regularly take medicines, in order to preserve the fineness of their palate, and of their fauces.

*Fromage*, or cheese, is a lax term at Paris for any substance compressed. Thus a *fromage d'Italie* is a Bologna sausage, a *fromage glacé* is a kind of ice, &c. Animals killed by electricity are found to be singularly tender.

The French have only one term, *confitures*, for pickles and confections. The best preserved fruit at Paris is that of the julian, or green plumb, here called those of queen Claude, but in the time of the re-

volution they were cried through the streets, *prunes de la citoyenne Claude*.

The master and mistress of the house generally sit opposite to each other, at the middle of the table, not as with us, at the head and foot. They can thus converse with all the guests, and see that a proper attention is paid to each. The soup is distributed on the right and left alternately; and if there be few or no ladies, it is passed from hand to hand, so that the nearest are the last served. In some houses glasses of sugar and water are presented two hours after dinner, in order to assist the digestion; but it must be drunk by mouthfuls and slowly, otherwise the intention will be defeated. Three or four hours after dinner, the guests escape one by one, and in silence; for to take leave would be thought as impolite as not to make the ceremonial visit, of tacit acknowledgment, within a week after the dinner. Healths are rarely drunk, but it is usual to clasp the glasses as tokens of intimate good will. Twelfth cake, and the king and queen of the bean now re-appear. On the birth-day of the master the servants often exhibit little fire-works.

The author of the *Almanach des Gourmands* has wisely added a chapter upon indigestion, from which there are not a few sudden deaths at Paris. A beautiful lady died suddenly after a copious breakfast of oysters and new bread. This *Arbiter elegantiarum* advises slow mastication; and he well observes the diversity and caprice of the stomach, which may be very

\* Being regarded as a chief cause of the *fluor albus*, and *gonorrhœa leuigna*, so general at Paris.

strong in some respects, yet weak with regard to certain foods.

According to his decision, a great dinner is composed of four services; 1st. the soups, the *bors-d'œuvres*, *relèves*, and *entrées*; 2d. the roast meats and fallads; 3d. the cold pastry and *entremets*; 4th. the desert.—The superiority of the French cookery is thus visible even in the language; and I know not that any translation has been attempted.

Among the fruits of France the peaches are excellent and cheap. The smooth peach, which we call nectarine is common, and is called *bignolet*; but that called the *teton de Venus*, which ripens towards the end of August, is preferred. The pears are also excellent, especially the *crefanne* and *bon chretien*. The most excellent grape for the desert is what is called the *chaffelas de Fontainbleau*, which over a golden colour presents a rich bloom. The best apples are, the *roinette*, *cabvel*, *api*, &c. In the autumn, 1804, roinettes, weighing more than a pound, and of excellent flavour, were brought from Treffancourt, two leagues from St. Germaine. The chestnuts of Lyons are large and celebrated. Almonds ripen at Paris, and are highly beneficial to the stomach, by diminishing acrimony from bile or other causes. In the form of orgeat they become a febrifuge. Figs and melons, as already observed, never appear at the desert, but accompany the boiled beef.

The Wednesday club consists of lovers of good cheer, who assemble at Le Gacques's, in the garden of the Tuilleries. The perpetual pot of the street Grands-Augustins, is said to have been in activity for

more than a century, and is always well replenished with capons. Green pease are preserved in salt; when boiled they are thrown into cold water, which restores their freshness and colour; they are then warmed with butter and sugar. Sugar also is often used with spinnach.

The best oysters come from Dieppe, Cancale, Marrène, Efretat, and Grandville. Cahors is celebrated for partridges, wine, truffles, eels, cheese, and fine bread; and is thus of singular eminence in Apician geography.

Gluttony is of all ages. A little boy, in the middle of a great repast, having no longer any appetite, began to cry; being asked the cause, "Oh, (says he) I can eat no more;"—"But put some in your pockets."—"Alas, they are full," replied the child. A little girl hearing a conversation, whether gluttony or liquorishness gave the most pleasure, said, "I prefer being liquorish, because it does not take away the appetite." Children, and even women will pocket sweetmeats from the table, while in other countries such a practice would favour of very bad breeding. After eating eggs it is usual to break the shells, a fragment of ancient superstition, as it was thought that witches made use of them to procure shipwrecks.

The bustard, and the cock of the woods, or in French, of the heath, about the size of a peacock, are not unusual in the shops of eatables at Paris. The latter is chiefly from the mountains of Vosges.

So much for the luxury of the table; the luxury of the houses is often extreme, particularly in the *boudoir*. Windows over the fireplace

place were invented for a farmer-general, who was confined by the gout, and wished to enjoy the prospect of his garden. The luxury of equipages is on the increase, but that of beautiful jockies must be passed in silence, though known even by advertisements in the newspapers. The worshippers of Venus, or, as they are here called *amateurs*, may at Paris gratify every taste and caprice with females of all countries

and complexions; moral liberty being complete, and aberrations only reprobated by ridicule, while civil liberty does not find the climate so favourable. Nor must the luxury of the theatres be forgotten, particularly the grand and expensive opera: so that, in this respect, Paris probably rivals ancient Rome, or any other luxurious metropolis, ancient or modern.



## P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1806.By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

**W**HEN ardent zeal for virtuous fame,  
 When virtuous honour's holy flame,  
 Sit on the gen'rous warrior's sword,  
 Weak is the loudest lay the Muse can sing,  
 His deeds of valour to record ;  
 And weak the boldest flight of Fancy's wing:—  
 Far above her high career,  
 Upborne by worth th' immortal chief shall rise,  
 And to the lay-enraptur'd ear  
 Of seraphs, list'ning from th' empyreal sphere,  
 Glory, her hymn divine, shall carol through the skies.

For though the Muse in all unequal strain \*  
 Sung of the wreaths that Albion's warriors bore  
 From ev'ry region and from ev'ry shore,  
 The naval triumphs of her George's reign—  
 Triumphs by many a valiant son  
 From Gaul, Iberia, and Batavia won ;  
 Or by St. Vincent's rocky mound,  
 Or sluggish Texel's shoaly found ;  
 Or Haffnia's † hyperborean wave,  
 Or where Canopus' billows lave  
 Th' Egyptian coast, while Albion's genius guides  
 Her dauntless hero through the fav'ring tides,  
 Where rocks, nor sands, nor tempests' roar,  
 Nor batt'ries thund'ring from the shore,

\* Alluding to a poem called Naucratia, written by the author, and dedicated by permission to his Majesty.

† Copenhagen.

Arrest the fury of his naval war,  
 When Glory shines the leading star;  
 Still higher deeds the lay recording claim,  
 Still rise Britannia's sons to more exalted fame.

The fervid source of heat and light,  
 Descending through the western skies,  
 Though veil'd awhile from mortal sight,  
 Emerging soon with golden beam shall rise,  
 In orient climes with brighter radiance shine,  
 And sow th' ethereal plains with flame divine.  
 So, damp'd by Peace's transient smile,  
 If Britain's glory seem to fade awhile,  
 Yet, when occasion's kindling rays  
 Relumine valour's gen'rous blaze,  
 Higher the radiant flames aspire,  
 And shine with clearer light, and glow with fiercer fire.

From Europe's shores th' insidious train,  
 Eluding Britain's watchful eye,  
 Rapid across th' Atlantic fly  
 To Isles that stud the western main;  
 There proud their conqu'ring banners seem to rise,  
 And fann'd by shadowy triumphs, flout the skies:  
 But, lo! th' avenging Pow'r appears,  
 His victor flag immortal Nelson rears;  
 Swift as the raven's ominous race,  
 Fly the strong eagle o'er th' ethereal space,  
 The Gallic barks the billowy deep divide,  
 Their conquests lost in air, o'erwhelm'd in shame their pride.

The hour of vengeance comes—by Gades' tow'rs,  
 By high Trafalgar's ever-trophied shore,  
 The god-like warrior on the adverse Pow'rs  
 Leads his resistless fleet with daring prore.  
 Terrific as th' electric bolt that flies  
 With fatal shock athwart the thund'ring skies,  
 By the mysterious will of Heaven  
 On man's presuming offspring driven,  
 Full on the scatter'd foe he hurls his fires,  
 Performs the dread behest, and in the flash expires—

But not his fame—While chiefs who bleed  
 For sacred duty's holy meed,  
 With glory's amaranthine wreath,  
 By weeping Victory crown'd in death,  
 In history's awful page shall stand  
 Foremost amid th' heroic band;

Nelson!

Nelson! so long thy hallow'd name  
 Thy country's gratitude shall claim;  
 And while a people's Pæans raise  
 To thee the choral hymn of praise,  
 And while a patriot Monarch's tear  
 Bedews and sanctifies thy bier,  
 Each youth of martial hopes shall feel  
 True valour's animating zeal;  
 With emulative wish thy trophies see,  
 And heroes, yet unborn, shall Britain owe to thee.

ODE *for the* KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

**L**ONG did chill Winter's dreary reign  
 Usurp the promis'd hours of Spring;  
 Long Eurus o'er the ruffet plain  
 Malignant wav'd his noisome wing.  
 O'er April's variegated day  
 The frolic zephyrs fear'd to play;  
 Th' alternate change of suns and showers  
 Call'd not to life her silken flowers;  
 But arm'd with whirlwind, frost, and hail,  
 Winter's ungenial blasts prevail,  
 And check her vernal powers.

But o'er the renovated plain  
 See Maia lead her smiling train  
 Of halcyon hours along:  
 While burst from every echoing grove  
 Loud strains of harmony and love,  
 Preluding to the choral song,  
 Which opening June shall votive pour  
 To hail with proud acclaim our Monarch's natal hour.

Still must that day, to Britain dear,  
 To Britons joy impart;  
 Cloudy or bright, that day shall wear  
 The sunshine of the heart.  
 And as before the fervid ray  
 That genial glows in summer skies,  
 Each cloud that veil'd the beam of day  
 Far from the azure welkin flies:

So may each cheerless mist that seems  
 Awhile to cloud our prospects fair,  
 Dispell'd by Hope's enlivening beams,  
 Our brightening ether fly, and melt away in air.

Awhile though Fortune adverse frown—  
 By timid friends their cause betray'd,  
 With bosom firm and undismay'd,  
 On force depending all their own,  
 A living rampire round their parent Lord,  
 The British warriors grasp th' avenging sword;  
 While youths of royal hope demand the fight,  
 To assert a Monarch and a Father's right.  
 United in one patriot band,  
 From Albion's, Erin's, Caledonia's land,  
 Elate in arms indignant shine  
 The kindred heroes of the Briton line,  
 To whelm invasion 'neath our circling flood,  
 Or stain our verdant fields with Gallia's hostile blood.

*Trafalgar. By C. A. Elton, Esq.*

*What is to come shall come: and in swift time  
 A Prophet of the Truth shalt thou confess me.*

ÆSCHYLUS.

**W**HO is he of Monarch mien,  
 In the mail of warrior seen,  
 Flashing from his ruthless eye  
 Savage faith of victory?  
 Pants his heart with pride elate,  
 Low'rs his brow with gloom of fate:  
 At distance Austria's lances glare,  
 And Russia's fable eagles float in air:  
 Yet hark!—Earth trembled as he trod,  
 And shuddering nations own'd the SCOURGE OF GOD!

Austria! like the lightning's flame  
 Those victorious legions came:  
 Austria! Treachery quell'd thy host,  
 And thy generous hope was lost!  
 Shall the hardy Northern band  
 Shrink beneath that ruffian hand?  
 Still shall the many-fated year  
 Arise in paleness of prophetic fear?  
 Dark instrument of IRE DIVINE,  
 Urge on thy furious course—this hour is thine!

Ha! what livid horrors rise!  
 What stern furies fix thine eyes!  
 Heard'st thou? did the dreadful sound  
 Bid ev'n thy firm heart rebound?  
 As the thunder sullen broke,  
 In that voice th' Eternal spoke:  
 Scarce o'er the long-expectant flood,  
 Thy sails proud-swelling dar'd the strife of blood,  
 Ere the Destroying Angel gave  
 The sign of wrath—and whelm'd them in the wave!

Yes, Blasphemer! thou shalt start,  
 Anguish withering at thy heart:—  
 Be the scene of death display'd  
 In its broadest, blackest shade!  
 Let the troubled waves aspire,  
 Echoing thunder, furg'd in fire!  
 Let the wild tempest's awful breath,  
 The tidings bear of chains, and shame and death!  
 While on Trafalgar's arid strand,  
 Dash'd are the wrecks by an Almighty hand!

Boaster! in thy triumph speed—  
 Bid the fated nations bleed!  
 For to thee awhile is given  
 Thus to wreak the wrath of heaven.—  
 When shall thy unfated spear  
 Turn in promis'd vengeance here?  
 Lo! to thy memory-blasted eyes  
 The conquering cross upon the whirlwind flies;  
 And he that shook the source of Nile,  
 Triumphant greets thee with a dying smile!

Arrogant of hope! beware—  
 Thine is phrenzy—thine despair!  
 Yes, that glorious head is low;  
 But in vain the deadly blow:  
 Yet another shall arise  
 Arm'd with Albion's destinies!  
 When midst the death-shrieks of his foes,  
 The fainted spirit of our NELSON rose;  
 To whom the doom'd revenge is giv'n,  
 On him th' aspiring mantle dropp'd from heav'n!

Nations, that in bondage bow,  
 Lift the head indignant now!  
 Austria! lift thy hope on high,  
 Vengeance smiling in thine eye!

Where the keels of Albion pass'd,  
 Dreadless of the whelming blast;  
 An uttered voice in every wave,  
 In every wind, th' Eternal Fiat gave:  
 "Proud Gaul! on Britain's favour shore  
 Thy baneful star shall set—to rise no more!"

*Sidmouth, Nov.*

*The Eve of St. John. By Walter Scott, Esq.*

*From "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border."*

**T**HE Baron of Smaylho'me rose with day,  
 He spurred his courser on,  
 Without stop or stay, down the rocky way,  
 That leads to Brothertone.

He went not with the bold Buccleuch,  
 His banner broad to rear;  
 He went not 'gainst the English yew,  
 To lift the Scottish spear.

Yet his plate-jack \* was braced, and his helmet was laced,  
 And his vaunt-brace of proof he wore;  
 At his saddle-gerthe was a good steel sperthe,  
 Full ten pound weight and more.

The Baron returned in three days space,  
 And his looks were sad and sour;  
 And weary was his courser's pace,  
 As he reached his rocky tower.

He came not from where Ancram Moor  
 Ran red with English blood;  
 Where the Douglas true, and the bold Buccleuch,  
 'Gainst keen lord Evers stood.

Yet was his helmet hacked and hewed,  
 His aeton pierced and tore;  
 His axe and his dagger with blood embrued,  
 But it was not English gore.

\* The plate-jack is coat armour; the vaunt-brace, or wam-brace, armour for the body; the sperthe, a battle-axe.

He lighted at the Chapellage,  
 He held him close and still ;  
 And he whistled thrice for his little foot-page,  
 His name was English Will.

“ Come thou hither my little foot-page,  
 Come hither to my knee ;  
 Though thou art young, and tender of age,  
 I think thou art true to me.

“ Come, tell me all that thou hast seen,  
 And look thou tell me true !  
 Since I from Smaylho'me tower have been,  
 What did thy lady do ?”

“ My lady, each night, fought the lonely light,  
 That burns on the wild Watch-fold ;  
 For, from height to height, the beacons bright  
 Of the English foemen told.

“ The bittern clamoured from the mofs,  
 The wind blew loud and shrill ;  
 Yet the craggy pathway she did cros,  
 To the eiry beacon hill.

“ I watched her steps, and silent came,  
 Where she sat her on a stone ;  
 No watchman stood by the dreary flame ;  
 It burned all alone.

“ The second night I kept her in fight,  
 Till to the fire she came,  
 And, by Mary's might ! an armed knight  
 Stood by the lonely flame.

“ And many a word that warlike lord  
 Did speak to my lady there ;  
 But the rain fell fast, and loud blew the blast,  
 And I heard not what they were.

“ The third night there the sky was fair,  
 And the mountain blast was still,  
 As again I watched the secret pair,  
 On the lonesome beacon hill.

“ And I heard her name the midnight hour,  
 And name this holy eve ;  
 And say, ‘ Come this night to thy lady's bower ;  
 Ask no bold Baron's leave.

“ ‘ He lifts his spear with bold Buccleuch ;  
His lady is all alone ;  
The door she’ll undo to her knight so true,  
On the eve of good Saint John.’ ”

“ ‘ I cannot come ; I must not come ;  
I dare not come to thee ;  
On the eve of Saint John I must wander alone ;  
In thy bower I may not be.’ ”

“ ‘ Now, out on thee, faint-hearted knight !  
Thou should’st not say me nay ;  
For the eve is sweet, and when lovers meet,  
Is worth the whole summer’s day.’ ”

“ ‘ And I’ll chain the blood-hound, and the warder shall not found,  
And rushes shall be strewed on the stair ;  
So, by the black rood-stone \*, and by holy Saint John,  
I conjure thee, my love, to be there !’ ”

“ ‘ Though the blood-hound be mute, and the rush beneath my foot,  
And the warder his bugle should not blow,  
Yet there sleepeth a priest in the chamber to the east,  
And my foot-step he would know.’ ”

“ ‘ O fear not the priest, who sleepeth to the east !  
For to Dryburgh † the way he has ta’en ;  
And there to say mass, till three days do pass,  
For the soul of a knight that is slayne.’ ”

“ ‘ He turned him around, and grimly he frowned ;  
Then he laughed right scornfully—  
‘ He who says the mass-rite for the soul of that knight,  
May as well say mass for me.’ ”

“ ‘ At the lone midnight hour, when bad spirits have power,  
In thy chamber will I be.’—  
With that he was gone, and my lady left alone,  
And no more did I see.’— ”

\* The black rood of Melrose was a crucifix of black marble, and of superior sanctity.

† Dryburgh Abbey is beautifully situated on the banks of the Tweed. After its dissolution, it became the property of the Halliburtons of Newmains, and is now the seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Buchan. It belonged to the order of Premonstratenses.



Then changed I trow, was that bold Baron's brow,  
 From the dark to the blood-red high ;  
 " Now tell me the mein of the knight thou hast seen,  
 For, by Mary, he shall die ! "

" His arms shone full bright, in the beacon's red light :  
 His plume it was scarlet and blue ;  
 On his shield was a hound, in a silver leash bound,  
 And his crest was a branch of the yew. "

" Thou lieft, thou lieft, thou little foot-page,  
 Loud dost thou lie to me !  
 For that knight is cold, and low laid in the mould,  
 All under the Eildon-tree \* . "

" Yet hear but my word, my noble lord !  
 For I heard her name his name ;  
 And that lady bright, she called the knight,  
 Sir Richard of Coldinghame. "

" The bold Baron's brow then changed, I trow,  
 From high blood-red to pale—  
 The grave is deep and dark—and the corpse is stiff and stark—  
 So I may not truit thy tale.

" Where fair Tweed flows round holy Melrose,  
 And Eildon slopes to the plain,  
 Full three nights ago, by some secret foe,  
 That gay gallant was slain.

" The varying light deceived thy sight,  
 And the wild winds drowned the name ;  
 For the Dryburgh bells ring, and the white monks do sing,  
 For Sir Richard of Coldinghame ! "

He passed the court-gate, and he oped the tower grate,  
 And he mounted the narrow stair,  
 To the bartizan seat, where, with maids that on her wait,  
 He found his lady fair.

\* Eildon is a high hill, terminating in three conical summits, immediately above the town of Melrose, where are the admired ruins of a magnificent monastery. Eildon tree is said to be the spot where Thomas the Rhymer uttered his prophecies.

“ That lady sat in mournful mood ;  
 Looked over hill and vale ;  
 Over Tweed’s fair flood, and Mèrtoun’s \* wood,  
 And all down Tiviotdale.

“ Now hail, now hail, thou lady bright !”  
 “ Now hail, thou Baron true !  
 What news, what news, from Ancram fight ?  
 What news from the bold Buccleuch ?”

“ The Ancram Moor is red with gore,  
 For many a southern fell ;  
 And Buccleuch has charged us, evermore,  
 To watch our beacons well.”

The lady blush’d red, but nothing she said ;  
 Nor added the Baron a word :  
 Then she stepp’d down the stair to her chamber fair,  
 And so did her moody lord.

In sleep the lady mourn’d, and the Baron toss’d and turn’d,  
 And oft to himself he said—  
 “ The worms around him creep, and his bloody grave is deep—  
 It cannot give up the dead !”

It was near the ringing of matin bell,  
 The night was well nigh done,  
 When a heavy sleep on that Baron fell,  
 On the eve of good St. John.

The lady looked through the chamber fair,  
 By the light of a dying flame ;  
 And she was aware of a knight stood there—  
 Sir Richard of Coldinghame !

“ Alas ! away, away !” she cried,  
 “ For the holy Virgin’s sake !”  
 “ Lady, I know who sleeps by thy side ;  
 But, Lady, he will not awake.

“ By Eildon-tree, for long nights three,  
 In bloody grave have I lain ;  
 The mass, and the death-prayer are said for me,  
 But, lady, they are said in vain.

\* Mèrtoun is the beautiful seat of Hugh Scott, Esq. of Harden.

“ By the Baron’s brand, near Tweed’s fair strand,  
Most foully slain I fell;  
And my restless sprite on the beacon’s height,  
For a space is doomed to dwell.

“ At our tryfing-place\*, for a certain space,  
I must wander to and fro;  
But I had not had power to come to thy bower,  
Had’st thou not conjured me so.”

Love mastered fear—her brow she crossed;  
“ How, Richard, hast thou sped?  
And art thou saved, or art thou lost?”—  
The Vision shook his head!

“ Who spilleth life, shall forfeit life;  
So bid thy lord believe:  
That lawless love is guilt above,  
This awful sign receive.”

He laid his left palm on an oaken beam;  
His right upon her hand:  
The lady shrunk, and fainting sunk,  
For it scorched like a fiery brand.

The fable score, of fingers four,  
Remains on that board impressed;  
And for evermore that lady wore  
A covering on her wrist.

There is a Nun in Dryburgh bower,  
Ne’er looks upon the sun:  
There is a Monk in Melrose tower,  
He speaketh word to none.

That Nun, who ne’er beholds the day,  
That Monk, who speaks to none—  
That Nun was Smaylho’me’s Lady gay,  
That Monk the bold Baron.

\* *Tryfing Place*—place of rendezvous.

*The Dying Bard. From Ballads and Lyrical Pieces.*

*By Walter Scott, Esq.*

*The Welsh Tradition bears, that a Bard, on his death Bed, demanded his Harp, and played the Air to which these Verses are adapted, requesting that it might be played at his Funeral.*

*Air—Daffydz Gangwen.*

**D**INAS Emlinn lament; for the moment is nigh  
When mute in the woodlands thine echoes shall die:  
No more by sweet Teivi Cadwallon shall rave,  
And mix his wild notes with the wild dashing wave.

In spring and in autumn thy glories of shade,  
Unhonoured shall flourish, unhonoured shall fade;  
For soon shall be lifeless the eye and the tongue,  
That view'd them with rapture, with rapture that sung.

Thy sons, Dinas Emlinn, may march in their pride,  
And chase the proud Saxon from Prestatyn's side;  
But where is the harp shall give life to their name?  
And where is the bard shall give heroes their fame?

And Oh, Dinas Emlinn! thy daughters so fair,  
Who heave the white bosom, and wave the dark hair!  
What tuneful enthusiast shall worship their eye,  
When half of their charms with Cadwallon shall die.?

Then adieu, silver Teivi! I quit thy loved scene,  
To join the dim choir of the bards who have been;  
With Lewarch, and Meilor, and Merlin the Old,  
And sage Talieffin, high harping to hold.

And adieu, Dinas Emlinn! still green be thy shades,  
Unconquered thy warriors, and matchless thy maids!  
And thou, whose faint warblings my weakness can tell;  
Farewell, my loved harp! my last treasure, farewell!

*The Maid of Toro. From the same.*

O, low shone the sun on the fair lake of Toro,  
 And weak were the whispers that waved the dark wood,  
 All as a fair maiden, bewilder'd in sorrow,  
 Sorely sigh'd to the breezes, and wept to the flood.  
 O fairs! from the mansions of bliss lowly bending;  
 Sweet virgin! who hearest the suppliant's cry;  
 Now grant my petition, in anguish ascending,  
 My Henry restore, or let Eleanor die!"

All distant and faint were the sounds of the battle,  
 With the breezes they rise, with the breezes they fall,  
 Till the shout, and the groan, and the conflict's dread rattle,  
 And the chacer's wild clamour came loading the gale.  
 Breathless she gazed on the woodlands so dreary;  
 Slowly approaching a warrior was seen;  
 Life's ebbing tide marked his footsteps so weary,  
 Cleft was his helmet, and woe was his mien;

"O save thee, fair maid, for our armies are flying!  
 "O save thee, fair maid, for thy guardian is low!  
 "Deadly cold on yon heath thy brave Henry is lying;  
 And fast through the woodland approaches the foe."  
 Scarce could he falter the tidings of sorrow,  
 And scarce could she hear them, benumb'd with despair:  
 And when the sun sunk on the sweet lake of Toro,  
 For ever he set to the brave and the fair.

*Hellvellyn. From the same.*

*In the Spring of 1805, a Young Gentleman of Talents, and of a most amiable Disposition, perished by losing his Way on the Mountain Hellvellyn. His Remains were not discovered till three Months afterwards, when they were found guarded by a faithful Terrier Bitch, his constant Attendant during frequent solitary Rambles through the Wilds of Cumberland and Westmoreland.*

I Climbed the dark brow of the mighty Hellvellyn,  
 Lakes and mountains beneath me gleam'd misty and wide;  
 All was still, save by fits, when the eagle was yelling,  
 And starting around me the echoes replied.  
 On the right, Striden-edge round the Red-tarn was bending,  
 And Catchedicam its left verge was defending,  
 One huge nameless rock in the front was ascending,  
 When I mark'd the sad spot where the wanderer had died.

Dark

Dark green was that spot mid the brown mountain-heather,  
 Where the Pilgrim of Nature lay stretch'd in decay,  
 Like the corpse of an outcast abandoned to weather,  
 Till the mountain-winds wafted the tenantless clay.  
 Nor yet quite deserted; though lonely extended,  
 For, faithful in death, his mute favourite attended,  
 The much-loved remains of his master defended,  
 And chased the hill-fox and the raven away.

How long didst thou think that his silence was slumber;  
 When the wind waved his garment, how oft didst thou start;  
 How many long days and long weeks didst thou number  
 Ere he faded before thee, the friend of thy heart?  
 And, Oh! was it meet, that,—no requiem read o'er him,  
 No mother to weep, and no friend to deplore him,  
 And thou, little guardian, alone stretch'd before him,—  
 Unhonour'd the Pilgrim from life should depart?

When a Prince to the fate of the Peasant has yielded,  
 The tapestry waves dark round the dim-lighted hall;  
 With scutcheons of silver the coffin is shielded,  
 And pages stand mute by the canopied pall:  
 Through the courts, at deep midnight, the torches are gleaming;  
 In the proudly-arch'd chapel the banners are beaming;  
 Far down the long aisle sacred music is streaming,  
 Lamenting a Chief of the People should fall.

But meeter for thee, gentle lover of nature,  
 To lay down thy head like the meek mountain lamb,  
 When, wilder'd, he drops from some cliff huge in stature,  
 And draws his last sob by the side of his dam.  
 And more stately thy couch by this desert lake lying,  
 Thy obsequies sung by the grey plover flying,  
 With one faithful friend but to witness thy dying,  
 In the arms of Hellvellyn and Catchedicam.

*Stanzas. From Epistles, Odes, and other Poems. By Thomas Moore, Esq.*

**A** Beam of tranquillity smil'd in the West,  
 The storms of the morning pursued us no more,  
 And the wave, while it welcom'd the moment of rest,  
 Still heav'd as remembering ills that were o'er!

Serenely my heart took the hue of the hour,  
 Its passions were sleeping, were mute as the dead,  
 And the spirit becalm'd but remember'd their power,  
 As the billow the force of the gale that was fled!

I thought of the days, when to pleasure alone,  
 My heart ever granted a wish or a sigh;  
 When the saddest emotion my bosom had known,  
 Was pity for those who were wiser than I;

I felt, how the pure, intellectual fire  
 In luxury loses its heavenly ray;  
 How soon, in the lavishing cup of desire,  
 The pearl of the soul may be melted away!

And I pray'd of that Spirit who lighted the flame,  
 That pleasure no more might its purity dim,  
 And that sullied but little, or brightly the same,  
 I might give back the gem I had borrow'd from him!

The thought was extatic; I felt as if Heaven  
 Had already the wreath of eternity shewn,  
 As if, passion all chasten'd and error forgiven,  
 My heart had begun to be purely its own!

I look'd to the West, and the beautiful sky,  
 Which morning had clouded, was clouded no more—  
 "Oh! thus," I exclaim'd, can a heavenly eye  
 Shed light on the soul that was darken'd before."

*Ode. From the same.*

THERE's not a look, a word of thine  
 My soul hath e'er forgot;  
 Thou ne'er hast bid a ringlet shine,  
 Nor given thy locks one graceful twine  
 Which I remember not;

There never yet a murmur fell  
 From that beguiling tongue,  
 Which did not, with a lingering spell,  
 Upon my charmed senses dwell,  
 Like something heaven had sung!

Ah! that I could, at once, forget  
 All, all that haunts me so—  
 And yet, thou witching girl!—and yet,  
 To die were sweeter than to let  
 The lov'd remembrance go!

No, if this slighted heart must see  
 Its faithful pulse decay,  
 Oh! let it die, remembering thee,  
 And, like the burnt aroma, be  
 Consum'd in sweets-away!

*Hymn of a Virgin of Delphi, at the Tomb of her Mother.*

*From the same*

**O**H! lost, for ever lost! no more  
 Shall Vesper light our dewy way  
 Along the rocks of Criffa's shore,  
 To hymn the fading fires of day!  
 No more to Tempe's distant vale  
 In holy musings shall we roam,  
 Through summer's glow, and winter's gale,  
 To bear the mystic chaplets home!

'Twas then my soul's expanding zeal,  
 By nature warm'd and led by thee,  
 In every breeze was taught to feel  
 The breathings of a deity!  
 Guide of my heart! to memory true,  
 Thy looks, thy words, are still my own—  
 I see thee raising from the dew,  
 Some laurel, by the wind o'erthrown,  
 And hear thee say, "This humble bough  
 Was planted for a doom divine,  
 And, though it weep in languor now,  
 Shall flourish on the Delphic shrine!  
 "Thus, in the vale of earthly sense,  
 Though sunk awhile the spirit lies,  
 A viewless hand shall cull it thence,  
 To bloom immortal in the skies!"

Thy words had such a melting flow,  
 And spoke of truth so sweetly well,  
 They dropp'd like heaven's sereneest snow,  
 And all was brightness where they fell!



Fond soother of my infant tear !  
 Fond sharer of my infant joy !  
 Is not thy shade still lingering here ?  
 Am I not still thy soul's employ ?  
 And oh ! as oft, at close of day,  
 When meeting on the sacred mount,  
 Our nymphs awak'd the choral lay,  
 And danc'd around Cassotis' fount ;  
 As then 'twas all thy wish and care,  
 That mine should be the simplest mien,  
 My lyre and voice the sweetest there,  
 My foot the lightest o'er the green ;  
 So still, each little grace to mould,  
 Around my form thine eyes are shed,  
 Arranging every snowy fold,  
 And guiding every mazy tread !  
 And, when I lead the hymning choir,  
 Thy spirit still, unseen and free,  
 Hovers between my lip and lyre,  
 And weds them into harmony !  
 Flow, Pliſtus, flow, thy murmuring wave  
 Shall never drop its silvery tear  
 Upon so pure, so blest a grave,  
 To memory so divinely dear !

*The Maid with Bosom Cold. From English Lyrics.*

*By William Smyth.*

**O**F me they cry, I'm often told—  
 " See there the Maid with bosom cold ?  
 Indifference o'er her heart presides,  
 And love and lovers she derides ;  
 Their idle darts, unmeaning chains,  
 Fantastic whims and silly pains :  
 In pride secure, in reason bold,  
 See there the Maid with Bosom Cold."

Ah ! ever be they thus deceiv'd !  
 Still be my bosom cold believ'd,  
 And never may enquiring eyes  
 Pierce thro' unhappy love's disguise :  
 Yet could they all my bosom share,  
 And see each painful tumult there,  
 Ah ! never should I then be told  
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

A fate severe, my suffering mind  
 To endless struggles has consign'd,  
 I feel a flame I must not own,  
 I love, yet every hope is flown;  
 Too strong to let my passion sway,  
 Too weak to teach it to obey,  
 I agonize, and then am told  
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

The joy o'er all my looks express  
 Conceals a bosom ill at rest;  
 To balls and routs I haste away,  
 But only imitate the gay:  
 I jest at love and mock his power,  
 Yet feel his triumph every hour:  
 And lost to every bliss am told  
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

Unable from myself to fly,  
 I catch each word, I read each eye:  
 Antonio comes—I die with fear  
 Lest others mark my faltering air;  
 My eye perhaps too fondly gaz'd,  
 My tongue too much—too little prais'd:  
 Suspicion's trembling slave—I'm told  
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

With anxious toil, with ceaseless care,  
 Content and careless I appear;  
 All mirth beneath another's eye,  
 Alone I heave the helpless sigh,  
 Hang musing o'er his image dear,  
 Feel on my cheek th' unbidden tear,  
 And think, ah! why should I be told  
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold?

The flower may wave its foliage gay,  
 And flaunt it to the garish day,  
 Unseen the while a canker's pow'r  
 May haste its honours to devour;  
 And thus while vainly round me play  
 Youth's zephyr-breath, and pleasure's ray,  
 My fate unknown, my tale untold,  
 Thus sinks the Maid with Bosom Cold.

*Elegy I.—To Wisdom. From the same.*

O WISDOM! not to thee the song of praise  
 I wake triumphant, or the votive strain;  
 My spirit sinks—my strength, my life decays—  
 To thee my heart would sorrow and complain.

Didst thou not win my childhood's giddy years,  
 'Till well the horn-book task, the sacred lay,  
 The tale I learn'd, by others conn'd with tears,  
 And right could spell the column's long array.

'Till 'mid her rosy school the learned dame  
 Call'd me in favour near her wheel to stand;  
 Oft shar'd her sway, as earlier evenings came,  
 And bade me lisping teach her lisping band.

Didst thou not charm my step, with kindest smile,  
 New worlds of growing labour to explore;  
 Teach me on cyphers, cyphers high to pile,  
 Wake my young pride, and lure me to thy lore.

My boyish mind in trance enraptur'd hold  
 'Mid heroes—giants—all, that wondrous seem'd,  
 The hermit sailor and the outlaw bold,  
 While eastern genii thro' my slumbers gleam'd.

And rude I deem'd, and all unfit to please,  
 Each thoughtless pastime of the youthful day;  
 To guide the skiff, and lean along the breeze,  
 The gleaming covey's whirring flight to stay;

With hound and horn to cheer the woodland's side,  
 And catch each bliss to bounding vigour known,  
 Or skim with mimic fly the mountain tide,  
 That silvery eddies round the hoary stone.

E'en 'mid my school-mates on the sunny plain,  
 Oft, when their earnest sports I seem'd to share,  
 How have I learn'd with meditating pain,  
 The morrow's task in secret to prepare.

Didst thou not touch with fire my graver mind,  
 And nature's mysteries promise to unfold;  
 And cheer me while I toil'd to thee resigned,  
 Through all the sage had taught, the scholar told?

Didst thou not whisper dreams of deathless fame,  
Of matchless bliss bestow'd by thee alone ;  
Of grateful ages and the loud acclaim  
Of friends, who in my triumphs felt their own ?—

Oh ! with what rapture, as thy guidance led  
Thro' thy fresh landscapes, did my steps pursue ;  
Bright flowers and prospects fair before me spread,  
And still I onward press'd, still ardent flew.

Why, Wisdom, dimmer glows thy angel form,  
Less beauteous why thy flowers and landscapes all ;  
Less gay thy prospects, and thy skies less warm,  
And why these chilling glooms that round me fall ?

Where is thy bliss —thy fame—thy mysteries where ?  
—Thee while I follow, Time already, see,  
Has touch'd with blighting hand my auburn hair,  
And smiles contemptuous when I point to thee.

—Oh carol as thou goest, thou village hind !  
And whistle, as thou break'st the furrow'd plain ;  
Gay is thy heart, for vacant is thy mind,  
Not thine the thoughts that labouring mourn in vain.

Ye, too, who sport in pleasure's rosy ray,  
Who mock the student, and his griefs despise,  
To me all maniac seem'd your frolics gay ;  
Yet blest your madness, and your folly wife.

Can learning's toil th' Eternal Cause reveal,  
Say, why thus mix'd our virtues and our doom,  
Teach, what the powers within that think and feel,  
Or tell the shuddering secrets of the tomb ?

'These splendid wonders, and these mysteries high,  
Are these for reasoning man too poor a theme ?  
Can helpless nature cast on these her eye,  
And long not, sigh not, for a brighter beam ?

Ye glittering stars, that while to heaven I raise  
My thoughts, in wilder'd musings lost—destroy'd—  
Ye glittering stars, that meet my lonely gaze,  
In careless grandeur scatter'd o'er the void ;

Ye worlds on worlds, that silent and serene,  
Seem nought of trouble or of pain to know ;  
Oh dwells there aught within your distant scene,  
Aught that can think and feel, like man below ?

Ye spirits that secure from earthly woes,  
 Far thro' yon azure realms in rapture speed ;  
 Or soar where full the living glory flows,  
 And hymn at heav'n's high throne th' ecstatic meed ;

By heaven's own influence blest, inform'd, inspir'd,  
 On human reasonings darkened and forlorn,  
 On minds, like mine, by endless mazes tir'd,  
 Oh look ye down in pity or in scorn ?

Eternal Being ; thou that 'midst the blaze  
 Of seraph hosts—what sudden tremors chill ?  
 Oh ! lift not up, my soul, thy venturous gaze,  
 Down—sink into thyself—be mute—be still.

*Elegy II.—To Wisdom. From the same.*

**B**ESIDE this ruffet heath, this forest drear,  
 That strews with yellow leaves the moistened plain ;  
 Here, where the green path winds, ah wisdom ! here,  
 Did once my darling lyre to thee complain.

Soft was the midnight air that sooth'd my frame ;  
 In thought severe had pass'd the studious day ;  
 Cold paus'd the spirits, and th' ethereal flame  
 In dim and languid musings died away.

Calm, silent, all—I seem'd with step forlorn  
 Singly to wander on a desert world ;  
 I started when the bird first hail'd the morn,  
 That wide had now his reddening clouds unfurl'd.

Returning seasons since have pass'd away ;  
 Oft has the spring with violets deck'd the vale,  
 The bee oft humm'd along the summer day,  
 And the lake darken'd in the wintry gale.

In youth's bright morn how boldly on the mind,  
 Rise the wild forms of thought in colours new ;  
 'Tis time, and time alone, whose skill refin'd  
 The picture slowly gives to nature true.

Thee, wisdom, could I chide, thy gifts decry ?  
 Turn from thy bliss by restless ardor fired ?  
 —How like these idle leaves that withered lie,  
 Seem now the fancies that my soul inspired !

Who smile at fortune, and who conquer pain ?  
 Whose is the world in fame's bright visions shewn ?  
 Who wake th' unconscious mind, the barren plain,  
 And wield great nature's strength from reason's throne ?

If thy blest votaries mourn, oh where shall end  
 Man's wayward sorrows, and his wishes blind ;  
 If from thy sacred paths his steps he bend,  
 What rest, what refuge shall his wanderings find ?

Not like the sage my daring mind I wing  
 Aloft to bear the ensigns of thy power ;  
 Yet Wisdom come, and all thy pleasures bring  
 To bless the silence of my lonely hour.

Come, to my chasten'd mind thy realms reveal,  
 (The glimmering path, the thorny maze I leave)  
 Calm realms, where life a modest bliss may steal,  
 Nor reason toil in vain nor hope deceive.

Scare thou the finer dreams that idly please ;  
 Oh let not studious pride its strength abuse,  
 Nor lofty indolence in selfish ease,  
 In passive thought, the golden moments lose.

When roams the mind to worlds in darkness closed,  
 When sinks the humbled heart, and sighs to thee ;  
 Tell thou of manly faith on God reposed,  
 And Hope shall picture what thou can'st not see.

*Advice to a young Lady. By the late Anna Seward.*

*From the Poetical Register for 1806-7.*

CELIA, I read thy melting eye,  
 Thy check'd yet stealing sighs I hear ;  
 See from thy cheeks the roses fly,  
 Or doubly glow when Damon's near.

Ah, not from that seducing glance  
 Too rashly drink the nectar'd bane !  
 Avoid him in the graceful dance,  
 Nor listen to his warbled strain !

It helps not, it avails not *there*,  
Thy beauty's rising power to charm;  
That his pleas'd senses own thee fair  
Is yet thy too-triumphant *harm*.

Ne'er to the sacred marriage shrine  
Thee shall the haughty Damon lead;  
O lost, if still that heart of thine  
On latent, hopeless wishes feed.

Long shall thy love-lit eyes be dim  
If soon thou art not bravely free;  
The dart shall *not* be barb'd for *him*,  
Which surely *shall* be barb'd for *thee*.

Amid the busy scenes of life  
Proud Damon shall thy image lose;  
Forgotten in ambition's strife,  
Eclips'd by grandeur's dazzling views.

While thou supine in lonely shades  
Shalt pale and sullen willows weave,  
Swelling the list of hapless maids  
Who sigh disdain'd, neglected grieve.

O! then in time from future woes  
A shield in resolution seek!  
And twine no more the thorny rose  
'Mid chains thy juster pride should break.

Now, while thou may'st, the charm dissolve  
That lightens but with transient ray,  
Since clouds are gathering to involve  
This shining, faithless *April day*.

*On going to Oxford. From the same.*

**A** DIEU, O ye thoughtless gay train!  
That tread Pleasure's flowery path  
Where Sloth, idly busy, in vain  
Ever seeks fresh enjoyments at Bath:  
Adieu!—That from you I retire,  
No tear shall swell into my eye;  
Nor pining with hopeless desire,  
For your joys shall I heave one fond sigh

Adieu, O ye seats still so loved !  
 Dear scenes of my childhood, adieu !  
 Ye vales too, where happy I roved,  
 Ere the sharpness of sorrow I knew !  
 No more on his willowy shore  
 Avon sees me lone-wandering at eve ;  
 Avon hears me deep-musing no more ;—  
 These meads, and these plains I must leave.

Hark ! Isis now calls me away ;  
 “ Haste ; spurn these soft pleasures,” she cries,  
 “ Oh ! why dost thou fondly delay ?  
 Oh ! why turn so often thine eyes ?  
 Amid the bright circle to shine,  
 Each varying fashion to guide,  
 To warm the fair breast is not thine ;  
 Haste ; spurn these soft pleasures aside.”

“ If yet the green mead can delight ;  
 If Philomel sweetly can sing ;  
 If the distant streams glittering bright  
 Amid the gay landscape of spring,  
 Or the spires, that \* high-bosom'd in trees  
 Reflect the slope sun's golden ray,  
 Have yet aught of beauty to please ;  
 O haste to my banks haste away.

“ Say, where smile the meadows more green ?  
 Where does Philomel warble more sweet ?  
 What stream rolls more pure thro' a scene  
 Where Spring's various treasures so meet ?  
 O say, what can Avon compare  
 To the towers that crown my proud side !  
 Or when did the Muses sport there ?  
 When deign'd Phœbus to bathe in the tide ?

Erewhile thou to Phœbus wast dear,  
 When Itchin was calm'd by thy streams ;  
 And fondly I deemed I should hear  
 Thy pipe echoing shrill through my plains.  
 Go, Corydon, throw that pipe down,  
 Thy lips † now no longer it breathes ;  
 Go, Corydon, pluck off that crown ;  
 Those laurels ill brook pleasure's wreaths.”

\* Bosom'd high in tufted trees. MILTON.

† *ωνείρει τὰσα χεῖλα*. Mosch. Ep. Bion.



Oh Isis! thy taunts are in vain;  
 For other cares tear my sad heart!  
 Nor can Phœbus e'er soothe my fix'd pain;  
 —Ah me! Love but laughs at his art.  
 In vain nature pours o'er the ground  
 Her beauties—no beauties to me:  
 If wherever I roll them around  
 These eyes can no Maryanne see.

F. L.

*Sonnet. Written on the breaking out of the War between Austria and France. From the same.*

**T**HRIE foil'd, once more, O Austria! to the plain  
 Thou lead'st, in arms, thy renovated powers;  
 And, though through clouds the doubtful future lours,  
 Brav'st toil and danger with a high disdain,  
 The nations round, a fallen and trembling train,  
 Wait anxiously, while fear each heart devours,  
 For the dread conflict of the coming hours  
 Shall break, or rivet, Europe's galling chain.  
 String every nerve, bid all thy courage rise;  
 No common ardour must thy soul inflame:  
 Thou hast no safe retreat when Victory flies;  
 No midway path between disgrace and fame:  
 Here, freedom, peace and glory, meet thine eyes;  
 There, slavery, ruin and eternal shame.

1809.

*R. A. Davenport.*

*Sonnet. On the Fall of Saragossa. From the same.*

**P**ROUD conqueror! though o'er the ruin'd wall  
 Of Saragossa thy red banners wave,  
 Though thousands of her sons at duty's call,  
 Have rush'd to find an honourable grave;  
 Yet thou, accurs'd Ambition's restless slave,  
 Check thy mean triumph o'er their glorious fall!  
 How poor and dim thy diadems, O Gaul!  
 To those bright palms that shade the slaughter'd brave.  
 History their patriot valour shall record;  
 And Freedom, bending o'er their sacred tomb,  
 With grateful tears their noble toils reward:  
 While thou, descending to the infernal gloom,  
 To meet the tyrant's and the murderer's doom,  
 Shalt leave a name by earth and heaven abhorr'd!

1809.

*R. A. Davenport.*

\* 3 1 4

*The*

*The Lucky Escape. By Lope de Vega, translated from his Arcadia by Lord Holland.*

*From Lord Holland's Life of Lope de Vega.*

**I**N the green season of my flowering years,  
I liv'd, O love! a captive in thy chains;  
Sang of delusive hopes and idle fears,  
And wept thy follies in my wisest strains:  
Sad sport of time when under thy controul,  
So wild was grown my wit, so blind my soul.

But from the yoke which once my courage tam'd  
I, undeceived, at length have slipp'd my head,  
And in that fun whose rays my soul inflam'd,  
What scraps I rescued at my ease I spread.  
So shall I altars to *Indifference* raise,  
And chaunt without alarm returning freedom's praise.

So on their chains the ransom'd captives dwell;  
So carols one who cured relates his wound;  
So slaves of masters, troops of battle tell,  
As I my cheerful liberty refound.  
Freed, sea and burning fire, from thy controul,  
Prison, wound, war, and tyrant of my soul.

Remain then, faithless friend, thy arts to try  
On such as court alternate joy and pain;  
For me, I dare her very eyes defy,  
I scorn the amorous snare, the pleasing chain,  
That held enthral'd my cheated heart so long,  
And charm'd my erring soul 'unconscious of its wrong.

*Love at First Sight. From the same.*

**L**ET no one say that there is need  
Of time for love to grow;  
Ah no! the love that kills indeed  
Dispatches at a blow.

The spark which but by slow degrees  
Is nurs'd into a flame,  
Is habit, friendship, what you please;  
But love is not its name.

For love to be completely true,  
 It death at fight should deal,  
 Should be the first one ever knew,  
 In short, be that I feel.

To write, to sigh, and to converse,  
 For years to play the fool ;  
 'Tis to put passion out to nurse,  
 And send one's heart to school.

Love, all at once, should from the earth  
 Start up full grown and tall ;  
 If not an Adam at his birth  
 He is no love at all.

*The Grave.*

*From the Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems. By James Montgomery.*

**T**HERE is a calm for those that weep,  
 A rest for weary pilgrims found,  
 They softly lie and sweetly sleep  
 Low in the ground.

The storm that wrecks the wintry sky  
 No more disturbs their deep repose,  
 Than summer evening's latest sigh  
 That shuts the rose.

I long to lay this painful head—  
 And aching heart beneath the soil,  
 To slumber in that dreamless bed  
 From all my toil.

For misery stole me at my birth,  
 And cast me helpless on the wild ;  
 I perish ;—O my Mother Earth !  
 Take home thy child !

On thy dear lap these limbs reclin'd,  
 Shall gently moulder into thee ;  
 Nor leave one wretched trace behind  
 Resembling me.

Hark! a strange sound affrights mine ear;  
 My pulse, my brain runs wild,—I rave;  
 —Ah! who art thou whose voice I hear?  
 —“ I am the GRAVE!

“ The GRAVE, that never spake before,  
 Hath found at length a tongue to chide:  
 O listen!—I will speak no more:—  
 Be silent, pride!

“ Art thou a WRETCH of hope forlorn  
 A victim of consuming care?  
 Is thy distracted conscience torn  
 By fell despair?

“ Do foul misdeeds of former times  
 Wring with remorse thy guilty breast?  
 And ghosts of unforgiven crimes  
 Murder thy rest?

“ Lash'd by the furies of the mind,  
 From wrath and vengeance wouldst thou flee?  
 Ah! think not, hope not, Fool! to find  
 A friend in me.

“ By all the terrors of the tomb,  
 Beyond the power of tongue to tell!  
 By the dread secrets of my womb!  
 By Death and Hell!

“ I charge thee LIVE!—repent and pray;  
 In dust thine infamy deplore;  
 There yet is mercy;—go thy way,  
 And sin no more.

“ Art thou a MOURNER? Hast thou known  
 The joy of innocent delights,  
 Endearing days for ever flown,  
 And tranquil nights?

“ O LIVE!—and deeply cherish still  
 The sweet remembrance of the past:  
 Rely on Heaven's unchanging will  
 For peace at last.

“ Art thou a WANDERER? Hast thou seen  
 O'erwhelming tempests drown thy bark?  
 A shipwreck'd sufferer hast thou been,  
 Misfortune's mark?

“ Though

“ Though long of winds and waves the sport,  
 Condemn'd in wretchedness to roam,  
 LIVE ! thou shalt reach a sheltering port,  
 A quiet home.

“ To FRIENDSHIP didst thou trust thy fame,  
 And was a Friend a deadly foe,  
 Who stole into thy breast, to aim  
 A surer blow ?

“ LIVE ! and repine not o'er his loss,  
 A loss unworthy to be told :  
 Thou hast mistaken fordid dross  
 For Friendship's gold.

“ Seek the true treasure, seldom found,  
 Of power the fiercest griefs to calm,  
 And sooth the bosom's deepest wound  
 With heavenly balm.

“ Did WOMAN's charms thy youth beguile,  
 And did the fair one faithless prove ?  
 Hath she betray'd thee with her smile,  
 And sold thy love ?

“ LIVE ! 'Twas a false bewildering fire :  
 Too often Love's insidious dart  
 Thrills the fond soul with wild desire,  
 But kills the heart.

“ Thou yet shalt know, how sweet, how dear,  
 To gaze on listening Beauty's eye !  
 To ask,—and pause in hope and fear  
 Till she reply.

“ A nobler flame shall warm thy breast,  
 A brighter maiden faithful prove ;  
 Thy youth, thine age shall yet be blest  
 In woman's love.

“ —Whate'er thy lot,—whoe'er thou be,—  
 Confess thy folly, kiss the rod,  
 And in thy chastening sorrows see  
 The hand of God.

“ A bruised

“ A bruised reed he will not break ;  
 Afflictions all his children feel ;  
 He wounds them for his mercy's sake,  
 He wounds to heal !

“ Humbled beneath his mighty hand,  
 Prostrate his Providence adore :  
 'Tis done ! Arise ! He bids thee stand,  
 To fall no more.

“ Now, Traveller in this vale of Tears !  
 To realms of everlasting light,  
 Through Time's dark wilderness of years,  
 Pursue thy flight.

“ There is a calm for those who weep,  
 A rest for weary Pilgrims found ;  
 And while the mouldering ashes sleep  
 Low in the ground ;

“ The Soul of origin divine,  
 God's glorious image freed from clay,  
 In heaven's eternal sphere shall shine,  
 A star of day !

“ The SUN is but a spark of fire,  
 A transient meteor in the sky ;  
 The *Soul*, immortal as its Sire,  
 SHALL NEVER DIE.”

*January 1, 1805. From Poems by the Rev. R. Polwhele.*

**T**HE years that are past, and can never return,  
 In idea I fain would call back ;  
 But how faithless is Memory ! In anger I spurn  
 At her false, her dim-shadowy track.

At length less obscure, my life's morning again  
 Seems to open, with rays of relief—  
 Yet opposed to the present, it gives me new pain ;  
 And my anger is changed into grief !

*On Lawrence Polwhele, who died an Infant, Aug. 10, 1805.*

*From the same.*

**T**HROUGH the long night, my cradled child  
Drew quick his feeble breath ;  
And vainly stretched his quivering arms  
Amidst the shades of death.

The day-star rose : the red breast poured  
A note to dawning day ;  
His spirit, ere the note expired,  
Had passed, serene, away.

And oh ! it left in pale repose  
A smile upon his cheek :  
Thus, through the still cold gloom, I view'd  
The placid morning break.

*Dear Babe !* that warbled strain I hear  
Thy pensive requiem sweet ;  
As lifting up the coffin-lid,  
Those features mild I meet.

And, placed in either lifeless palm,  
And, on thy breast, the flowers  
That fade so fast, and seem to say  
How short thine infant hours.

But thou art spared full many a pang,  
Escaped from sin and care :  
And ever shall a Saviour's love  
Such fainted children share.

“ Hail with affection hail,” (he cries)  
These spotless babes of Grace :  
For lo ! their angels e'er behold  
In Heaven, my Father's face.”

Thither I see the seraph wings  
Earth's little stranger bear—  
Thee, *Lawrence !* child of innocence !  
Thine angel greets thee, there.

*Shooter's Hill. From Wild Flowers, by Robert Bloomfield*

HEALTH! I seek thee!—dost thou love  
 The mountain top or quiet vale,  
 Or deign o'er humbler hills to rove  
 On showery June's dark south-west gale?  
 If so, I'll meet all blasts that blow,  
 With silent step, but not forlorn;  
 Though, goddess, at thy shrine I bow,  
 And woo thee each returning morn.

I seek thee where, with all his might  
 The joyous bird his rapture tells,  
 Amidst the half-excluded light,  
 That gilds the fox-glove's pendant bells;  
 Where, cheerly up this bold hill's side  
 The deepening groves triumphant climb;  
 In groves Delight and Peace abides,  
 And Wisdom marks the lapse of time.

To hide me from the public eye,  
 To keep the throne of Reason clear,  
 Amidst fresh air to breathe or die,  
 I took my staff and wander'd here.  
 Suppressing every sigh that heaves,  
 And coveting no wealth but thee,  
 I nestle in the honied leaves,  
 And hug my stolen liberty.

O'er eastward uplands, gay or rude,  
 Along to Erith's ivied spire,  
 I start, with strength and hope renew'd,  
 And cherish life's rekindling fire.  
 Now measure vales with streaming eyes,  
 Now trace the church-yard's humble names;  
 Or, climb brown heaths, abrupt that rise,  
 And overlook the winding Thames.

I love to mark the floweret's eye,  
 To rest where pebbles form my head,  
 Where shapes and colours scattered lie  
 In varying millions round my head.  
 The soul rejoices when alone,  
 And feels her glorious empire free;  
 Sees God in every shining stone,  
 And revels in variety.



Ah me ! perhaps within my fight  
 Deep in the smiling dales below,  
 Gigantic talents, Heaven's pure light,  
 And all the rays of genius glow.  
 In some lone soul, whom no one sees  
 With *power* and *will* to say " arise,"  
 Or chase away the slow disease,  
 And Want's foul picture from his eyes.

A worthier man by far than I,  
 With more of industry and fire,  
 Shall see fair Virtue's meed pass'd by,  
 Without one spark of fame expire !  
 Bleed not my heart, it will be so,  
 The throb of care was thine full long ;  
 Rise, like the Psalmist from his woe,  
 And pour abroad the joyful song.

Sweet health, I seek thee ! hither bring  
 The balm that softens human ills ;  
 Come, on the long-drawn clouds that fling  
 Their shadow o'er the Surry hills.  
 Yon green-top hills, and far away  
 Where late, as now, I freedom stole,  
 And past one dear delicious day  
 On thy wild banks, romantic Mole.

Aye, there's the scene \* beyond the sweep  
 Of London's congregated cloud,  
 The dark-brow'd wood, the headlong steep,  
 And valley-paths without a crowd !  
 Here, Thames, I watch thy flowing tides,  
 Thy thousand sails am proud to see ;  
 But where the *Mole* all silent glides  
 Dwells Peace—and Peace is wealth to me.

Of Cambrian mountains still I dream,  
 And mouldering vestiges of war ;  
 By time-worn cliff, or classic stream  
 Would rove, but prudence holds a bar.  
 Come then, O health, I'll strive to bound  
 My wishes to this airy stand ;  
 'Tis not for *me* to trace around  
 The wonders of my native land.

\* Boxhill, and the beautiful neighbourhood of Dorking, in Surry.

Yet, the loud torrent's dark retreat,  
 Yet Grampian hills, shall Fancy give,  
 And, towering in her giddy feat,  
 Amidst her own creation live;  
 Live, if thou'lt urge my climbing feet,  
 Give strength of nerve and vigorous breath,  
 If not, with dauntless soul I meet  
 The deep solemnity of death.

This far-seen monumental tower  
 Records the achievements of the brave,  
 And Angria's subjugated power,  
 Who plunder'd on the eastern wave.  
 I would not that such turrets rise  
 To point out where my bones are laid ;  
 Save that some wandering bard might prize  
 The comforts of its broad cool shade.

O vanity ! since thou art decreed  
 Companion of our lives to be,  
 I'll seek the moral songster's meed,  
 An earthly immortality ;  
 Most vain !—O let me, from the past  
 Remembering what to man is given,  
 Lay virtue's broad foundations fast,  
 Whose glorious turrets reach to Heaven.

*Mary's Evening Sigh. From the same.*

**H**OW bright with pearl the western sky !  
 How glorious far and wide,  
 Yon lines of golden clouds that lie  
 So peaceful side by side !  
 Their deepening tints, the arch of light,  
 All eyes with rapture see ;  
 E'en while I sigh I bless the sight  
 That lures my love from me.

Green hill, that shad'st the valley here,  
 Thou bear'st upon thy brow  
 The only wealth to Mary dear,  
 And all she'll ever know.  
 There, in the crimson light I see,  
 Above thy summit rise  
 My Edward's form, he looks to me,  
 A statue in the skies.

Descend,

Descend, my love, the hour is come,  
 Why linger on the hill?  
 The sun hath left my quiet home,  
 But thou canst see him still;  
 Yet why a lonely wanderer stray,  
 Alone the joy pursue?  
 The glories of the closing day  
 Can charm thy Mary too.

Dear Edward, when we stroll'd along  
 Beneath the waving corn,  
 And both confess'd the power of song,  
 And bless'd the dewy morn;  
 Your eye o'erflow'd, "How sweet," you cried,  
 (My presence then could move)  
 "How sweet, with Mary by my side,  
 To gaze, and talk of love."

Thou art not false! that cannot be,  
 Yet I my rivals deem  
 Each woodland charm, the moss, the tree,  
 The silence, and the stream;  
 Whate'er, my love, detains thee now,  
 I'll yet forgive thy stay;  
 But with the morrow's dawn come thou,  
 We'll brush the dews away.

*The Wraith. A Scottish Tale.*

*From Translations chiefly from the Greek Anthology, with Tales and Miscellaneous Poems.*

*The Wraith, according to an ancient superstition, was the spectral appearance of a person yet living, whose approaching death was supposed to be denoted by this preternatural phænomenon.*

COLD was the breeze of opening day  
 And furious fell the driving sleet;  
 Earl William on the banks of Tay,  
 Was riding from his castle seat;  
 On him the shower unheeded beat,  
 Unfelt the chilly morning blew,  
 For she he hop'd at eve to meet  
 Alone possess'd his fancy's view.

While captive on a foreign shore  
 He bow'd before his country's foe,  
 Seven tedious years no tidings bore  
 Of his lov'd Janet's weal or woe;

And now with beating heart, where glow  
 Alternate hopes, and terrors lower,  
 Thro' cutting winds and driving snow  
 He fought his lovely Janet's bower ;

He cross'd the streamlet's pebbly fall  
 Where oft in childhood's happy day,  
 An orphan in his father's hall  
 His lovely maid was wont to stray ;  
 Then by the bank pursued his way,  
 Which Janet once at early morn  
 Would deck with flowers and garlands gay,  
 Now rough with tangled briar and thorn.

And soon the well-known oak he spied  
 (That best lov'd tree of all the shade)  
 Where first his amorous vows he sigh'd,  
 Where first he won his gentle maid ;  
 Thither his steps unbidden stray'd ;  
 —But lightnings had the branches torn,  
 And the bare roots, by storms assay'd,  
 Groan'd to the boisterous breath of morn.

A keener air upon him blew  
 Mix'd with a sound so sad and shrill,  
 As pierc'd his trembling members thro'  
 And made each vein with horror thrill :  
 A dark presage of future ill ;  
 Confusedly passed his fancy o'er,  
 In pauses heard, long, faint, and still,  
 A distant abbey-bell toll'd four.

Then first, as shivering in the breeze  
 He closer wraps his mantle round,  
 Dim through the darken'd air he sees  
 A maid reclin'd upon the ground—  
 The winds unheeded shriek around,  
 Unheeded drive the cutting snows,  
 Thro' her wet locks the sad winds sound,  
 Grief's pallid lines her cheeks disclose.

“ My Janet ! ” William breathless said ;  
 But who can paint his strange despair,  
 When swift from sight the phantom fled,  
 And all he clasp'd was empty air—  
 “ Oh wherefore, wherefore, fliest thou, fair ?  
 Oh dost thou not thy William see ?  
 Or are my cheeks so mark'd with care,  
 My eyes so sunk with slavery ? ”

He looks around with piercing eyes  
 Thro' every woody glade in vain ;  
 He calls aloud—but none replies  
 Save howling winds and beating rain :  
 At length he spurs his horse amain  
 With frantic speed 'mid snow and shower,  
 Thro' brake and briar, o'er hill and plain,  
 Until he stops at Janet's bower.

Who first should fix his eager eye ?  
 Who rush his warm embrace to seek ?  
 Who speechless, breathless, faint with joy,  
 Hide in his breast her glowing cheek ?  
 In vain they both essay to speak ;  
 (Love could no more than feel and see)  
 At last the well-known accents break  
 " Oh William, William, welcome be ! "

" Oh William, such an hour as this  
 Might well reward an age of pain,  
 Yet scarce for all this wonderous bliss  
 Would I last night dream o'er again—  
 What phantoms swarm'd within my brain !  
 What shudderings crept my bosom o'er !  
 As if my soul it's flight had ta'en  
 To some dark, wintry, howling shore.

" Long in a dreary trance I lay  
 (A mass confus'd of horrid thought)  
 Till fancy bore my soul away,  
 And to the scenes of childhood brought ;  
 But when the much-lov'd tree I fought,  
 By William's earliest vows endear'd,  
 The storm it's leafy boughs had caught,  
 A blasted trunk alone appear'd.

" I sat beneath the blasted tree,  
 When, borne upon the tempest's roar,  
 The abbey bell toll'd fullenly  
 Thro' the dim air the hour of four ;  
 Again a deadly trance came o'er,  
 And all my pow'rs of sense were flown,  
 But oh, my William ! tis no more,  
 Thou, thou, art here ! and thou'rt my own ! "

She said—o'er William's heart the while  
 A short convulsive horror stole,  
 But soon his Janet's glowing smile  
 Bursts thro' the clouds that o'er him roll ;

The fragrant feast, the flowing bowl,  
 Her tuneful voice, her tender eye,  
 Soon melt each terror of his soul  
 In visions of felicity.

“ And oh, my lovely maid,” said he,  
 “ As Fate our souls could ne'er divide,  
 So let the early morning see  
 My dearest Jean her William's bride.”  
 The blushing maiden nought replied,  
 But love can no refusal yield,  
 Her silence a consent supplied,  
 And speaking eyes the promise seal'd.

Her William safe, her William near,  
 All care forsook fair Janet's breast,  
 Light was her heart, that knew not fear,  
 And golden slumbers crown'd her rest ;  
 But when no more her presence bless'd  
 His sight, and fill'd his soul with joy,  
 Then mournful fears again oppress'd  
 Her William's hopes with sad alloy.

And if he strove his eyes to close,  
 The night brought forms of ghastly hue,  
 And chilling terror on his brows  
 Had laid her cold hand wet with dew :  
 In vain he strove the hideous crew  
 Of fancies wild to drive away ;  
 In vain to turn his eager view  
 Towards th' expected joys of day.

But ever, while in warmest love  
 His thoughts were fix'd on Janet fair,  
 The form his sickening fancy wove  
 Was wan with woe, and pale with care,  
 And blasted by the morning air,  
 That coldly parch'd her shivering form,  
 Or thro' her wet unbraided hair  
 Shrill whistled midst the howling storm.

All night his feverish bed he prest,  
 Hour after hour pass'd joyless o'er,  
 Till (striking chillness thro' his breast)  
 He heard the well-mark'd sound of four ;  
 He started up—and straight before  
 His eyes, his Janet's form he spied,  
 —But as he gaz'd, she was no more,  
 And in th' increasing morning died.

To Janet's bower the lover sped  
 With hurried step and frantic air,—  
 Before he reach'd his Janet's bed  
 Grim Death had claim'd his portion there!

*To an illiterate Woman. From Sappho.*

UNKNOWN, unheeded, shalt thou die,  
 And no memorial shall proclaim,  
 That once beneath the upper sky  
 Thou hadst a being and a name.

For 'never to the Muse's bowers  
 Didst thou with glowing heart repair,  
 Nor ever intertwine the flowers  
 That Fancy strews unnumber'd there.

Doom'd o'er that dreary realm alone,  
 Shunned by the gentler shades, to go,  
 Nor friend shall soothe, nor parent own  
 The child of sloth, the Muse's foe.

*The Complaint of Danaë. From Simonides.*

WHEN the wind resounding high  
 Blustered from the northern sky,  
 When the waves in stronger tide,  
 Dash'd against the vessel's side,  
 Her care-worn cheek with tears bedew'd,  
 Her sleeping infant Danaë view'd,  
 And trembling still with new alarms  
 Around him cast a mother's arms.  
 "My child! what woes does Danaë weep!  
 But thy young limbs are wrapt in sleep.  
 In that poor nook all sad and dark  
 While lightnings play around our bark,  
 Thy quiet bosom only knows  
 The heavy sigh of deep repose.  
 "The howling wind, the raging sea,  
 No terror can excite in thee;  
 The angry surges wake no care  
 That burst above thy long deep hair,  
 But couldst thou feel what I deplore,  
 Then would I bid thee sleep the more!  
 Sleep on sweet boy, still be the deep!  
 O could I lull my woes to sleep!

Jove, let thy mighty hand o'erthrow  
 The baffled malice of my foe ;  
 And may this child, in future years,  
 Avenge his mother's wrongs and tears."

*From Callistratus.*

**I**N myrtle my sword will I wreath,  
 Like our patriots, the noble and brave,  
 Who devoted the tyrant to death,  
 And to Athens equality gave.

Lov'd Harmodius, thou never shalt die!  
 The poets exultingly tell  
 That thine is the fullness of joy,  
 Where Achilles and Diomed dwell.

In myrtle my sword will I wreath,  
 Like our patriots, the noble and brave,  
 Who devoted Hipparchus to death,  
 And buried his pride in the grave.

At the altar the tyrant they seiz'd,  
 While Minerva he vainly implor'd.  
 And the goddess of wisdom was pleas'd  
 With the victim of Liberty's sword.

May your bliss be immortal on high,  
 Among men as your glory shall be ;  
 Ye doom'd the usurper to die,  
 And bade our dear country be free !

*From Moschus.*

**O**'ER the smooth main where scarce a zephyr blows  
 To break the dark-blue ocean's deep repose,  
 I seek the calmness of the breathing shore,  
 Delighted with the fields and woods no more.  
 But when, white-foaming, heave the deeps on high,  
 Swells the black storm, and mingles sea with sky,  
 Trembling, I fly the wild tempestuous strand,  
 And seek the close recesses of the land.  
 Sweet are the sounds that murmur through the wood:  
 While roaring storms upheave the dangerous flood:  
 Then, if the winds more fiercely howl, they rouse  
 But sweeter music in the pine's tall boughs.



Hard is the life the weary fisher finds  
 Who trusts his floating mansion to the winds,  
 Whose daily food the fickle sea maintains,  
 Unchanging labour, and uncertain gains.  
 Be mine soft sleep, beneath the spreading shade  
 Of some broad leafy plane inglorious laid,  
 Lull'd by a fountain's fall, that murmuring near,  
 Soothes, not alarms, the toil-worn labourer's ear.

*From an uncertain Author. Quoted by Stobæus.*

**O**H think not that with garlands crown'd  
 Inhuman near thy grave we tread,  
 Or blushing roses scatter round  
 To mock the paleness of the dead!

What though we drain the fragrant bowl,  
 In flowers adorn'd, and silken vest,  
 Oh think not brave departed soul,  
 We revel to disturb thy rest!

Feign'd is the pleasure that appears,  
 And false the triumph of our eyes;  
 Our draughts of joy are dashed with tears,  
 Our songs imperfect end in sighs.

We inly mourn;—o'er flowery plains  
 To roam in joyous trance is thine;  
 And pleasures unallied to pains,  
 Unfading sweets, immortal wine.

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1806.

*A Voyage to Cochin China, in the years 1792 and 1793, containing a general view of the valuable productions and the political importance of this flourishing kingdom, &c. &c. To which is annexed an Account of a Journey, made in the years 1801 and 1802, to the residence of the Chief of the Boos-huana nation, being the remotest point in the interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated, &c. &c. By John Barrow, Esq. F. R. S. Author of "Travels in Southern Africa" and "Travels in China," &c.*

THE title page of this work is so worded, though without doubt unintentionally, as to lead the reader to believe that the volume contains more than it really does, with respect to the kingdom which it professes to describe. The voyage was, in reality, not a voyage to Cochin China, which implies that to visit that kingdom was the object of the voyagers; but it was a voyage to China, in the course of which the author touched at a port in Cochin China. This is not a distinction without a difference. In the one case, we expect that the information given

shall be as complete as possible; in the other, we are aware that it cannot be so, because the writer had, of necessity, but scanty means of obtaining it, and little time for scrutinizing evidence. Indeed, this volume is a sort of "thing of shreds and patches." The first 242 pages are filled with a description of the countries seen in the voyage; only 118 are dedicated to Cochin China; and the remaining 77 give an account of a journey in Southern Africa.

These remarks, however, are not made with a view to cavil or depreciate; but merely to prevent the reader from being dissatisfied, when he takes up the book, by the circumstance of not finding in it so much respecting Cochin China, as the title page would, perhaps, lead him to anticipate. At the same time, we must inform him, that in no other work can he find a hundredth part of the information, on this subject, which he will find in the volume of Mr. Barrow. Even that part of the volume which has no connection with the state of Cochin China is valuable. Mr. Barrow is a man of talent and judgment, and, therefore, his remarks, even on frequently-described countries, cannot fail to amuse and

and instruct. The journey to Letakoo furnishes a considerable and welcome addition to our small stock of African geography; and is exceedingly interesting, on more accounts than one. Having premised thus much, we shall proceed to give a brief analysis of the contents of the volume.

The first land that came in sight was Madeira, over which always hangs a cloud, whose elevation is said to be generally regulated "by the course of the Sun; floating at his meridian altitude as a thin fleece on the aerial summit, and descending as he sinks into the western horizon in dense volumes to the skirts of the town, over which it remains suspended during the whole of the night. As the next rising Sun gradually dissipates this heavy vapour, a succession of objects, full at least of novelty to the stranger, and of great variety, is unfolded to the eye." Funchal, the capital, has a picturesque appearance from the sea; but, when entered, becomes an object of disgust; it being meanly and irregularly built, the streets narrow, crooked, insufferably filthy, swarming with hogs, and either vilely paved, or left unpaved, with the ridges of schistose lava breaking through the surface. The population is twelve thousand; that of the whole island about ninety thousand. The defences of the island are neither contemptible nor neglected. The greatest curiosity in Funchal is "a chamber, in one of the wings of the Franciscan convent, the walls and ceiling of which are completely covered with rows of human skulls and human thigh bones, so arranged

that in the obtuse angle made by every pair of the latter, crossing each other obliquely, is placed a skull." They are supposed to amount to at least three thousand. There are also other convents, to which young women are sometimes sent for the purpose of completing their education; but not a single instance of the veil having been taken occurs for many years past. In one instance at least the females of Funchal do not pay much attention to decorum. "It would," says Mr. Barrow, "be unreasonable to expect that the women of this place should exhibit the most perfect models of purity and delicacy; but we were not exactly prepared to observe these hooded matrons and damsels stepping aside, with perfect composure, to the creeks and corners of the streets, and, like Madame Rambouillet, "plucking their roses," in open day, and in full view of every passenger." The monks and clergy are any thing rather than models of religion and propriety of manners. Mr. Barrow doubts, or disbelieves, though we think without sufficient ground, the fact of the island having formerly been covered with wood. Wine, as is well known, is almost the sole exported produce of the island, and the greatest yearly number of pipes he estimates at fifteen thousand. The English merchants usually supply the farmers before-hand with money, to enable them to make a more extensive tillage. The gross revenue of Madeira is calculated at £100,000 per annum, out of which the crown was supposed to receive about £30,000; but Lord Macartney

was assured by the governor that the net sum seldom exceeded eight or ten thousand pounds.

They reached Teneriffe in four days. Santa Cruz, the port, is a tolerably handsome town; but is dull. The same may be said of Laguna, the capital. In the latter town, the jail was found to be by far the liveliest place. Mr. Barrow, in conjunction with some friends, made an effort to reach the summit of the celebrated peak, to the great surprize of the natives, who bestowed on them very liberally the epithet of mad Englishmen. The season was, however, too much advanced, and the party was compelled to return, without accomplishing its object. One of their guides on this excursion was a regular descendant of the Guanches, the original inhabitants of the island. "He was a tall muscular figure, perfectly upright, active and vigorous, though more than sixty years of age, of a fallow complexion, with high cheek bones, nose rather flattened, lips somewhat thick, and long black hair." Mr. Barrow's character of the Guanches merits perusal. "The number still remaining of this race of men is very few, perhaps not more than a dozen on the whole island. The imperfect and partial accounts that have been handed down by their conquerors all agree that they were a bold, generous, faithful, and good humoured people; that they acknowledged one supreme power, to whom they offered on high mountains the most valuable gift they had to bestow, the milk of their sheep and of their goats. They registered events by the changes of the moon. They were

entirely ignorant of the use of iron, and had no other hostile weapons to oppose to the arms of their invaders than sticks and stones, which, however, they are said to have hurled with great force and dexterity. They lived in stone houses, neatly built without the assistance of lime, clay, or any other substitute for mortar. They had a systematic government and a gradation of rank in society; established laws and a regular administration of justice. They led a pastoral life, but were not wholly unacquainted with agriculture. Their flocks were composed of sheep and goats, and they had also plenty of hogs. Their clothing consisted of the skins of goats, sown together with the tendons of the same animal divided into threads. The women wore caps made of these skins, ornamented with small univalve shells, and shoes of the same material. Like the Caffres and the Hottentots they found great amusement in dancing in a ring on moonlight nights, singing, and beating time by clapping their hands and stamping with their feet. Like these people, too, they kindled fire by twirling the point of a small stick upon another with great velocity. They had vessels of clay to contain their milk, in which they also roasted their grain, probably the maize or Guinea corn, though in most of the early voyages it is called barley. The roots of the polypody, dried in the sun and bruised between two stones, were used to thicken their milk; and they had plenty of honey, sweet potatoes, and vetches. The stone pine on the brow of the hills, and the chestnut in the deep glens, furnished

nished them with nuts; the wild olive, the buckthorn, the whortleberry shrub, and the arbutus, with berries; whilst the native fig tree and prickly pear supplied them with fruits. So innocent and unsuspecting of wrong were those happy natives of the *Fortunate Islands*, that they assisted their plunderers to land on their shores. And when the famous robber of those days (for he deserves no better appellation,) *Jean de Betancour*, a Frenchman, formed the project of subduing the Canaries, for the charitable purpose of converting the infidels to Christianity, they laboured at those very fortifications which were the means of reducing them and their offspring to slavery and wretchedness, and finally effected their complete extermination as a people. The descendants of the few who might have blended with the invaders have lost all distinctive features of their origin; and it may be doubted if their mixture with another nation has tended to improve the race."

In their way to Rio de Janeiro, the voyagers put into St. Jago, which was nearly desolated by a drought, and consequent famine, of three years continuance. The entrance into the harbour of Rio is singularly beautiful. "A little island, strongly fortified, just within the entrance, contracts the passage to the width of about three fourths of a mile. Having cleared this channel, one of the most magnificent scenes in nature bursts upon the enraptured eye. Let any one imagine to himself an immense sheet of water running back into the heart of a beautiful country to the distance of about thirty miles, where it is bounded by a screen of lofty

mountains, always majestic, whether their rugged and shapeless summits are tinged with azure and purple, or buried in the clouds.—Let him imagine this sheet of water gradually to expand, from the narrow portal through which it communicates with the sea, to the width of twelve or fourteen miles, to be every where studded with innumerable little islands, scattered over its surface in every diversity of shape, and exhibiting every variety of tint that an exuberant and incessant agitation is capable of affording. Let him conceive the shores of these islands to be so fringed with fragrant and beautiful shrubs, not planted by man, but scattered by the easy and liberal hand of nature, as completely to be concealed in their verdant covering.—Let him figure to himself this beautiful sheet of water, with its numerous islands, to be encompassed on every side by hills of a moderate height, rising in gradual succession above each other, all profusely clad in lively green, and crowned with groupes of the noblest trees, while the shores are indented with numberless inlets, shooting their arms across the most delightful vallies, to meet the murmuring rills, and bear the waters into the vast and common reservoir of all.—In short, let him imagine to himself a succession of Mount Edgemoor to be continued along the shores of a magnificent lake, not less in circuit than a hundred miles; and having placed these in a climate where spring for ever resides, in all the glow of youthful vigour, he will still possess only a very imperfect idea of the magnificent scenery displayed within the capacious harbour of

Rio

Rio de Janeiro; which, as an harbour, whether it be considered in the light of affording security and convenience for shipping, for its locality of position, or fertility of the adjacent country, may justly be ranked among the first of naval stations."

The city of Rio, or St. Sebastian, "the capital of the Brazils, is charmingly situated on a projecting quadrangular promontory of an irregular form, three of whose sides are opposed to the harbour, and the fourth sheltered from the prevailing westerly blasts by a screen of high hills well covered with wood. The side of the town, which is next that part of the harbour where the shipping usually lie at anchor, is nearly a mile and half in length; and the depth inwards about three fourths of a mile. The northern angle of the promontory is a bold broken eminence, on the one point of which there is a regular fortification, and on the other a convent of Benedictine monks, which, being also surrounded with lines of defence, is actually as well as metaphorically a church militant. These heights completely command the town and the anchorage; and they appear to command also, at least they are on a level with, the strongest work in the harbour, on which the defence of the place is thought principally to depend. This is the *Ilha dos Cobras*, or Snake Island, a rock about eighty feet high, at the point on which the citadel stands, and slanting to eight at the opposite end; its length is three hundred yards; and it is detached by a narrow but very deep channel from the eminence on which the Benedictine Convent is situated. Round every

side of this strongly fortified island, and close to its shores, ships of the greatest draught of water may lie in perfect security. Here also are a commodious dock yard, an arsenal of naval stores, a sheer hulk, and a wharf for heaving down and careening shipping. The largest fleets, however, may anchor in this capacious harbour, entirely out of the reach of any of the guns that are mounted on the forts."

St. Sebastian is tolerably laid out and built; and is said to contain a population of at least sixty thousand souls. The climate is good; but the place is rendered disgusting to strangers, by swarms of vermin and insects, among which are musquitoes, scorpions, centipedes, and scolopendras. These swarms are caused less by the heat than by the filthiness of the people, who are dirty, both in their houses and their persons. The state of literature and intellect may be judged, from the circumstance of St. Sebastian having only two booksellers shops; and of those two the stock is nearly worthless. "Many old volumes on medicine and alchemy, still more on church history and theological disputations, some few on the exploits of the house of Braganza, swelled their catalogues; nothing that related to the country was to be found. This portion of South America, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, had scarcely supplied from the pen of the Portuguese a single page of natural history, economics, or statics, beyond what appears in the general accounts of the conquest of the Brazils." Of the clergy and the nuns little that is favourable can be said. There seems to be among

among them an abundance of superstition, and nothing of real religion or morality. The nuns are charged with incontinence by their own countrymen; and "the greater part of the time of the priests and monks" is said to be "employed in luxury and indolence, or in meddling with the private concerns and domestic arrangements of every family, and in bearing about from one house to another the little tales of scandal that are afloat." The state of society is not such as can afford pleasure to a cultivated mind. The inhabitants are "very indolent, very jealous of each other, and very superstitious. The day is divided between sleep and ceremony, and mutual distrust is but ill suited for the pleasures of social intercourse."

The neighbourhood of St. Sebastian's is as yet very imperfectly cleared. "From the outlets of the town," says Mr. Barrow, "none of the roads, admitting of wheel carriages, are carried beyond ten miles; in our present excursion (to the vale of Tejeuca,) we were obliged to alight at the end of about six, where horses were prepared for the further prosecution of our journey. We presently entered a large forest, in passing through which we were frequently obliged to dismount, in order to scramble over huge trunks of trees, that had fallen across the path, where they were suffered to lie and rot without molestation."

A chapter is devoted, by Mr. Barrow, to general observations on the Brazils. As soon as the country was discovered, it was deemed proper, by the Portuguese, to convert the natives to Christianity;

and the settlers, whose doctrines and example were to assist in accomplishing this desirable purpose, were "all persons convicted of crimes not immediately punishable with death, all such as were accused of witchcraft and heresy, all kinds of vagrants who had no ostensible means of gaining their subsistence, all persons who were in any way obnoxious to the church, but particularly such of the Jewish and Mahometan persuasions as were not in circumstances to pay for protection against persecution; in short all those, whom at any time it was deemed expedient to get rid of, were banished to the Brazils."

The natives were still further conciliated and enlightened, by "the laudable design, (of one of the Governors) of reducing some of them to the condition of slavery, and of compelling others to cultivate the ground on such terms as he should prescribe." The result of this benevolent plan was an insurrection, by which the settlers would have been annihilated, had not the blow been warded off by the Jesuits, whose persuasive and winning conduct had gained the esteem of the natives. Confidence was, however, entirely destroyed; and the Brazilians have never since been induced to put the slightest trust in their European invaders. "Their antipathy to the Portuguese is so great, that the viceroy is not able, without some difficulty, to keep up an establishment of twelve rowers of the state barge. These were the only real natives we had an opportunity of seeing during our stay of three weeks. Their features were not much different from those of the Malays, Tartars and Chinese. Their stature

ture was short. They appeared to be of a grave and serious disposition, seldom speaking to each other, and indicating an aversion to communicate with strangers. They had long black hair, and the beard was visible only on the upper lip and under the chin. Those who engage in this service are said to be so much detested by their countrymen, as to prevent them from ever returning to their horde, apprehensive that if once in their possession they would certainly be put to death."

As the natives could not be reduced to bondage, the Portuguese resorted to the detestable traffic in negro slaves, for a supply of labourers. Twenty thousand on an average are annually imported, and this number is, on good grounds, believed to be the annual destruction! Yet the slaves even here are not so horribly situated as in the West Indies. "The master expects from the slave a certain quantity of labour in the week, which is calculated to be sufficient to employ four days of moderate application: the other two are for himself; but out of the proceeds of the labour of these two days he must clothe and feed himself for the whole week. By such a system the lash of the whip is unnecessary; the master is at no expence beyond the first cost, which is about twenty pounds; and the slave, by the surplus produce of the labour bestowed on his own account, is frequently enabled to lay by a sufficient sum to purchase his freedom." In another place Mr. Barrow adds, "the slave of the Brazils has many advantages over the slave of the West India islands. The climate of the former is infinitely superior

to that of the latter, and the seasons of planting and of reaping are of longer duration. The owner of a sugar plantation in the West Indies has but a short period allowed him during the rains to get his canes into the ground. Equally short is the season of reaping them. If the canes are not cut down when fully ripe, the juice evaporates and they turn to wood; if they are cut down and not immediately pressed, the juice begins to ferment, and is fit only to be converted by distillation into rum. At these seasons, therefore, and particularly in the latter, every hand that can work, however feebly, is of importance to the planter; and the urgent demand for labour sometimes makes him wholly insensible to acts of inhumanity, which, perhaps, at other times, might appear to him in their true light, and as odious and atrocious in the extreme. This is not the case in the Brazils. The season of planting, on account of the longer continuance of rain, is at least two months longer here than in the West Indies; and the gradual ripening of the plants protracted in the same proportion. It is not therefore found to be necessary here as is the case in our colonies, to drive the slaves to work with the crack or the lash of the whip, or to regulate the stroke of the bill or the hoe by the measure of a forced song." The kind of apology for the planters, which seems to be implied in some parts of the last quotation, renders it necessary to say that Mr. Barrow is not an advocate of negro slavery.

The natural riches of the Brazils are immense. The forests supply an inexhaustible store of the finest timber for ship building; the

black



black whale and the spermaceti are plentiful on every part of the coast; the mines afford gold and diamonds; the land is capable of producing in abundance all kinds of European and tropical grains, tobacco, pepper, coffee, indigo, dye woods, and medicinal plants; and cattle are so numerous that at Rio an ox costs only twenty shillings, and in the interior not more than from five to ten. But all these benefits of nature are in great part rendered useless, by royal monopolies, restrictions, and prohibitions. There is scarcely an article of any value which is not an object of royal monopoly. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, the colonists, by means of a clandestine trade, draw from the English, Americans, and Spaniards, a yearly sum of hardly less than a million; four hundred thousand pounds of which is expended in the purchase of slaves. Dissatisfaction is prevalent; and Mr. Barrow believes that a man of skill, spirit, and reputation, might easily have spurred on the people of Brazil to a declaration of independence. What change has since been produced in their minds, by the presence of the Prince Regent, remains to be learned. To shift the seat of Portuguese empire, from Europe to South America, is a measure which, when he wrote, Mr. Barrow considered as one that could not fail to be highly beneficial.

In their passage from the Brazils to Batavia, Mr. Barrow intended to explore the principal island of that groupe which bears the name of *Tristan da Cunha*; but he was prevented, by the ship being driven from her anchorage in a gale of wind. It is about ten or twelve

miles in circumference, and evidently of volcanic formation. Except in one spot, which affords an easy landing, and where good water is to be found, the island rises out of the sea, almost perpendicularly, to the height of a thousand feet, like an old gigantic wall. Mr. Barrow suggests the idea of settling this island, and making it a Saint Helena, for outward bound India ships. These islands have since been taken possession of by Jonathan Lambert, an American mariner, of Salem, in the state of Massachusetts, who has christened them the islands of Refreshment, and claims them, in absolute sovereignty, for himself and his heirs.

On the first of February, the two islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam came in sight, and the voyagers anchored off the latter. These islands also owe their origin to subterranean fires, rise abruptly from the sea, and are interesting objects to a geologist. "I dare say," writes Mr. Barrow, "if Dr. Hutton and Mr. Kirwan could examine the island of Amsterdam, they would each of them produce it as an admirable elucidation, one of the Plutonic and the other of the Neptunian theory; for the materials have evidently undergone complete fusion, and they are laid in regular and horizontal strata." Amsterdam island abounds with swamps and stagnant pools of hot water, and with thermal springs, some of which are at the boiling point. A fine delicate moss, blended with a species of *Lycopodium*, and another of *Mercurialis*, was discovered, in several places, growing in a kind of hot paste, whose temperature, at eight or ten inches below the surface,

was

was as high as 186 degrees. Fish and birds abound; plants are not quite so numerous; and it is curious, that the greater part of the plants are the produce of Europe.

It is not, however, by her most violent means that nature now accomplishes her greatest works. It is seldom that the tremendous struggles of a volcano bring new lands to light, and even then the magnitude of the territory produced is trifling. But, throughout the vast expanse of almost every part of the Eastern and Pacific Oceans lying between the tropics, immense reefs, and innumerable islands, are hourly forming by the silent and seemingly insignificant labours of that order of marine worms which Linnæus has arranged under the name of Zoophyta. Soon after these islands reach the surface, they acquire a coat of soil, and are speedily covered with verdure, and even with large trees. This process is incessantly carrying on, and it seems probable that, in the course of a few centuries, it will effect a wonderful change in the face of that quarter of the globe.

In their way to Batavia, through the straits of Sunda, the voyagers passed the almost endless chain of verdant isles, which bears the name of *The Thousand Islands*, and has been created by the labours of those puny architects, the Zoophytes. The ground plan of Batavia "is in the shape of a parallelogram, whose length from north to south is 4200 feet, and breadth 3000 feet. The streets are laid out in straight lines, and cross each other at right angles. Each street has its canal in the middle, cased with stone walls, which rise into a

low parapet on the two margins. At the distance of six feet from this parapet wall is a row of evergreen trees, under the shade of which, on this intermediate space, are erected little open pavillions of wood, surrounded with seats, where the Dutch part of the inhabitants smoke their pipes and drink their beer in the cool of the evening. Beyond the trees is a gravelled road from thirty to sixty feet in width, terminated also on the opposite side by a second row of evergreens." The number of houses is 5270, and the city, and a circle of ten miles round it, contain a population of 116,000 souls.

Batavia is well known to be the very den and head quarters of pestilence. "Of persons newly arrived the usual calculation is that three in five will die the first year; and of the remaining survivors, the mortality is never considered to be less than from nine to twelve in the hundred, which is the usual proportion of seasoned Europeans, exclusive of infants. Among these likewise are not included either troops or seamen. The havock which this pernicious climate, added to their debaucheries and irregular conduct, occasions among these thoughtless people, is truly deplorable. The register of deaths in the military hospital in 62 years, amounted to 78,000 persons, or 1258 every year; and as the establishment of European troops seldom exceeded 1500, and was generally less than half that number, it may fairly be concluded that every soldier who has been sent out to Batavia has perished there, which is I believe literally the fact."

The description alone of the city would

would enable us to account in a great degree, for this horrible mortality. Under a burning climate, the Dutch wisely chose to preserve all the peculiarities of the cities of their native country. Built in a swampy plain, and intersected with numerous stagnant ditches, which are filled with filth, and shut in from the gale by double rows of trees; while the dead are buried within the walls and even in the churches, and the gross and gluttonous manner of living of the Dutch is sufficient of itself to generate disease; it is no wonder that Batavia should be proverbially fatal to human life. "It is," exclaimed a Dutchman, "an accursed country, to say the best of it, where we eat poison and drink pestilence at every meal."

As far as regards eating and drinking pestilence and poison, the Dutch certainly make the meat which they feed on. No course of life can be conceived worse than theirs for such a climate. On their feasts and entertainments, and on the state of Batavian society, Mr. Barrow gives some entertaining details; as he likewise does with respect to the various races which compose the population of the island.

Among the numerous vegetable productions, some of them eminently beautiful, with which Java abounds, none is more curious than the *Nepenthes Distillatoria* or pitcher plant. "There is not, perhaps, among the numerous examples that occur of the provident economy of nature, in the vegetable part of the creation, a more remarkable instance of contrivance adapted to circumstances, of means suited to the end, than what is evidently

displayed in this wonderful plant. Being the inhabitant of a tropical climate, and found on the most stony and arid situations, nature has furnished it with the means of an ample supply of moisture, without which it would have withered and perished. To the foot-stalk of each leaf, and near the base, is attached a small bag, shaped like a pitcher, of the same consistence and colour of the leaf in the early stage of its growth, but changing with age to a reddish purple; it is girt round with an oblique band or hoop, and covered with a lid neatly fitted, and moveable on a kind of hinge or strong fibre which, passing over the handle, connects the vessel with the leaf. By the contraction of this fibre, the lid is drawn open whenever the weather is showery, or dews fall, which would appear to be just the contrary of what happens in nature, though the contraction probably is occasioned by the hot and dry atmosphere, and the expansion of the fibre does not take place till the moisture has fallen and saturated the pitcher. When this is the case the cover falls down, and it closes so firmly, as to prevent any evaporation from taking place. The water, being gradually absorbed through the handle into the foot-stalk, gives vigour to the leaf and sustenance to the plant. As soon as the pitchers are exhausted, the lids again open to admit whatever moisture may fall; and when the plant has produced its seed, and the dry season fairly sets in, it withers, with all the covers of the pitchers standing open."

From Batavia the voyagers steered to the coast of Cochin China; and here Mr. Barrow be-

gins to tread upon ground hitherto nearly unexplored. Such has been the nothingness of the information obtained by Europeans, respecting this part of Asia, which contains at least twenty millions of people, and from three to four hundred thousand square miles, that Mr. Pinkerton, our latest general geographer, dispatches his account of the whole in three contemptuous lines. "The kingdoms of Laos, Cambodia, Siampa, Cochin China, and Tungquin," says he, "are countries unimportant in themselves, and concerning which the materials are imperfect." Mr. Barrow, however, has proved that Mr. Pinkerton is completely in error, as to the unimportance of these countries; and has given a brief sketch, which we shall extract, of their limits and divisions.

"The extensive empire of China terminates, on the south, at the twenty second degree of latitude; but a tongue of land connected with it continues on its western side as far as to the ninth parallel of northern latitude. This prolongation of thirteen degrees in extent has a ridge of high mountains which, running down the middle from north to south, divides the Birman empire, on the west, from the kingdoms of *Tungquin*, *Cochin China*, *Tsiompa*, and *Cambodia*, on the east. These names, thus usually marked on our charts, are, however, utterly unknown to the natives, except *Tungquin*. The other three collectively are called *An-nan*, and are distinguished by three grand divisions. The first, contained between the southernmost point which forms the extremity of the gulph of Siam, and which

lies in about the ninth degree of latitude, as far as to the twelfth degree, is called *Don-nai*; the second, extending from hence to the fifteenth degree, *Chang*; and the third, between this and the seventeenth degree, where the kingdom of *Tungquin* commences, is called *Hué*. On the sea coast of all these divisions are safe and commodious harbours. The great river of *Don-nai*, (*Cambodia* of the charts) is described as navigable by ships of the largest size to the distance of forty miles up the country, where the city of *Saigong* is situated, having a capacious and commodious port, and an extensive naval arsenal. An English gentleman, who sailed up this river in a large Portugueze vessel, on his passage from China to India, represented it to me as one of the grandest scenes that could be imagined. It has several large branches, but the width of that up which they sailed seldom exceeded two miles, and in many places was less than one; but the water was so deep in every part, that the rigging of their vessel was sometimes entangled in the branches of the stately forest trees which shaded its banks, and her sides frequently grazed against the verdant shores.

"In the division of *Chang*, in latitude  $13^{\circ} 50'$  N. is *Chin-cheu* bay and harbour; the latter spacious and completely sheltered from all winds, but only accessible by large vessels at high water, on account of a bar that runs across the narrow entrance or gullet between it and the outer bay. At the head of this harbour is situated the city of *Quin-nong*.

"The principal city in the division

division of *Hué*, which bears the same name is situated on the banks of a large river navigable by ships of considerable burthen; but a bar of sand runs across the mouth. A little to the southward of this river is the bay of *Han-san*, or, as it is usually marked in the charts, *Turon*, which, for the security and convenience it affords, is equalled by few in the eastern world, and certainly surpassed by none. It is situated in latitude  $16^{\circ} 7' N$ . It was for this bay that we shaped our course from Pulo Condore, and we arrived before it on the 24th of May."

The sketch which Mr. Barrow gives of the events in Cochin China is exceedingly interesting. It introduces to our view a sovereign, such as is seldom seen in oriental governments, and who would do honour to any age or nation. It appears that, in the year 1774, *Caung-shung*, the king, was driven from the throne by a sudden and overwhelming rebellion, excited by three brothers; one of whom was a merchant, the second a general, and the third a priest. *Caung-shung*, with a great part of his family was put to death; but by the assistance of *Adran*, a French missionary, who was labouring to convert the Cochin Chinese, the queen, one of the princes, with his wife and infant son, and a sister, effected their escape to a forest, where they lay concealed for several months, receiving their daily sustenance from the hands of a Christian priest named Paul, who conveyed it to them at the risk of his life. In the mean time, the three rebel brothers divided the spoil. *Yin-yac*, the merchant, had the two divisions of *Chang* and *Don-nai*,

*Long-niang*, the general, who assumed the name of *Quang-tung*, had the division of *Hué*, to which, by the sword and well managed fraud, he subsequently added the kingdom of *Tung-quin*, and the youngest brother was made high priest of all Cochin China.

As soon as the search for them was over, the young prince and his relatives made the best of their way to *Sai-gong*, where they were received with enthusiasm, and the prince was crowned, by the name of his deceased father *Caung-shung*. He was soon, however, compelled to abandon his newly acquired territory, and to take refuge in the solitary island of *Pulo Wai*, whence he removed to Siam, to the monarch of which he performed the most eminent services, as general against the Birmans. But his services could not ensure his safety. Intrigues were carried on against his life, and he found it necessary once more to fly to *Pulo Wai*, with about fifteen hundred Cochin Chinese, who had followed his fortunes. *Adran*, meanwhile, had been employed in fomenting the sentiments of the people of the southern division of Cochin China, and had learned that they were still favourable to the legitimate sovereign. In this situation of affairs, he resolved to make a voyage to France, in order to obtain aid from Lewis the sixteenth, to reinstate *Caung-shung* on the throne. He succeeded in his object, and concluded a treaty, by which France, in return for the succour afforded by her in men, arms, and money, was to obtain the cession of the peninsula of *Turon*, and many other advantages, which would ultimately have enabled her to render pro-

blematical the safety, or at least the tranquillity of the British dominions in India. But the shameful conduct of Conway, the governor of Pondicherry, prevented this treaty from being carried into effect. Adran, who had been promoted to the episcopal see, under the title of bishop of Cochin China, nevertheless, set sail, to join Caung-shung, with such trifling supplies of arms and ammunition, as he could procure by his own exertions. For two years after Adran's departure for France, the exiled sovereign remained on the island of *Pulo Wai*, where he and his followers were reduced to live on roots. During all this period the two usurpers were engaged in perpetual and deadly quarrels with each other, by which they were so much weakened, that Caung-shung, who was loudly called for by his subjects in *Don-nai*, once more landed, and made himself master of *Sai-gong*, at which place he was joined by Adran, in the year 1790. From that epoch his affairs continued in a state of progressive amendment. By 1793 he obtained full possession of *Don-nai*; in 1796 he recovered *Chang*; shortly after this he reduced *Hué*; and in 1800 he was busied in preparing against *Tung-quin* a formidable armament, which is believed to have been successful. In the year 1800 his land and sea forces amounted to 140,000 men, of which the military consisted of 113,000, nearly one fourth of them trained in the European manner.

The character of Caung-shung is thus summed up by Mr. Barrow. "From the year 1790, in which *Caung-shung* returned to Cochin China, to 1800, he was allowed to

enjoy only two years of peace, 1797 and 1798: and these two years were, in all probability, the most important of his hitherto troublesome reign. Under the auspices of the bishop Adran, who in every important undertaking was his oracle, he turned his attention to the improvement of his country. He established a manufactory of salt petre in *Fen-tan*, (*Tsiompa* of the charts,) opened roads of communication between important posts and considerable towns, and planted them on each side with trees for shade. He encouraged the cultivation of the areca nut and the betel pepper, the plantations of which had been destroyed by the army of the usurper. He held out rewards for the propagation of the silk worm; caused large tracts of land to be prepared for the cultivation of the sugar cane; and established manufactories for the preparation of pitch, tar, and resin. He caused several thousand matchlocks to be fabricated; he opened a mine of iron ore, and constructed smelting furnaces. He distributed his land forces into regular regiments, and established military schools, where officers were instructed in the doctrine of projectiles and gunnery by European masters. Adran had translated into the Chinese language, a system of military tactics, for the use of his army. In the course of these two years he constructed at least 300 large gun boats or row galleys, five luggers, and a frigate on the model of an European vessel. He caused a system of naval tactics to be introduced, and had his naval officers instructed in the use of signals. One of the English gentlemen, whom

whom I mentioned to have been at *Sai-gong* in the year 1800, saw a fleet of ships consisting of 1200 sail, under the immediate command of this prince, weigh their anchors, and drop down the river in the highest order, in three separate divisions, forming into lines of battle, in close and open order, and going through a variety of manœuvres by signals as they proceeded along.

“ During this interval of peace he likewise undertook to reform the system of jurisprudence, in which he was no doubt very ably assisted by the bishop. He abolished several species of torture, which the laws of the country had hitherto prescribed; and he mitigated punishments that appeared to be disproportionate to the crimes of which they were the consequence. He established public schools, to which parents were compelled to send their children at the age of four years, under certain pains and penalties. He drew up a system of rules and regulations for the commercial interests of his kingdom; caused bridges to be built over rivers; buoys and sea marks to be laid down in all the dangerous parts of the coast; and surveys to be made of the principal bays and harbours. He sent missions into the mountainous districts on the west of his kingdom, inhabited by the *Laos* and the *Miaot-sé*, barbarous nations whom he wished to bring into a state of civilization and good government. These mountaineers are the people whom the Chinese designate by the degrading appellation of ‘men with tails,’ though, in all probability, they are the regular descendants of the true original inhabitants of

this long civilized empire. In short, this monarch, by his own indefatigable application to the arts and manufactures, like Peter of Russia without his brutality, aroused by his individual example the energies of his people, and, like our immortal Alfred, spared no pains to regenerate his country. His activity and exertions will readily be conceived from the circumstance of his having, in less than ten years, from a single vessel, accumulated a fleet of twelve hundred ships, of which three were of European construction; about twenty were large junks, similar to those of China, but completely manned and armed; and the rest were large gun vessels and transports.

“ *Caung-sbung* is represented to be in the strictest sense of the word, a complete soldier. He is said to hold the name of general far more dear and estimable than that of sovereign. He is described as being brave without rashness; and fertile in expedients when difficulties are to be surmounted. His conceptions are generally just; his conduct firm; he is neither discouraged by difficulties, nor turned aside by obstacles. Cautious in deciding, when once resolved, he is prompt and vigorous to execute. In battle he is always eminently distinguishable. At the head of his army he is cheerful and good-humoured; polite and attentive to all the officers under his command, he studiously avoids to mark out any individual as a favourite beyond the rest. His memory is so correct, that he is said to know by name the greater part of his army. He takes uncommon pleasure in conversing with his soldiers,

and in talking over their adventures and exploits; he makes particular enquiries after their wives and children; if the latter go regularly to school; how they mean to dispose of them when grown up, and, in short, enters with a degree of interest into a minute detail of their domestic concerns.

“His conduct to foreigners is affable and condescending. To the French officers in his service he pays the most marked attention, and treats them with the greatest politeness, familiarity, and good humour. On all his hunting excursions, and other parties of pleasure, one of these officers is always invited to attend. He openly declares his great veneration for the doctrines of Christianity, and tolerates this religion and indeed all others in his dominions. He observes a most scrupulous regard to the maxims of filial piety, as laid down in the works of Confucius, and humbles himself in the presence of his mother (who is still living) as a child before its master. With the works of the most eminent Chinese authors he is well acquainted; and, through the translations into the Chinese character of the *Encyclopedie* by the bishop Adran, he has acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of European arts and sciences, among which he is most attached to such as relate to navigation and ship-building. It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the practice as well as theory of European naval architecture, he purchased a Portuguese vessel, for the sole purpose of taking in pieces, plank by plank, with his own hands, fitting in a new piece

of similar shape and dimensions as the old one he removed, till every beam, timber, knee and plank, had been replaced by new ones of his own construction, and the ship thus completely renovated.

“The energy of his mind is not less vigorous than the activity of his corporeal faculties. He is represented, in fact, as the main spring of every movement that takes place in his extensive and flourishing kingdom. Intendant of the ports and arsenals, master shipwright of the dock-yard, and chief engineer of all the works, nothing is attempted to be undertaken without his advice and instructions. In the former, not a nail is driven without first consulting him; nor a gun mounted on the latter but by his orders. He not only enters into the most minute detail in drawing up instructions, but actually sees them executed himself.

“To enable him the better to attend to the concerns of his government, his mode of life is regulated by a fixed plan. At six in the morning he rises from his couch, and goes into the cold bath. At seven he has his levee of mandarins; all the letters are read which he has received in the course of the preceding day, on which his orders are minuted by the respective secretaries. He then proceeds to the naval arsenal, examines the works that have been performed in his absence, rows in his barge round the harbour, inspecting his ships of war. He pays particular attention to the ordnance department; and in the foundery, which is erected within the arsenal, cannon are cast of all dimensions.

“About twelve or one he takes  
his



his breakfast in the dock-yard, which consists of a little boiled rice and dried fish. At two he retires to his apartment and sleeps till five, when he again rises; gives audience to the naval and military officers, the heads of tribunals or public departments, and approves, rejects, or amends, whatever they may have to propose. These affairs of state generally employ his attention till midnight, after which he retires to his private apartments, to make such notes and memorandums as the occurrences of the day may have suggested. He then takes a light supper, passes an hour with his family, and between two or three in the morning retires to his bed; taking, in this manner, at two intervals, about six hours of rest in the four and twenty.

“He neither makes use of Chinese wine nor any kind of spirituous liquors, and contents himself with a very small portion of animal food. A little fish, rice, vegetables, and fruit, with tea and light pastry, constitute the chief articles of his diet. Like a true Chinese descended, as he boasts to be, from the imperial family of *Ming*, he always eats alone, not permitting either his wife or any part of his family to sit down to the same table with him. On the same principle of pride, he would not allow some English gentlemen to pay their respects to him at his palace, in the year 1799, because, as he observed, the unsettled state of the country did not permit him to make such preparations as were due to himself, and to strangers of respectability. The meaning of such an excuse, coming from a Chinese, could not be well mistaken; but, on the part of this monarch, there did not

appear to be any thing like jealousy, or a wish to deprive the strangers of the means of gratifying their curiosity: on the contrary, they had full liberty to visit every part of the naval arsenal, and to inspect the town and its fortifications. He had no objection to entertain them as a general, but refused to see them in the character of a sovereign.

“His stature is represented to be somewhat above the middle size; his features regular and agreeable; his complexion ruddy, very much sun-burnt by a constant exposure to the weather. He is at this time (1806) just on the verge of fifty years of age.”

Under the head of characters we have already extracted Mr. Barrow's detailed account of the manners and customs of the natives of Cochin China. On the propriety of opening a commercial intercourse with Cochin China, he reasons at considerable length, and with much force, and he points out with precision the various articles of commerce, and the proper means of obtaining the friendship of the Cochin Chinese sovereign. At all events it is certainly necessary to prevent the French from procuring a footing in that country, whence they might act with harassing effect against our oriental possessions, and our beneficial traffic with the Chinese empire. The peninsula of Turon might be made as impregnable as Gibraltar, and has the advantage of a convenient port and harbour, securely sheltered from all winds and at all seasons of the year; and the forests of the neighbouring country afford an inexhaustible supply of timber for the construction of vessels of war,

Should a French colony ever be firmly established in Turon, it will be difficult to drive it out, and dangerous in the extreme to permit it to remain.

The remainder of Mr. Barrow's volume is occupied by an account of a journey to Leetakoo, the residence of the chief of the Booshuana nation. This journey was undertaken by order of the Cape government, for the purpose of discovering whether any tribes of natives to the north eastward of the colony might possess a sufficient stock of horned cattle, beyond the supply of their own wants, to replace the vast numbers which had perished in the settlement in the course of a dry and sickly season. It failed in its object, but it ascertained, beyond the possibility of dispute, one momentous fact—namely, that a state of slavery is not, as some have been pleased to assert, the natural and inevitable state of the African. “Not one of the tribes of natives between the Cape of Good Hope and the extreme point that has hitherto been discovered in the interior of southern Africa—not a single creature, from the needy and savage Bosjesman to the more civilized Booshuana, has the most distant idea of a state of slavery. On the contrary, they have all been found in the full enjoyment of the most unbounded freedom. There is no compulsion used among these people to oblige an individual to remain even in the horde to which he belongs, contrary to his inclination, being always at liberty to depart with his property, and join another society, that may suit him better. Even in war the only booty is the cattle of the enemy.”

The passage of the Karroo, or desert plains, which extend from the southern verge of the colony to the Orange river, was a work of several days. In their way they met with one of those Dutch boors who are perpetually wandering from place to place with their wives, slaves, hottentots, cattle, and sheep. Mr. Barrow's picture of this class of men is not calculated to excite for them any feelings of esteem. “To rove about the desert wilds of Africa, to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on game procured by their hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he is capable of enjoying. By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate and a free exposure to air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size; and if suffered to continue their present uncontrolled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians on the southern extremity of Africa, not inferior in stature to their tall brethren on the opposite coast of America.”

The Orange, or, as it is called by the natives, the Gariiep river, is of considerable magnitude. At the spot where the travellers crossed it, it is divided into two branches by an island in the middle, each of which is not less than six hundred yards in width. On its banks dwells a hottentot horde called the Koras, which is evidently in a more advanced state of civilization than the hordes to the southward.

A slow journey of eighteen days brought them to the confines of the Booshuana country, and in two days more they reached Leetakoo,  
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the Booshuana capital. "The town of Leetakoo in its circumference was estimated to be fully as large as Cape Town, including all the gardens of Cape Valley; but from the irregularity of the streets, and the lowness of the buildings, it was impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, the number of houses; it was concluded, however, that they could not be less than two nor more than three thousand." The population was imagined to be from twelve to fifteen thousand. The Booshuanas are in possession not merely of the comforts and conveniences, but also of many of the luxuries of life. Their manners are even not unpolished, and they are a kind, friendly and peaceable people. They received the commissioners from the Cape with the greatest hospitality, and did every thing in their power to gratify them during the time of their stay. Of cattle they had but few to spare, having recently suffered in their stock, by an incursion of a hostile horde.

In the hope of procuring cattle the commissioners determined to proceed to the country of the *Barroloos*; but from this they were earnestly dissuaded by the Booshuana chief, who represented the *Barroloos* as being of a ferocious and suspicious disposition. It is believed by Mr. Barrow, that the chief was prompted to this by the dread that his more powerful neighbours might feel disposed to quarrel with him, for having suffered so small a party of white men, which he might have prevented, to pass through his territory into theirs. Whatever was his motive, he succeeded, and the

commissioners, in consequence, set out on their return. When they had retraced their steps to the Orange river, they found reason to regret that they had not carried their original plan into effect. At the Orange river they met a *bastard* hottentot, "who had travelled into the Barroloo country, and who assured them that there was not in all Africa so perfectly good-humoured and so well-disposed a people as the *Barroloos*; that they had many towns, the largest of which was so extensive that it required a whole day to walk from one end to the other; that their houses were of the same kind as, but much better built than, those of the *Booshuanas*; their gardens and grain lands better cultivated; that the whole surface of the country was covered with trees and shrubs; waters and rivers abundant; and the soil every where productive; that the *Barroloos* were a very ingenious nation, and skilful in carving wood and ivory; that he had seen their furnaces for melting iron from a brown earth and stone; and copper from a grey earth; and that the distance from *Leetakoo* did not exceed ten days journey at the common rate of travelling." It was now, however, too late to profit by this intelligence; and the merit of exploring the *Barroloo* country is yet to be acquired by European travellers.

In their way homeward, which was by a different track, they fell in with a horde which had recently been plundered by a banditti, under the command of a free booter, named *Africaner*. This gang of robbers had lately been joined by a character so extraordinary

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nary, that we will give Mr. Barrow's account of him.

“The name of this man was *Stephanos*, by birth a Pole, but of Greek extraction. From the ranks in some of the German hired regiments, in which he completed the time of his enlistment, he had procured a situation in the Cape as an assistant to a shopkeeper, where he was tempted to exercise his ingenuity in forging the paper currency of the government, the accomplishing of which required no moderate share of skill. The card, in the first instance is stamped in Holland, and is there covered with painted paper of a particular pattern, the numbers and value are filled in by a public officer at the Cape, and each card is signed by three members of the Court of Justice, every one of whom has a particular flourish at the end of his name which is well known throughout the colony; yet all this was so closely imitated by *Stephanos* as to pass current for a length of time. At last, however, the forgery was detected. *Stephanos* was tried for his life, condemned, and cast into solitary imprisonment till the day of his execution should arrive. In this deplorable situation his genius, however, did not forsake him. By the help of a rusty nail which he found in the wall, and a little deal table on which he mounted, he worked out gradually a square hole through a three-inch plank of teak wood, which with a little plaster was the only cover to the room; and through this hole he effected his escape. In order to elude the suspicion of his keeper, it was supposed that he swallowed every morning the dust of the wood which he had worked out in

the course of the night, and filled up the holes in the plank with crumbs of bread. Having passed the limits of the colony without being detected, or at least molested, he came to the establishment of Kircherer on the *Sack* river; and having made out some plausible story of an irresistible call of grace, by which he was impelled to preach the gospel among the heathen, he was received with open arms by this worthy but credulous missionary, who, however, as appears by his own statement, had soon sufficient reason to repent of his misplaced hospitality. The Greek, it seems, conceived the horrid design of murdering his host, for the sake of his little property; and for this purpose had one night stolen into his chamber, and was approaching his bed, when the missionary, being fortunately awake and not without some suspicion of the ill intentions of his guest, instantly sprung upon him in the dark, reproached him for his ingratitude and, with true Christian fortitude and forgiveness, sent him away unhurt when, at a single word, his faithful followers would have torn him in pieces. He furnished him with meat and tobacco for the journey, a flint and steel to strike fire, a little gunpowder, and a bible, the perusal of which he strongly recommended to his serious attention. But the good intentions of the missionary were strangely perverted by this vagabond, whose character was not less remarkable for its depravity than ingenuity. He read the bible, it would seem, but the information he obtained therein was employed for no good purpose. On his arrival among the *Koras*, he announced himself

himself as a prophet, assuring them that he had been sent many thousand miles expressly to promote their future consolation and happiness. He built a temple under the edge of a thick grove of mimosas, erected an altar on which he encouraged those silly people to make their offerings, selected from the best of their flocks and herds; with solemn mummery he burned part of the victim, and appropriated the rest to himself; sometimes taking the advantage of a thunder storm, or of the overflowing of the river, he was more exorbitant in his demands, and even found it expedient to require the young damsels to be brought to the temple. He carried this religious mockery still further. At a little distance behind the wood there was a mountain of considerable height, which this high priest of his own constituted religion regularly ascended every morning quite alone, on the summit of which he was generally seen wrapped in a volume of smoke, occasioned by his setting fire to the dry grass, or making a blaze with gunpowder. He ascended this mountain, as he pretended to the ignorant Hottentots, in order to receive his instructions from heaven; but the real fact was, that independent of the view he had of imposing on the simple *Koras*, he marched to the summit of the hill, commanding an extensive view over the plains to the southward, to ascertain, whether the officers of justice were in pursuit of him, an event of which the appearance of waggons at a distance would have given him timely notice to effect his escape.

These impious proceedings being at length communicated to the

missionaries of the gospel, they resolved, if possible, to seize the culprit, and to deliver him into the hands of justice; but this sly impostor being apprized of their design, abandoned his temple and his flock, and fled towards the western coast of the continent where, on the confines of the colony, he was recognized by a Dutch boor and taken prisoner; to whom, indeed he pretended to surrender himself, as being desirous to give himself up at the Cape. The boor allowed him to sleep in his own waggon, whose kindness he one night repaid by cutting the throat of his host with a razor, and stole away to the lower part of the *Orange* river, where he joined the noted marauder *Africaneer*."

Mr. Barrow closes his narrative of the journey with some observations on the custom of pithing cattle, to which he is decidedly hostile. His hostility is, however, founded on experiments which were improperly made, and his arguments against this really humane mode of putting cattle to death, must, therefore, fall to the ground. Instant death, without a struggle or a pang, is the inevitable consequence of the operation when properly performed.

The plates which embellish Mr. Barrow's volume are numerous, and well executed, and he bears testimony, in his preface, to their fidelity of representation.

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*Memoirs of Richard Cumberland.*  
*Written by himself. Containing an account of his life and writings, interspersed with anecdotes and characters of several of the most distinguished persons of his time,*

*time, with whom he has had intercourse and connexion. 4to.*

OF all the kinds of serious prose composition, there is none perhaps, which is more universally attractive than biography. There seems in man a natural and irresistible propensity to make himself acquainted with, and scrutinize into, the motives of, and even the minutest circumstances relative to, such of his fellow men as are, or have been, distinguished by splendid talents. Not merely their important actions, but their looks, their dress, their most trifling sayings, and the various places which they have inhabited, are all objects with which we are desirous to become acquainted. We learn to identify ourselves with them, and to share in their feelings, their opinions, and their labours. In history itself, it is probable that a large majority of readers are interested rather by the characters and achievements of individuals than by the fate of nations. It is Alexander and Cæsar, not Macedon and Rome, which rivet their attention. Nor does the biography of those who, by their writings, have charmed, enlightened, and instructed the world, excite a less lively degree of curiosity than that of those who have defended or subverted empires. The lives of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Johnson, and of a crowd of other illustrious writers, have been perused by as many persons, and with as much avidity, as the pages which narrate the triumphs of those who earned their renown by the sword. It would indeed be a disgrace to human nature, if to that intellectual power which is em-

ployed in softening the violent passions, and diffusing knowledge and happiness, less homage were paid, than to that which is too frequently perverted to the vilest of purposes, and rendered the terror and the curse of mankind.

In the annals of literature the name of Cumberland is entitled to hold an eminent place. Few authors have produced a greater number of works, or of more various kinds. He has come before the public as a poet, a dramatist, both tragic and comic, a novel writer, an essayist, a moralist, and a classical scholar, and in all these parts has been received with applause. It remains to be seen how he has acquitted himself as a biographer; himself, too, being the subject which he delineates. In the picture, however, which he has drawn, he forms only one figure, though the principal one, of a groupe; as he has introduced numerous portraits of literary or political personages, with whom he was acquainted in the course of a long and somewhat busy existence. These portraits are executed with an abundance of spirit and grace, and with not more skill, we believe, than fidelity of resemblance.

To his ancestors, Mr. Cumberland looks back with a pride, not only pardonable, but laudable, and he prefaces his own life with characteristic anecdotes of several of them, who were celebrated for learning and worth. His great grandfather was Dr. Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, and author of *De Legibus Naturæ*, whose erudition was not less remarkable than his piety and benevolence. Dr. Richard Bentley,

ley, a man for ever famous, was his maternal grandfather, and Mr. Cumberland sketches his character with all the warmth of affection. Far from being, as he was falsely represented, proud, morose, and pedantic, Bentley was kind, social, humane, indulgent, and could descend to amuse children, and to give a patient attention to all their endless and trivial enquiries. Science, in one instance, hitherto unknown, is under eternal obligation to him. It was to his interest and importunity with Sir Isaac Newton, that the publication of the *Principia* was ever resolved upon by that truly great and luminous philosopher. His son, Richard, of whom frequent mention is made in the memoirs, was a man of fine genius, admirable wit, and a brilliant imagination, with the manners of a perfect gentleman, but was involved in distresses by a certain eccentricity, and want of worldly prudence. Joanna, the youngest daughter of Dr. Bentley, and the Phebe of Byrom's pastoral, was the mother of Mr. Cumberland. His father was Denison Cumberland, a man of independent fortune, and rector of Stanwick, in the county of Northampton, where he sedulously devoted himself to the duties of his function, and was universally beloved.

It was on the 19th of February, 1732, that Mr. Cumberland was born, in the Master's Lodge of Trinity College, Cambridge. "I was not," says he, "the eldest child, though the only son of my mother; my sister Joanna was more than two years older than me, and more than twice two years before me in apprehension, for whilst she pro-

fited very rapidly by her mother's teaching, I by no means trode in her steps, but on the contrary after a few unpromising efforts peremptorily gave up the cause, and persisted in a stubborn repugnance to all instruction. My mother's good sense and my grandfather's good advice concurred in the measures to be taken with me in this state of mutiny against all the powers of the alphabet; my book was put before me, my lesson pointed out, and though I never articulated a single word, I conned it over in silence to myself."

When he was turned of six years old, he was sent to the school, at Bury St. Edmunds, then under the mastership of the Rev. Arthur Kinsman, who formed his scholars on the system of Westminster, and was a Trinity college-man, much esteemed by Dr. Bentley. The school then numbered a hundred and fifty boys, and was in high reputation.

Kinsman is described as "an excellent master, a very sufficient scholar, who had all the professional requisites of voice, air, and aspect, that marked him out at first sight as a personage decidedly made on purpose *habere imperium in pueros.*" But though he never suffered the reins of authority to slacken, he was kind, cordial, open-hearted, and an impartial administrator of punishments and praises. Instead, however, of making any progress, young Cumberland was so exceedingly indolent, that he gradually fell to the very bottom of his class, where he would, perhaps, long have remained, had he not been aroused, and filled with shame, by a severe reproof from Mr. Kinsman, which was delivered in the hearing of all the

the school. A fit of sickness appears to have been the immediate consequence of the agitation of spirits caused by this reproof; and when he recovered he was received into the house of Mr. Kinsman as a boarder. There, under the eye of his master, and stimulated by a wish to obliterate his disgrace, he made ample amends for his preceding supineness. He rose rapidly to the head of his class, and, in the whole course of his progress through the upper school, never once lost his place of head boy, though daily challenged by those who were as anxious to dislodge him from his post, as he was to retain it. Among the most formidable of his competitors were Bishop Warren, and his brother Richard the physician.

His first attempt at English verse was made at this period, and was such as might be expected from a child. In his intervals from school, his mother, a woman of talent, began to form his ear and his taste for poetry, by employing him every evening to read to her; correcting his tone and emphasis, and pointing out, with critical acumen, the beauties of the author. The compositions selected for recitation were generally the finest plays of Shakespeare. By this means he acquired a love of dramatic writing, and, at the early age of twelve years, he compiled and composed a kind of Cento, which he entitled *Shakespeare in the Shades*; a piece which, considered as the work of a boy, gave undoubted indications of talent.

On Mr. Kinsman retiring from the mastership of Bury school, Mr. Cumberland was removed to Westminster, at which seminary he was

treated with the utmost kindness, while he, on his part, justified and repaid that kindness by strenuous exertions. Of Westminster school he accordingly writes with a sort of filial reverence. During his stay there he seems first to have visited a theatre. The play was the *Fair Penitent*, in which *Lothario* was acted by Garrick, *Horatio* by Quin, *Altamont* by Ryan, *Calista* by Mrs. Cibber, and *Lavinia* by Mrs. Pritchard. His description of the manner of the old stage school is amusing. "Quin presented himself on the rising of the curtain in a green velvet coat, embroidered down the seams, an enormous full-bottomed perriwig, rolled stockings, and high heeled square toed shoes; with very little variation of cadence, and in a deep full tone, accompanied by a sawing kind of action, which had more of the senate than the stage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference, that seemed to disdain the plaudits, that were bestowed on him. Mrs. Cibber, in a key high-pitched, but sweet withal, sung or rather recitivated Rowe's harmonious strain, something in the manner of the Improvisatories; it was so extremely wanting in contrast, that, though it did not wound the ear, it wearied it: when she had once recited two or three speeches, I could anticipate the manner of every succeeding one; it was like a long old legendary ballad of innumerable stanzas, every one of which is sung to the same tune, eternally chiming in the ear without variation or relief. Mrs. Pritchard was an actress of a different cast, had more nature, and

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of course more change of tone, and variety both of action and expression: in my opinion the comparison was decidedly in her favour; but when after long and eager expectation I first beheld little Garrick, then young, and light and alive in every muscle, and in every feature, come bounding on the stage, and pointing at the wittol Altamont, and heavy-paced Horatio—heavens, what a transition!—it seemed as if a whole century had been slept over in the transition of a single scene; old things were done away, and a new order at once brought forward, bright and luminous, and clearly destined to dispel the barbarisms and bigotry of a tasteless age, too long attached to the prejudices of custom, and superstitiously devoted to the illusions of imposing declamation. This heaven-born actor was then struggling to emancipate his audience from the slavery they were resigned to, and though at times he succeeded in throwing in some gleams of new born light upon them, yet in general they seemed to *love darkness better than light*, and in the dialogue of altercation between Horatio and Lothario bestowed far the greater *share* of hands upon the master of the old school than upon the founder of the new. I thank my stars, my feelings in those moments led me right; they were those of nature, and therefore could not err.”

In his fourteenth year, Mr. Cumberland was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge. His first tutor was Dr. Morgan, who was succeeded by Dr. Young, both of whom neglected their duty. The first did next to nothing; the second made his

office a perfect sinecure. Mr. Cumberland's attention, left as he was to his own guidance, was principally turned to the classics, and mathematical studies were unattended to, till the circumstance of his being appointed to an opposition, when he had not read a single proposition in Euclid, compelled him to direct all his powers to attaining a proper knowledge of mathematics. By the interference of his third tutor, Mr. Backhouse, who gave regular lectures, his name was withdrawn from the act, and he sat down closely to study. He allowed himself but six hours sleep, and lived almost entirely on milk. The progress which he made was rapid, and he was quickly gratified with an opportunity of displaying his acquirements. He was appointed to keep an act, and three opponents, one of them truly formidable, and the others respectable, were selected to oppose him. Through all his trials he proceeded victoriously, and at length received his bachelor's degree. His constitution, however, failed under his abstinence, and incessant exertions, and he was obliged to return home, where, for six months, a rheumatic fever kept him on the verge of the grave.

Being at length restored to health, he went back to his college, and was preparing himself to stand for a fellowship, when he was summoned to London, and at once thrown into public life, by being appointed private confidential secretary to the earl of Halifax. Of that nobleman, his family, and several persons connected with him, he gives an animated picture. During the recess of parliament, he

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went down to Cambridge, and, after a severe examination, which he passed through triumphantly, obtained a fellowship, though some of his rivals were of a year older standing than himself.

In the early part of his secretaryship, he published an elegy on St. Mark's Eve, and employed himself in collecting materials, from the history of India, for a poem in heroic verse. This poem he never completed. As he lived in London almost as secluded as a monk, his father, in order to render him more comfortable, now exchanged the living of Stanwick, for that of Fulham, on which he fixed his residence. It was at this period that he became acquainted with the well-known Mr. Dodington, afterwards lord Melcombe. Lord Halifax had by this time quarrelled with the duke of Newcastle, and thrown up his office; and Mr. Cumberland had, in consequence, sufficient leisure to cultivate this new connection, which was approved of by his lordship, who, himself, lived in habits of intimacy with Mr. Dodington.

Mr. Cumberland thus describes his lately acquired friend. "In the summer of this year, being now an ex-secretary of an ex-statesman, I went to Eastbury, the seat of Mr. Dodington, in Dorsetshire, and passed the whole time of his stay in that place. Lord Halifax, with his brother-in-law colonel Johnson of the blues, paid a visit there, and the countess dowager of Stafford, and old lady Harvey were resident with us the whole time. Our splendid host was excelled by no man in doing the honours of his house and table; to the ladies he had all the

courtly and profound devotion of a Spaniard, with the ease and gaiety of a Frenchman towards the men. His mansion was magnificent, massy, and stretching out to a great extent of front, with an enormous portico of Doric columns, ascended by a stately flight of steps; there were turrets and wings that went I know not whither, though now they are levelled with the ground, and gone to more ignoble uses. Vanbrugh, who constructed this superb edifice, seemed to have had the plan of Blenheim in his thoughts, and the interior was as proud and splendid, as the exterior was bold and imposing. All this was exactly in unison with the taste of its magnificent owner, who had gilt and furnished the apartments with a profusion of finery, that kept no terms with simplicity, and not always with elegance or harmony of style. Whatever Mr. Dodington's revenue then was, he had the happy art of managing it with that regularity and œconomy, that I believe he made more display at less cost, than any man in the kingdom but himself could have done. His town-house in Pall-Mall, his villa at Hammersmith, and the mansion above described, were such establishments as few nobles in the nation were possessed of. In either of these he was not to be approached but through a suite of apartments, and rarely seated but under painted ceilings and gilt entablatures. In his villa you were conducted through rows of antique marble statues, ranged in a gallery, floored with the rarest marbles, and enriched with columns of granite and lapis lazuli; his saloon was hung with the finest Gobelin

Gobelin tapestry, and he slept in a bed encanopied with peacock's feathers, in the style of Mrs. Montague's. When he passed from Pall-Mall to La Trappe, it was always in a coach, which I could suspect had been his ambafadorial equipage at Madrid, drawn by six fat unwieldy black horses, short docked; and of colossal dignity: neither was he less characteristic in apparel than in equipage; he had a wardrobe loaded with rich and glaring suits, each in itself a load to the wearer, and of these I have no doubt but many were coeval with his embassy above-mentioned, and every birthday had added to the stock. In doing this he so contrived as never to put his old dresses out of countenance by any variations in the fashions of the new; in the meantime his bulk and corpulency gave full display to a vast expanse and profusion of brocade and embroidery, and this, when set off with an enormous tye-perriwig, and deep laced ruffles, gave the picture of an ancient courtier in his gala-habit, or Quin in his stage-dress; nevertheless it must be confessed that this style, though out of date, was not out of character, but harmonized so well with the person of the wearer, that I remember when he made his first speech in the House of Peers, as lord Melcombe, all the flashes of his wit, all the studied phrases and well-turned periods of his rhetoric lost their effect, simply because the orator had laid aside his magisterial tye, and put on a modern bag wig, which was as much out of costume upon the broad expanse of his shoulders, as a cue would have been upon the robes of the lord chief justice.

“Having thus dilated more than perhaps I should have done upon this distinguished person's passion for magnificence and display, when I proceed to enquire into those principles of good taste, which should have been the accompaniments and directors of that magnificence, I fear I must be compelled by truth to admit that in these he was deficient. Of pictures he seemed to take his estimate only by their cost; in fact he was not possessed of any; but I recollect his saying to me one day, in his great saloon at Eastbury, that if he had half a score of pictures, of a thousand pounds a piece, he would gladly decorate his walls with them, in place of which I am sorry to say, he had stuck up immense patches of gilt leather, shaped into bugle-horns; upon hangings of rich crimson velvet, and round his state bed he displayed a carpeting of gold and silver embroidery, which too glaringly displayed its derivation from coat, waistcoat and breeches, by the testimony of pockets, button-holes and loops, with other equally incontrovertible witnesses, subpœnaed from the tailor's shop-board. When he paid his court at St. James's, to the present queen on her nuptials, he approached to kiss her hand in an embroidered suit of silk, with lilac waistcoat and breeches, the latter of which, in the act of kneeling down, forgot their duty, and broke loose from their moorings in a very indecorous and uncourtly manner.

“In the higher provinces of taste we may contemplate his character with more pleasure, for he had an ornamented fancy and a

brilliant wit. He was an elegant latin classic, and well versed in history, ancient and modern. His favourite prose writer was Tacitus, and I scarce ever surpris'd him in his hours of reading without finding that author upon his table before him. He understood him well, and descanted upon him very agreeably and with much critical acumen. Mr. Dodington was in nothing more remarkable than in ready perspicuity and clear discernment of a subject thrown before him on a sudden; take his first thoughts then, and he would charm you; give him time to ponder and refine, you would perceive the spirit of his sentiments and the vigour of his genius evaporate by the process; for though his first view of the question would be a wide one and clear withal, when he came to exercise the subtlety of his disquisitorial powers upon it, he would so ingeniously dissect and break it into fractions, that as an object, when looked upon too intently for a length of time, grows misty and confused, so would the question under his discussion, when the humour took him to be hypercritical. Hence it was that his impromptus in parliament were more admired than his studied speeches, and his first suggestions in the council of his party better attended to than his prepared opinions.

“ Being a man of humble birth, he seem'd to have an innate respect for titles, and none bowed with more devotion to the robes and fasces of high rank and office. He was decidedly aristocratic: he paid his court to Walpole in panegyric poems, apologizing for his presumption by reminding him, that

it was better to be pelted with roses than with rotten eggs: to Chesterfield, to Winnington, Pulteney, Fox, and the luminaries of his early time, he offered up the oblations of his genius, and incens'd them with all the odours of his wit: in his latter days, and within the period of my acquaintance with him, the earl of Bute, in the plenitude of his power, was the god of his idolatry. That noble lord was himself too much a man of letters and a patron of the sciences to overlook a witty head, that bowed so low, he accordingly put a coronet upon it, which, like the *barren sceptre* in the hand of Macbeth, merely serv'd as a ticket for the coronation procession, and having nothing else to leave to posterity in memory of its owner, left its mark upon the lid of his coffin.

“ During my stay at Eastbury, we were visit'd by the late Mr. Henry Fox, and Mr. alderman Beckford: the solid good sense of the former, and the dashing loquacity of the latter, form'd a striking contrast between the characters of these gentlemen. To Mr. Fox our host paid all the courtly homage, which he so well knew how to time, and where to apply; to Beckford he did not observe the same attention, but in the happiest flow of his raillery and wit, combated this intrepid talker with admirable effect. It was an interlude truly comic and amusing. Beckford loud, voluble, self-sufficient and galled by hits, which he could not parry, and probably did not expect, laid himself more and more open in the vehemence of his argument; Dodington, lolling in his chair in perfect apathy and self-

self-command, dozing and even snoring at intervals in his lethargic way, broke out every now and then into such gleams and flashes of wit and irony, as by the contrast of his phlegm with the other's impetuosity, made his humour irresistible, and set the table in a roar. He was here upon his very strongest ground, for no man was better calculated to exemplify how true the observation is—

*Ridiculum acri*

*Fortius ac melius—*

“At the same time he had his serious hours and graver topics, which he would handle with all due solemnity of thought and language, and these were to me some of the most pleasing hours I have passed with him, for he could keep close to his point, if he would, and could be not less argumentative than he was eloquent, when the question was of magnitude enough to interest him. It is with singular satisfaction I can truly say, that I never knew him flippant upon sacred subjects. He was, however, generally courted and admired as a gay companion, rather than as a grave one.

“I have said that the dowager ladies Stafford and Hervey made part of our domestic society, and as the trivial amusement of cards was never resorted to in Mr. Dodington's house, it was his custom in the evenings to entertain his company with reading, and in this art he excelled; his selections however were curious, for he treated these ladies with the whole of Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*, in which he certainly consulted his own turn for irony rather than theirs for elegance; but he set it off with much humour after his manner, and they

were polite enough to be pleased, or at least to appear as if they were.

“His readings from Shakespeare were altogether as whimsical, for he chose his passages only where buffoonery was the character of the scene; one of these I remember was that of the clown, who brings the asp to Cleopatra. He had however a manuscript copy of Glover's *Medea*, which he gave us *con amore*, for he was extremely warm in his praises of that classical drama, which Mrs. Yates afterwards brought upon the stage, and played in it with her accustomed elegance.”

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“Dodington also himself had a lyre, but he had hung it up, and it was never very high sounding; yet he was something more than a mere admirer of the Muse. He wrote small poems with great pains, and elaborate letters with much terseness of style, and some quaintness of expression: I have seen him refer to a volume of his own verses in manuscript, but he was very shy, and I never had the perusal of it. I was rather better acquainted with his *diary*, which since his death has been published, and I well remember the temporary disgust he seemed to take, when upon his asking what I would do with it, should he bequeath it to my discretion, I instantly replied that I would destroy it. There was a third, which I more coveted a sight of than of either of the above, as it contained a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes, repartees, good sayings and humorous incidents, of which he was part author and part compiler, and out of which he was in the habit of refreshing his memory, when he prepared himself to expect cer-

tain men of wit and pleasantry either at his own house or elsewhere. Upon this practice, which he did not affect to conceal, he observed to me one day, that it was a compliment he paid to society, when he submitted to steal weapons out of his own armoury, for their entertainment, and ingenuously added, that although his memory was not in general so correct as it had been, yet he trusted it would save him from the disgrace of repeating the same story to the same hearers, or foisting it into conversation in the wrong place or out of time. No man had fewer oversights of that sort to answer for, and fewer still were the men, whose social talents could be compared with those of Mr. Dodington."

On Mr. Cumberland's return from his visit to Eastbury, he was invited, by his friends at Cambridge, to become a candidate for a lay fellowship, which was then vacant. He complied with their wishes, and was successful. He now wrote his first legitimate drama, *The Banishment of Cicero*, which, though not qualified to succeed on the stage, was well received in print. It was on this occasion that he first saw Garrick, to whom he was introduced by Lord Halifax, who was much offended that Garrick declined to receive the play. Having, through the interest of his patron, obtained a small establishment, as crown agent for the province of Nova Scotia, Mr. Cumberland, on the 19th of February, 1759, married Miss Ridge, to whom he had for a considerable time been attached, and whose virtues did honour to his choice.

On the death of George the second, a change of administration

again brought lord Halifax into power. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Cumberland was confidentially employed in his private affairs, and received from him the public office of Ulster secretary, while his father was made one of the vice regal chaplains. The chief secretary was the celebrated William Gerard Hamilton, whose character is thus described. "Hamilton, who in the English parliament got the nick-name of Single-speech, spoke well, but not often, in the Irish House of Commons. He had a promptitude of thought and a rapid flow of well conceived matter, with many other requisites, that only seemed waiting for opportunities to establish his reputation as an orator. He had a striking countenance, a graceful carriage, great self possession and personal courage: he was not easily put out of his way by any of those unaccommodating repugnancies, that men of weaker nerves or more tender consciences might have stumbled at, or been checked by; he could mask the passions that were natural to him, and assume those that did not belong to him: he was indefatigable, meditative, mysterious; his opinions were the result of long labour and much reflection, but he had the art of setting them forth as if they were the starts of ready genius and a quick perception: he had as much seeming steadiness as a partisan could stand in need of, and all the real flexibility, that could suit his purpose, or advance his interest. He would fain have retained his connexion with Edmund Burke, and associated him to his politics, for he well knew the value of his talents, but in that object he

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was soon disappointed: the genius of Burke was of too high a cast to endure debasement."

In Dublin, Mr. Cumberland of course mixed extensively with society, and he has accurately characterized many of the individuals with whom he met. Among others he mentions primate Stone, a man well remembered in Ireland.— "Primate Stone," he tells us, "was at that time in the zenith of his power; he had a great following, his intellect was as strong as ever, but his constitution was in its wane. I had frequent occasions to resort to him, and much reason to speak highly of his candour and condescension. No man faced difficulties with greater courage, none overcame them with more address: he was formed to hold command over turbulent spirits in tempestuous seasons; for if he could not absolutely rule the passions of men, he could artfully rule men by the medium of their passions; he had great suavity of manners, when points were to be carried by insinuation and finesse, but if authority was necessary to be enforced, none could hold it with a higher hand: he was an elegant scholar, a consummate politician, a very fine gentleman, and in every character seen to more advantage than in that, which according to his sacred function should have been his chief and only object to sustain."

It would have been wonderful had not Mr. Cumberland come in contact with the well-known George Faulkner, and enjoyed the oddities of that established butt for the shafts of wit. "I had," says he, "more than once the amusement of dining at the

house of that most singular being George Faulkner, where I found myself in a company so miscellaneously and whimsically classed, that it looked more like a fortuitous concourse of oddities, jumbled together from all ranks, orders and descriptions, than the effect of invitation and design. Description must fall short in the attempt to convey any sketch of that eccentric being to those, who have not read him in the notes of Jephson, or seen him in the mimicry of Foote, who in his portraits of Faulkner, found the only fitter, whom his extravagant pencil could not caricature; for he had a solemn intrepidity of egotism, and a daring contempt of absurdity, that fairly outfaced imitation, and like Garrick's ode on Shakespeare, which Johnson said "defied criticism," so did George in the original spirit of his own perfect buffoonery, defy caricature. He never deigned to join in the laugh he had raised, nor seemed to have a feeling of the ridicule he had provoked: at the same time that he was pre-eminently and by preference the butt and buffoon of the company, he could find openings and opportunities for hits of retaliation, which were such left-handed thrusts as few could parry: nobody could foresee where they would fall, nobody of course was forearmed, and as there was in his calculation but one super-eminent character in the kingdom of Ireland, and he the printer of the Dublin journal, rank was no shield against George's arrows, which flew where he listed, and fixed or missed as chance directed; he cared not

about consequences. He gave good meat and excellent claret in abundance; I sat at his table once from dinner till two in the morning, whilst George swallowed immense quantities with one solitary sodden strawberry at the bottom of his glass, which he said was recommended to him by his doctor for its cooling properties. He never lost his recollection or equilibrium the whole time, and was in excellent foolery; it was a singular coincidence, that there was a person in company, who had received his reprieve at the gallows, and the very judge who had passed sentence of death upon him. This did not in the least disturb the harmony of the society, nor embarrass any human creature present. All went off perfectly smooth, and George, advertng to an original portrait of dean Swift, which hung in his room, told us abundance of excellent and interesting anecdotes of the dean and himself, with minute precision and an importance irresistibly ludicrous. There was also a portrait of his late lady, Mrs. Faulkner, which either made the painter or George a liar, for it was frightfully ugly, whilst he swore that she was the most divine object in creation. In the mean time he took credit to himself for a few deviations in point of gallantry, and asserted that he broke his leg in flying from the fury of an enraged husband, whilst Foote constantly maintained that he fell down an area with a tray of meat on his shoulder, when he was journeyman to a butcher: I believe neither of them spoke the truth. George prosecuted Foote for lampooning

him on the stage of Dublin; his counsel, the prime serjeant, compared him to Socrates, and his libeller to Aristophanes; this I believe was all that George got by his course of law; but he was told he had the best of the bargain in the comparison, and sat down contented under the shadow of his laurels. In process of time he became an alderman; I paid my court to him in that character, but I thought he was rather marred than mended by his dignity. George grew grave and sentimental, and sentiment and gravity sat as ill upon George, as a gown and a square cap would upon a monkey."

On the termination of lord Halifax's viceroyship, Mr. Cumberland quitted Ireland, without having added a single shilling to his private fortune, or accepted a single favour. His father had indeed been promoted to the bishoprick of Clonsfert, an honour which he was by no means anxious to obtain. He himself had been offered a baronetage, which he declined as an unsubstantial, and, under his circumstances, rather burthensome honour. Lord Halifax, on his arrival in England, received the seals of secretary of State, and Mr. Cumberland applied to him for the under Secretaryship; but was set aside in a manner which, considering his talents and continued services to Lord Halifax for ten years, reflects no honour on that nobleman. Mr. Cumberland appears to have had the fault of not being calculated to fawn and wriggle into the good graces of men in power. He relied upon assiduity, affection and fidelity, and consequently



requently was disappointed. Mr. Sedgewick, who had acted for one year as his lordship's master of the horse in Ireland, was nominated to the vacant secretaryship; and, on this occasion, vacated a place which he held, as clerk of the reports, in the office of the board of trade and plantations.

Thus frustrated in his hopes of preferment, Mr. Cumberland was too wise, and had too much true dignity of mind, to let a false pride stand in the way of his interest. He resolved to solicit for the humble place which Mr. Sedgewick had quitted, and though lord Halifax affected to look on this as a degradation, and an abandonment of his old connection, he persisted in his design, and wrote on the subject to the earl of Hillsborough, who granted his request.

At this period he produced the musical drama of *The Summer's Tale*, which was subsequently cut down to an after-piece, and called *Amelia*. Bickerstaff, who was then the prominent opera-writer, foolishly considered this as an invasion of his province, and, therefore, made a gross attack on Mr. Cumberland, even before the drama appeared; but he was soon silenced, if not converted, by the calm and gentlemanly conduct of his supposed rival. Of this piece Mr. Cumberland speaks in very slighting language.

When the board of trade broke up for the recess, he paid a visit to his father at Clonfert. The good bishop had by this time gained the warmest affection, which he had well deserved, of all classes of people in his diocese, by indefatigably exerting himself in promoting their temporal as well as

their spiritual welfare. In his account of this visit, and of others by which it was succeeded, Mr. Cumberland gives many admirable and accurate delineations of the Irish character, to which he does that justice that has too often been denied it.

His first comedy, that of *The Brothers*, was produced on his return, and was successful. A compliment to Garrick, which he introduced into the epilogue, gained him the friendship of that great actor, which he ever after retained. His second comedy, *The West-Indian*, was planned and begun in the ensuing year, while he was at Clonfert. It was brought out by Garrick, and met with unbounded applause. The copy-right was sold for a hundred and fifty pounds, and the purchaser boasted that he sold twelve thousand copies. In his history of these plays, Mr. Cumberland introduces many amusing anecdotes, and some sound reflections. His next work was controversial. It was a pamphlet, in answer to bishop Lowth, who had treated with wanton contumely the memory of Dr. Bentley.

The reputation which he had gained, drew to his house a considerable resort of the most eminent men of the day. He was intimate with Burke, Johnson, Goldsmith, Soame Jenyns, and a number of others, of whose manners and talents he furnishes sketches full of spirit. In this part of his work he gives an excellent lesson as to the proper mode of making up a company. "I always," says he, "studied the assortment of the characters who honoured me with their company,

So as never to bring uncongenial humours into contact with each other. How often have I seen all the objects of society frustrated by inattention to the proper grouping the guests! The sensibility of some men of genius is so quick and capricious, that you must first consider whom they can be happy with, before you can promise yourself any happiness with them. A rivalry in wit and humour will often render both parties silent, and put them on their guard; if a chance hit, or lucky fall, on the part of a competitor, engrosses the applause of the table, ten to one if the stricken cock ever crows upon the pit again: a matter of fact man will make a pleasant fellow sullen, and a sullen fellow, if provoked by raillery, will disturb the comforts of the whole society."

Of Garrick, in contradiction to many invidious reports, he declares, "Ah! I would wish the world to believe, that they take but a very short and impartial estimate of that departed character, who only appreciate him as the best actor in the world: he was more and better than that excellence alone could make him by a thousand estimable qualities, and much as I enjoyed his company, I have been more gratified by the emanations of his heart than by the sallies of his fancy and imagination. Nature had done so much for him, that he could not help being an actor; she gave him a frame of so manageable a proportion, and from its flexibility so perfectly under command, that by its aptitude and elasticity he could draw it out to fit any sizes of character, that tragedy could offer to him, and contract it to any scale

of ridiculous diminution, that his Abel Drugger, Scrub or Fribble, could require of him to sink it to. His eye, in the mean time, was so penetrating, so speaking; his brow so moveable, and all his features so plastic, and so accommodating, that wherever his mind impelled them they would go, and before his tongue could give the text, his countenance would express the spirit and the passion of the part he was encharged with."

Of Goldsmith, his distresses, his powers, and his works, he gives an entertaining account; as he likewise does of Dr. Johnson; but they are too long for quotation, and cannot be mutilated without being injured. The character of Soame Jenyns is not liable to the same objection.

"A disagreement about a name or a date will mar the best story, that was ever put together. Sir Joshua Reynolds luckily could not hear, or if he heard him, would not heed him; Soame Jenyns heard him, heeded him, set him right, and took up his tale, where he had left it, without any diminution of its humour, adding only a few more twists to his snuff-box, a few more taps upon the lid of it, with a preparatory grunt or two, the invariable forerunners of the amenity, that was at the heels of them. He was the man, who bore his part in all societies with the most even temper, and undisturbed hilarity of all the good companions, whom I ever knew. He came into your house at the very moment you had put upon your card; he dressed himself to do your party honour in all the colours of the jay; his lace indeed had long since lost its lustre, but his  
coat

coat had faithfully retained its cut since the days, when gentlemen wore embroidered figured velvets with short sleeves, boot cuffs and buckram skirts; as nature had cast him in the exact mould of an ill-made pair of stiff stays, he followed her so close in the fashion of his coat, that it was doubted if he did not wear them: because he had a protuberant wen just under his pole, he wore a wig, that did not cover half his head. His eyes were protruded like the eyes of the lobster, who wears them at the end of his feelers, and yet there was room between one of these and his nose for another wen that added nothing to his beauty; yet I heard this good man very innocently remark, when Gibbon published his history, that he wondered any body so ugly could write a book.

“Such was the exterior of a man, who was the charm of the circle, and gave a zest to every company he came into; his pleasantry was of a sort peculiar to himself; it harmonized with every thing; it was like the bread to our dinner; you did not perhaps make it the whole, or principal part of your meal, but it was an admirable and wholesome auxiliary to your other viands. Soame Jenyns told you no long stories, engrossed not much of your attention, and was not angry with those that did; his thoughts were original, and were apt to have a very whimsical affinity to the paradox in them: he wrote verses upon dancing, and prose upon the origin of evil, yet he was a very indifferent metaphysician and a worse dancer; ill-nature and personality, with the single exception of his

lines upon Johnson, I never heard fall from his lips; those lines I have forgotten, though I believe I was the first person to whom he recited them; they were very bad, but he had been told that Johnson ridiculed his metaphysics, and some of us had just then been making extemporary epitaphs upon each other: though his wit was harmless, yet the general cast of it was ironical; there was a terseness in his repartees, that had a play of words as well as of thought, as when speaking of the difference between laying out money upon land, or purchasing into the funds, he said, ‘One was principal without interest, and the other interest without principal.’ Certain it is he had a brevity of expression, that never hung upon the ear, and you felt the point in the very moment that he made the push. It was rather to be lamented that his lady, Mrs. Jenyns, had so great a respect for his good sayings, and so imperfect a recollection of them, for though she always prefaced her recitals of them with—*as Mr. Jenyns says*—it was not always what Mr. Jenyns said, and never, I am apt to think, *as Mr. Jenyns said*; but she was an excellent old lady, and twirled her fan with as much mechanical address as her ingenious husband twirled his snuff-box.”

The Brothers and the West Indian were succeeded by The Fashionable Lovers, and The Choleric Man, both of which were received with applause. To the latter, on its appearance in print, he prefixed a dedication to Detraction, as a reply to his newspaper and pamphlet-writing calumniators. These plays were followed

by

by two odes; an alteration of Shakespeare's *Timon*; the entertainment of *The Note of Hand*, or a *Trip to Newmarket*; and the tragedy of *The Battle of Hastings*, in which Henderson played the part of Edgar Atheling.

Mr. Cumberland had now the misfortune of losing both his father and mother. His father died bishop of Kilmore, to which see he had been translated from that of Clonfert. In this bishopric, as in the former, he won the affection of all around him; and towards his successor he displayed the most liberal and disinterested spirit; for when he found his health declining, he positively refused to receive any benefit from the renewal of leases, "not deeming it perfectly fair to his successor, to take what he called the packing-penny, and sweep clean before his departure." It is painful to relate that this noble conduct was repaid with the most shameful ingratitude by the succeeding bishop, who, till compelled, would neither lend any assistance in the recovery of arrears, nor even satisfy the legal demands of bishop Cumberland's executors, for monies expended on improvements beneficial to the demesne.

The accession of lord George Germaine to the seals for the colonial department, was a new era for Mr. Cumberland. On his being first introduced to his lordship, by colonel James Cunningham, he thought his "new chief was quite as cold in his manner as a minister need be, and rather more so than his intermediate friend had given him reason to expect." In a short time, however, the scene changed; lord George invited him to pass some days at his country-seat; and from that moment became

his firmest friend. This friendship continued undiminished till the death of his lordship. Mr. Cumberland represents lord George as a man thoroughly virtuous and amiable, and from those aspersions which, relative to the battle of Minden, were thrown on his personal courage, he vindicates him, with a warmth which is perfectly natural, and we think also perfectly just.

Previously to lord George Germaine receiving the seals, Mr. Cumberland had been in treaty with Mr. Pownall, the secretary of the board, for that situation, which Mr. Pownall wished to resign. It was fortunate for Mr. Cumberland that the negotiation had gone on but slowly, as he was now raised to the secretaryship, by lord George, without having incurred any expence, and in a manner which enhanced the value of the favour. The emoluments of this office were highly desirable to him, as he had now to support four sons rising into manhood, and two beautiful and accomplished daughters, who were of an age to be introduced into society. The only literary works which he produced at this period, appear to have been the operas of *Calypso*, and *The Widow of Delphi*.

To Mr. Cumberland the public is, perhaps, indebted for the employment of admiral Rodney, and, therefore, in some measure, for the brilliant victories of that commander. By means of his interest with lord George, the latter was induced to take on himself the responsibility of recommending the admiral, who was, in consequence, dispatched to the West Indies, much to the dissatisfaction of the West India merchants, who raised a furious

a furious clamour. To the clamours of those candid and intelligent gentlemen the naval hero replied, by defeating the Spaniards and the French. Mr. Cumberland claims for his friend Rodney the first idea of breaking the enemy's line, which is generally attributed to Mr. Clerke, of Edlin. He states that the charging of columns on a line of infantry suggested this manœuvre to the mind of Rodney, and he gives a circumstantial account of the admiral first illustrating it, at the table of lord George Germaine, at Stone-lands.

At this period Mr. Cumberland was entrusted with a commission of a delicate nature, which though honourable to his talents, and flattering to his feelings, proved the source of severe pecuniary loss, and of the heaviest vexation. "In the year 1780," says he, "and about the time of Rodney's capture of the Caracca fleet, I had opportunities of discovering, through a secret channel of intelligence, many things passing, and some concerting between the confidential agents of France and Spain, (particularly the latter) resident in this country, and in private correspondence with the enemies of it. Of these communications I made that use, which my duty dictated, and to my judgment seemed advisable. By these, in the course of their progress, a prospect was opened of a secret negotiation with the minister Florida Blanca, to which I was personally committed, and of course could not decline the undertaking it. My destination was to repair to the neutral port of Lisbon, there to abide whilst the Abbe Hufsey, chaplain to his catholic majesty, proceeded

to Aranjuez, and by the advice, which he should send me, I was to be governed in the alternative of either going into Spain for the purpose of carrying my instructions into execution, or of returning home by the same ship that conveyed me thither, which was ordered to wait my determination for the space of three weeks, unless dismissed or employed by me within that period. I was to take my wife and two daughters, Elizabeth and Sophia, with me on the pretence of travelling into Italy upon a passport through the Spanish dominions, and having received my instructions and letters of accreditation from the earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state, on the 17th day of April, 1780, I took my departure for Portsmouth, there to embark on board his majesty's frigate Milford, which I had particularly asked for; as knowing her character to be that of a remarkably swift sailer."

His companion, the Abbe Hufsey, Mr. Cumberland thus characterizes. — "I had now manœuvred the Abbe Hufsey into a mission, the most acceptable to him that could be devised, as it took him out of Spain, and liberated him from the necessity of acting a part, which he could not longer have sustained with any credit to himself, for it was only whilst the treaty was in train with the sincere good will of Spain that he could be truly cordial in the cause: when unforeseen events occurred to check and interrupt the progress of it, his sagacity did not fail to discover that he could no longer preserve a middle interest with both parties, but must be hooked into a dilemma of choosing his side; which that would have been when duplicity must have

have been thrown off, was a decision he did not wish to come to, though I perhaps can conjecture where it would have led him. He had no great prejudices for England; Ireland was his native country, but even that and the whole world had been renounced by him, when he threw himself into the oblivious convent of La Trappe, and was only dragged from out his cell by force and the emancipating authority of the Pope himself. Whilst he was here digging his own grave, and consigning himself to perpetual taciturnity, he was a very young man, high in blood, of athletic strength, and built as if to see a century to its end. It was not the enthusiasm of devotion, no holy raptures, that inspired him with this desperate resolution: it was the splenetic effect of disappointed passion; such was the change, which a short time had wrought in him, that father Robinson, the worthy priest, with whom he afterwards cohabited, told me, that when he attended the order for his deliverance, he could hardly ascertain his person, especially as he persisted to asseverate in the strongest terms that he was not the man they were in search of.

“ When he came forth again into the world with passions, rather suspended than subdued, I am inclined to think he considered himself as forced upon a scene of action, where he was to play his part with as much finesse and dissimulation as suited his interest, or furthered his ambition; and this he probably reconciled to his conscience by a commodious kind of casuistry, in which he was a true adept.

“ He wore upon his counte-

nance a smile sufficiently seductive for common purposes and cursory acquaintance: his address was smooth, obsequious, studiously obliging, and at times glowingly heightened into an empasioned show of friendship and affection. He was quick enough in finding out the characters of men, and the openings through which they were assailable to flattery; but he was not equally successful in his mode of tempering and applying it; for he was vain of showing his triumph over inferior understandings, and could not help colouring his attentions often times with such a florid hue, as gave an air of irony and ridicule, that did not always escape detection; and thus it came to pass that he was little credited (and perhaps even less than he deserved to be) for sincerity in his warmest professions, or politeness in his best attempts to please.

“ As I am persuaded that he left behind him in his coffin at La Trappe no one passion, native or engrafted, that belonged to him when he entered it, ambition lost no hold upon his heart, and of course I must believe the station, which he filled in Spain, and the high-sounding titles and dignities, which the favour of his Catholic Majesty might so readily endow him with, were to him such lures, as, though but feathers, outweighed English guineas in his balance; for of these I must do him the justice to say he was indignantly regardless; but to the honours, that his church could give, to the mitre of Waterford, though merely titular, it is clear to demonstration he had no repugnance.

“ He made profession of a candour and liberality of sentiment, bordering

bordering almost upon downright protestantism, whilst in heart he was as high a priest as Thomas a Becket, and as stiff a catholic, though he ridiculed their mummeries, as ever kissed the cross. He did not exactly want to stir up petty insurrections in his native country of Ireland, but to head a revolution, that should overturn the church established, and enthrone himself primate in the cathedral of Armagh, would have been his brightest glory and supreme felicity; and in truth he was a man by talents, nerves, ambition, intrepidity, fitted for the boldest enterprise."

In strong contrast with this picture of the creature of ambition and art stands that of one of the most amiable and benevolent of the human race.

"I must take leave to digress a little from the tenour of my tale, whilst I record an anecdote, in itself of no other material interest except as it enables me to state one amongst the many reasons, which I have to love and revere the memory of a deceased friend, who devoted to me the evening of every day without the exception of one, which I passed during my residence in Madrid. This excellent old man, Patrick Curtis by name, and by birth an Irishman, had been above half a century settled in Spain, domestic priest and occasionally preceptor to three successive dukes of Osuna. In this situation he had been expressly the founder of the fortunes of the premier Florida Blanca, by recommending him as advocate to the employ and patronage of that rich and noble house. The Abbe Don Patricio Curtis was of course looked up to

as a person of no small consideration; he was also not less conspicuous and universally respected for his virtues, for his high sense of honour, his bold sincerity of speech, and generous benignity of soul; but this good man at the same time had such an over-abundant portion of the *amor patriæ* about him, was so marked a devotee to the British interest, and so unreserved an opponent to that of France, that it seemed to demand more circumspection than he was disposed to bestow for guarding himself against the resentment of a party, whose principles he arraigned without mitigation, and whose power he set at open defiance without caution or reserve. Though considerably past eighty, his affections were as ardent, and his feelings as quick as if he had not reached his twentieth year. When I was supposed to be out of chance of recovery, this affectionate creature came to me in an agony of grief to take his last farewell. He told me he had been engaged in fervent prayer and intercession on my behalf, and had pledged before the altar his most earnest and devoted services for the consolation and protection of my beloved wife and daughters, if it should please Heaven to remove me from them and reject his humble supplications for my life: he lamented that I had no spiritual assistant of my own church to resort to; he did not mean to obtrude his forms, to which I was not accustomed, but on the contrary came purposely to tender me his services according to my own; and was ready, if I would furnish him with my prayer book, and allow him to secure the doors from any, that might intrude

or over-hear to the peril of his life, to administer the sacrament to me exactly as it is ordained by our church, requesting only that I would reach the cup with my own hand, and not employ his to tender it to me. All this he fulfilled, omitting none of the prayers appointed, and officiating in the most devout impressive manner, (though at times interrupted and overcome by extreme sensibility) to my very great comfort and satisfaction. Had the office of inquisition, whose terrific mansion stood within a few paces of my gates, had report of this which passed in my heretical chamber, my poor friend would have breathed out the short remnant of his days between two walls, never to be heard of more. From six o'clock in the afternoon till ten at night he never failed to occupy the chair next to me in my evening circle, and though I saw with infinite concern that his constitution was rapidly breaking up for the last six or seven weeks of my stay, no persuasion could keep him from coming to me and exposing his declining health to the night air; at last, when I was recalled, and had fixed the day for my departure, dreading the effect, which the act of parting for ever might have upon his exhausted frame, I endeavoured to impose upon him a later hour of the morning than I meant to take for my setting out, and enjoined strict secrecy to all my party; but the precautions were in vain; at three o'clock in the morning, when I entered the receiving room I found my poor old friend alone and waiting, with his arms extended to embrace me, and bathed in tears, scarcely able to support himself on his tottering

legs, now miserably tumified, a spectacle that cut my heart to the quick, and perfectly unmanned me. He had purchased a number of masses of some pious mendicants, which he hoped would be efficacious, and avail for our well doing: he had no great faith in amulets, he told me, yet he had brought me a ring of Mexican workmanship and materials, very ancient and consecrated and blessed by a venerable patriarch of the Indies, since canonized for his miracles; which ring had been highly prized by the late Duchess of Osuna for its efficacy in preserving her from thunder and lightning, and though he did not presume to think that I would place the slightest confidence in its virtue, yet he hoped I would let him bestow it on the person of the infant daughter, which was born to me in Spain, whom I then gave into his arms, whilst he invoked a thousand blessings upon her. He brought a very fine crucifix cut in ivory; he said he had put up his last prayers before it, and had nothing more to do but lie down upon his bed, and die, which as soon as I departed he was prepared to do, sensible that his last hour was near at hand, and that he should survive our separation a very few days. I prevailed with him to retain his crucifix, but I accepted an exquisite Ecce Homo by El Divino Morales, and exchanged a token of remembrance with him; I saw him led out of my house to that of the Duke of Osuna near at hand, and whilst I was yet on my journey, the intelligence reached me of his death, and may the God of mercy receive him into bliss!"

Mr. Cumberland's account of his



his negotiation, and of the circumstances which occurred to him, during its continuance, occupies one fifth of his volume, and is one of the most pleasing parts of it. He describes excellently all that he saw, all that he did, and the persons with whom he had any connection. In Spain he resided fourteen months; and it appears, from his statement, that his mission would have been successful, had not the British ministry displayed a deplorable want of talent, or a more deplorable want of sincerity. From the Spanish ministers, and from the sovereign himself, he received more marks of respect and kindness than had been shewn to many acknowledged ambassadors. He had gone out with a promise from the treasury, that whatever bills he might draw should be duly honoured; but, instead of this, they were all returned protested, not a shilling was remitted to him, and, on his journey home, while confined to a sick bed, and labouring under fever and delirium, at Bayonne, he would have been thrown into prison, had not Marchetti, a friend and fellow traveller, advanced five hundred pounds to save him from that misfortune.

It is not a little singular that, before he quitted Madrid, Mr. Cumberland was assured, by Count Florida Blanca, that he would be "deceived and abandoned by his employers;" and, in contemplation of this, his catholic majesty had instructed the count to offer him a full and ample compensation for all expences incurred by coming into Spain; "his majesty," it was nobly added, "being unwilling that a gentleman who had resorted

to his court, and put himself under his immediate protection, without a public character, honestly endeavouring to promote the mutual good and benefit of both countries, should suffer, as he surely would do, if he withstood the offer which was now made to him." Mr. Cumberland did withstand this offer, which was worthy the sovereign of a brave and high-minded nation. The result was such as the Spanish minister predicted. Mr. Cumberland never obtained any repayment from government, notwithstanding his repeated applications and memorials, and he was, in consequence, compelled to sell the whole of his patrimonial property, to satisfy his creditors. He himself speaks of this treatment with exemplary mildness. Others, however, cannot hesitate to brand it, and those who were the cause of it, with the proper epithet, that of infamous.

The suppression of the Board of Trade still further lessened the resources of Mr. Cumberland. With the compensation which he received, and the fragments of his fortune, he retired to Tunbridge Wells, where he settled for the remainder of his life, and devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits. The rest of his narrative contains a history of his numerous productions, and an abundance of anecdotes and critical reflections. From this part, not less worthy of perusal than the other, we shall make only one extract; which is a letter from Mr. Burke to Mr. Cumberland, in reply to a compliment paid him by the latter, on his celebrated *Reflexions on the French Revolution*.

*Beaconsfield,*

“ *Beaconsfield, Nov. 13th, 1796.*

“ Dear Sir,

“ I was yesterday honoured with your most obliging letter. You may be assured, that nothing could be more flattering to me than the approbation of a gentleman so distinguished in literature as you are, and in so great a variety of its branches. It is an earnest to me of that degree of toleration in the public judgment, which may give my reasonings some chance of being useful. I know however that I am indebted to your politeness and your good nature as much as to your opinion, for the indulgent manner, in which you have been pleased to receive my endeavour. Whether I have described our countrymen properly, time is to shew: I hope I have, but at any rate it is perhaps the best way to persuade them to be right by supposing that they are so. Great bodies like great men, must be instructed in the way, in which they will be best pleased to receive instruction; flattery itself may be converted into a mode of counsel:

*laudando admonere* has not always been the most unsuccessful method of advice. In this case moral policy requires it, for when you must expose the practices of some kinds of men, you do nothing if you do not distinguish them from others.

“ Accept once more my best acknowledgments for the very handsome manner, in which you have been pleased to consider my pamphlet, and do me the justice to believe me with the most perfect respect,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your most faithful

“ And obliged humble servant,

“ EDM. BURKE.”

Few persons, we believe, will begin to read the memoirs of Cumberland without being tempted to proceed to the conclusion of them; and all will feel sincere regret, that the venerable author has now closed a life extended considerably beyond the usual years of man, and which, throughout its lengthened course, appears to have been neither unuseful nor undignified.



THE  
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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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